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EVANGELICAL

BIOGRAPHY;

OR,

AN HISTORICAL ACCOUNT

OF THE

LIVES & DEATHS

OF

THE MOST EMINENT AND EVANGELICAL

AUTHORS OR PREACHERS,

BOTH BRITISH AND FOREIGN,

IN THE SEVERAL

DENOMINATIONS OF PROTESTANTS,

FROM THE

BEGINNING OF THE REFORMATION TO THE PRESENT TIME.

WHEREIN

Are collected, from authentic Historians, their most remarkable Actions, Sufferings, and Writings; exhibiting the Unity of their Faith and Experience in their several Ages, Countries, and Professions; and illustrating the Power of Divine Grace in their holy Living and Dying.

BY THE

REV. ERASMUS MIDDLETON,

Of King's College, Cambridge; Chaplain to the Right Hon. the Countess of Crauford and Lindsay; and Rector of Turvey, Bedfordshire.

The FAITHFUL are chosen in Christ, EPH. i. 4.—called by grace, GAL. i. 15.—justified freely by grace, ROM. iii. 24.—holy and beloved, COL. iii. 12.—they live by faith, GAL. iii. 11.—obtain a good report through faith, Heb. xi. 39.—die blessed in the Lord, REV. xiv. 13.—shall appear with him in glory, COL. iii. 4.

A NEW EDITION,

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BIOGRAPHIA EVANGELICA:

OR, AN

HISTORICAL ACCOUNT

OF THE MOST EMINENT AND EVANGELICAL

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FROM

THE BEGINNING OF THE REFORMATION

TO

THE PRESENT TIME.

PREFACE.

AT a time, when Infidelity and Irreligion abound on the one hand, and Popery and other heretical tenets are making large strides upon the Reformed Religion on the other; it hath been thought necessary, by many serious persons, of all the Protestant Denominations among us, to oppose a torrent of wickedness and delusion, which threatens to bear down all before it. The Judgments of GOD, which seem to hang over us as a Nation, and the dreadful scourge of war, with which we are already visited, may justly be imputed to the prevailing iniquity of the times, the dissoluteness of our public principles and manners, and the open disregard for the LORD OF HOSTS, which so many among us, in practice if not in words, have dared to avow. We have reason to tremble as a nation, under the awful visitations of the ALMIGHTY; and to fear, that, unless a reformation of our general conduct take place, and a greater regard be paid to the interests of Religion and Truth, we shall be afflicted with yet heavier dispensations, and that what we see already, is only *the beginning of sorrows*.

With this view it hath been suggested, that (as nothing makes stronger impressions upon the mind than *Example*) a Review of the Lives and Principles of the most Eminent Persons in the Protestant Churches, from the beginning of the Reformation to the present day, might be a providential means of assisting, at least, in giving a check to this general inundation of infidelity and false opinions. The attentive perusal and consideration of what those great and good men maintained

tained, suffered for, or died in possession of; may, in the Hand of GOD, be instrumental in leading others to follow their example, and at least deter many from reviling and contemning those peculiar principles of the Protestant Doctrine, which their Indolence or their Ignorance have not suffered them to understand. It may safely be said, that nothing has contributed so much to the reception of impious or superstitious tenets among us, as the spiritual darkness of our *present enlightened age*, which indeed has made great improvements in the knowledge of every thing but one—and that is, *the One Thing Needful.* Our Youth are trained up, according to the fashion, in the ignorance and contempt of every thing sacred; and no man is allowed either sense or discretion, unless he is quite at ease with respect to religion, and indifferent to the great concerns of eternity. In short, to be polite, in the common acceptation, is to be profane; and to gain a character of understanding and honour, a man must affect to despise the conscientious purity of the gospel, and openly disregard the AUTHOR of all Wisdom. What can be hoped for from maxims like these; but what we have already found; viz. *Irreligion* on the one side, and *spiritual error* on the other? And these, we may expect, will draw upon us (as they did upon the Churches of Asia) the dreadful scourges of GOD, by *outward* calamities, and in the progress of *inward* blindness or abandonment.

Every man, therefore, who has any concern for the glory of GOD, the purity of the gospel, and the best interests of posterity, will readily (we should hope) give his earnest encouragement to a work, which seems calculated for these important purposes, as well as his own edification. It is a FAMILY-BOOK, and may be put into the hands of youth, both for their information as a History, and for their profit as an Instructor

tor. Mr Fox's *Acts and Monuments* were ordered by Authority to be placed in every Church, that the people of the several parishes in the kingdom, might be led, to a thorough detestation of the poisonous principles and bloody practices of the Papists. It is to be regretted, that this order, like many others, is grown obsolete. Perhaps, in no case, is the disuse of wholesome Injunctions more to be lamented, than in the unbridled liberty, which is taken in the education of our youth. People, of the worst principles, may without examination, inculcate them freely upon the rising generation: And thus, insidiously, Popery, Infidelity, and Immorality, are scattered all over the land. However, it cannot be unseasonable for Parents, in particular, to lay a work of this kind before their children, when the tenets of Rome, dangerous to all civil and religious liberty, seem to be gaining ground among us. Those, indeed, are the most *ignorant* of the community, who are infected or most likely to be infected by that corrupt leaven; for, it may be truly said, no man was ever seduced into its erroneous principles, either by the conviction of his *Reason* or his *Senses*, and much less by the sanctions of *Scripture*. And we must do the Papists the justice to say, that they do not attempt this sort of conviction. Their Arguments and Inducements are laid in the fears of the *Simple*, who know neither the true doctrines of Christianity nor themselves, and in their own self-sufficient, or rather all-sufficient, *Authority;* which, if it was properly explained, would sooner excite the contempt and abhorrence, than the approbation of any reasonable being.

As to the work itself, we have freely made use of the several Authors who penned the lives of these illustrious men; omitting what was either too prolix for our plan, or what, upon comparison with other accounts,

accounts, did not appear sufficiently founded; and adding many circumstances, which had escaped them, or had since been collected by others. By this method, we may, without vanity, hope, that these relations are in general more complete than those which have been hitherto offered to the Public. In the several accounts of these evangelical men, the great object of our plan has been the general edification, as well as information; and, for this end, the Reader will find many serious reflections interspersed throughout the work. How far we have succeeded, must be submitted to the judgment of the Reader; whom, if a sincere Christian, we shall trust to please; and, if otherwise, we ought not to be anxious about it.

We will only detain the Reader to assure him, that no bigotted partiality to Sects or Denominations, whether established or tolerated, will be found in this Collection; but our whole attention has been paid to truly great and gracious characters of all those persuasions, which hold the distinguishing principles of the Gospel, and are united in the main endeavour to promote our common Christianity.

The Copper-plates are the performance of an ingenious young Artist, and sufficiently bespeak his merit. The encouragers of this undertaking will perceive, that this part of the work has been performed in a manner much superior to what is generally given; and, we doubt not, it will be fully agreeable to their expectation.

May the GOD of all Grace be pleased to bless our attempt; to the instruction of *the Ignorant and them that are out of the way*; to the edification of humble Professors of the Gospel; and to the satisfaction of all those, whatever be their outward denomination, who *love our* LORD JESUS CHRIST *in sincerity*.

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From an Original Picture in the Collection of the Duke of Dorset

Biographia Evangelica.

JOHN WICKLIFFE,

THE FIRST REFORMER.

WHEN we look back upon the days of barbarism, and the gross ignorance of the true light of the gospel, which prevailed in the Christian world, for so many ages together, before the Reformation; when we reflect upon the stupid ceremonies and abominable superstitions and cheats, practised by the monks and others; and then survey the hand of GOD, working, in a most extraordinary manner, through all this mass of corruption and folly, and bringing about, by degrees, the clear shining of the everlasting gospel: We must stand astonished at the whole, and from the wonderful contrast of the times, may say; *This hath GOD wrought; it is the Lord's doing, and it is marvellous in our eyes.*

GOD vouchsafed to honour England with the first dawning of the Reformation: And an Englishman was the first champion of that cause, which afterwards received the name of PROTESTANTISM. This remarkable instrument of the divine blessing was JOHN WICKLIFFE, or JOHN DE WICKLIFFE, taking his sirname from a village once called Wickliffe, near Richmond, in Yorkshire, where he was born in the year 1324. It has been observed, that no such place exists at present under that name; but it is well known, that great numbers of our villages, and even towns and hundreds, have received different denominations from change of possessors in the course of ages. Wickliffe was sent early to Oxford, and was first admitted commoner of Queen's College, and afterwards of Merton, where he became fellow.

Merton

Merton College was then the best seminary for great and learned men in the whole university; and the following eminent persons belonged to it, about this time. 1. Walter Burley, called the Plain Doctor, who was preceptor to king Edward III. 2. William Occam, called the Singular Doctor. 3. Thomas Bradwardine, the Profound Doctor, who was called to court by archbishop Stratford, and succeeded him in the see of Canterbury. 4. Simon Mepham, archbishop of Canterbury, in 1330. 5. Simon Islip, who was also promoted to the same see, in 1349, was lord privy seal, and secretary to the king. 6. William Rede, an excellent mathematician, and bishop of Chichester in 1369. 7. Geoffry Chaucer, the Father of English Poetry. Wickliffe was afterwards called *Doctor Evangelicus*, or the Gospel Doctor; and he certainly deserved the title, as the study of the holy scriptures was his principal delight. He was indeed (to use the words of bishop Newton) 'deservedly famous, the honour of his 'own, and the admiration of all succeeding times.'

Wickliffe was soon distinguished, among these illustrious contemporaries, for the closeness of his application to study, and the vivacity of his genius. He became celebrated in philosophy and divinity; being so remarkable for an elegancy of wit, and strength in disputations, that he was esteemed more than human by the common sort of divines. He adorned the learning of the schools by acquiring a deep knowledge of the civil and canon law, as also of the municipal laws of his own country, which have been always too much neglected till our own times, when we find the Vinerian professorship of the laws of England established in the university of Oxford. Wickliffe not only studied and commented upon the sacred writings; but he translated them into his native language, and wrote homilies on several parts of them. He also diligently studied the writings of St Austin, St Jerom, St Ambrose, and St Gregory, the four fathers of the Latin church: But he was thirty-six years of age before he had a proper opportunity of exerting his excellent talents, so as to attract the observation of the university, and even of the whole kingdom; for it was in the year 1360 when he became the advocate for the university against the encroachments made by the mendicant friars, who had been very troublesome from their first establishment in Oxford, in 1230, and occasioned great inquietude to the chancellor and scholars,

lars, by infringing their statutes and privileges, and setting up an exempt jurisdiction.

Popery was established in England by Austin the monk, and continued to be the only religion till the Reformation. The church of Rome had infected all Christendom with its errors and corruptions; and the whole church was degenerated from its primitive purity by the artifices of the monks, who had polluted the clear stream of religion with the rank weeks of superstition.

The clergy had engrossed the greatest part both of the riches and power of Christendom: But the corruptions of their worship and doctrine were easily detected; nor had they any varnish to colour them by, except the authority and traditions of the church. When some studious men began to read the ancient fathers, and councils, they found a vast difference between the first five ages of the Christian church, in which piety and learning prevailed, and the last ten ages, in which ignorance had buried all their former learning: Only a little misguided devotion was retained for six of those ages; and, in the last four, the restless ambition and usurpation of the popes were supported by the seeming holiness of the begging friars, and the false counterfeits of learning, consisting only of a vile metaphysical jargon, or vain school-divinity, which prevailed among the canonists, school-men, and casuists.

It may be noted, that soon after and about the year 1300, flourished several able and pious men, who boldly withstood the errors of the church of Rome, and the insolence of its popes. Of these, perhaps, none was more remarkable than Marsilius of Padua, who wrote his Defensor Pacis for the emperor Lewis, of Bavaria, against pope John XXII, and who is execrated by name in the bull of pope Gregory against Wickliffe. He vehemently opposed the enormities of the court of Rome, and maintained, that believers are freely justified by grace alone, and that works are not the efficient causes of our salvation, though justification and salvation are ever attended with them. He and others paved the way for our great countryman, who soon afterwards appeared and distinguished himself above them.

Wickliffe was indeed the morning-star of the Reformation; though he appeared like a meteor to the monks, when he opposed them in support of the university. The number of students there had been thirty thousand; but, in the 1357, they were so far decreased that the whole was not above six thousand. This was entirely owing to the bad

bad practices of the preaching friars, who took all opportunities to entice the students, from the colleges, into their convents, which made people afraid of sending their children to the university. The friars disregarded the determination of the parliament in 1366, whereby it was enacted, that they should receive no scholar under the age of eighteen; and that the king should have power to redress all controversies between them and the university. Wickliffe soon distinguished himself by his bold and zealous opposition against the usurpations and errors of the friars, who justified their begging trade, by asserting, that the poverty of Christ, and his apostles, made them possess all things in common, and beg for a livelihood. This opinion was first opposed by Richard Kilmyngton, dean of St Paul's; who was seconded by Richard Fitz-Ralph, archbishop of Armagh; after which, Wickliffe, Thoresby, Bolton, Hereford, Bryts, and Norris, openly opposed this doctrine at Oxford, where they made the friars blush for their audacity.

Wickliffe wrote with an elegance uncommon in that age, especially in the English language, of which he may be considered as one of the first refiners, and his writings afford many curious specimens of the old English orthography. In one of his tracts, intitled "Of Clerks Possessioners," he exposes the friars for drawing the youth of the university into their convents, and says, "Freres "drawen children fro Christ's religion into their private "order by hypocrisie, lesings, and steling. For they "tellen that their order is more holy than any other; "that they shullen have higher degree in the bliss of "heaven than other men that been not therein; and "seyn, that men of their order shullen never come to "hell, but shullen dome other men with Christ at "domesday."

Wickliffe wrote and published several tracts against the beggary of the friars; particularly "Of the Poverty of "Christ, against able Beggary;" and "Of Idleness in "Beggary." He asserts, that "Christ bad his apostles "and disciples that they should not bere a sachell, ne "scrip; but look what man is able to hear the gospel, "and eat and drink therein, and pass not hence, and "not pass fro house to house.—Sith there were poor "men enough to taken mens alms before that freres "camen in, and the earth is now more barren than it was, "other freres, or poor men, moten wanten of this alms:

but

" but freres, by subtle hypocrisie, gotten to themselves, " and letten the poor men to have these alms."

He disputed with a friar, on able beggary, before the duke of Gloucester, to whom he sent an account of both their arguments, and addressed his highness in these words; " To you lord, that herde the disputasion be geve the " fyle to rubbe away the rust in either partye."

These controversies gave Wickliffe such great reputation in the university, that, in 1361, he was advanced to be master of Baliol College; and four years after he was made warden of Canterbury-hall, founded by Simon de Islip, archbishop of Canterbury, in 1361, and now swallowed up in Christ-church. The royal license granted to the archbishop, for founding the college, is dated the twentieth of October 1361; and only mentions 'a certain number of 'scholars,' religious and secular. There were to be a warden and eleven scholars, who were to study logic, the civil and canon law; for whose maintenance the archbishop settled on them the rectory of Pageham in Sussex, and the manor of Wodeford in Northamptonshire. He purchased some old houses in the parish of St Mary's in Oxford, and fitted them up for the reception of his scholars, whom he placed there himself, and appointed Henry de Wodehall, or Woodhall, to be the warden. This man was a monk of Christ-church, Canterbury, and doctor of divinity: But he was at such variance with the secular scholars, that the archbishop, in 1365, turned him, and three monks, out of his new-founded Hall, in whose room he appointed Wickliffe to be warden, and three other seculars to be scholars. It was afterwards pretended, that the warden, and three of the scholars, were to be monks of Christ-church, Canterbury, and the other eight, secular priests; though this limitation could not be proved from the writings relating to the foundation.

The letters of institution, whereby the archbishop appointed Wickliffe to this wardenship, were dated the fourteenth of December, 1365; in which he is styled 'a person 'in whose fidelity, circumspection, and industry, his 'grace very much confided; and one on whom he had 'fixed his eyes for that place, on account of the ho- 'nesty of his life, his laudable conversation, and know- 'ledge of letters."

Wickliffe behaved with universal approbation, till the death of the archbishop, who had a great esteem for him. His grace died the twenty-fifth of April, 1366, and was succeeded in the archiepiscopal dignity by Simon Langham,

Langham, bishop of Ely, who had been a monk, and was inclined to favour the religious against the seculars. The monks of Canterbury applied to Langham to eject Wickliffe from his wardenship, and the other seculars, from their fellowships. They alleged, that the warden was to be a monk, and nominated by the prior and chapter of Canterbury, and appointed by the archbishop: But that Wickliffe craftily obtained the wardenship. Archbishop Langham ejected Wickliffe from the wardenship, and the three other seculars, in 1367; in consequence of which, he also issued out his mandate, requiring Wickliffe and all the scholars to yield obedience to Wodehall as their warden. This was refused by them, as being contrary to the oath they had taken to the founder; but the archbishop sequestered the revenue, and took away the books and other things, which the founder, by his last will, had left to the Hall.

Wickliffe, and the three expelled fellows, appealed to the pope; to which appeal the archbishop made a reply, and the pope commissioned cardinal Andruynus to examine and determine the affair; who, in 1370, ordained, by a definitive sentence, which was confirmed by the pope, that only the monks of Christ-church, Canterbury, ought to remain in the college called Canterbury-hall, and that the seculars should be all expelled; that Wodehall and the other monks, who were deprived, should be restored; and that perpetual silence should be imposed on Wickliffe and his associates. Wickliffe and three poor clerks, could not oppose such a powerful combination, and the decree was strictly put in execution, pursuant to the papal bull, dated at Viterbium, the twenty-eighth of May, 1370, directed to Simon de Sudbury, bishop of London, and others, who were to restore Wodehall and the monks, and to compel all those who contradicted them by ecclesiastical censures, without permitting any appeal.

In this arbitrary manner Wickliffe was dispossessed of the wardenship of Canterbury-hall, which had been conferred on him by the founder, whose munificent intentions were frustrated by the papal sentence, which was directly contrary to the form of the licence of Mortmain that empowered the founder to endow his seminary for a certain number of scholars, religious and secular, who now, by this papal sentence, were to be all religious. It was, therefore, a question in law, whether the Hall and endowment were not forfeited to the crown? But the monks, in 1372, procured the royal pardon, and confirmation

firmation of the papal sentence, on paying 1200 marks, which was equivalent to 800 pounds of our money.

While the dispute was carried on about the right to Canterbury-hall, king Edward had notice from Pope Urban, that he intended to cite him to his court at Avignon, to answer for his default in not performing the homage which king John acknowledged to the see of Rome; and for refusing to pay the tribute of 700 marks a year, which that prince granted to the pope. The king laid this before his parliament, in 1366; who were determined to assist him with all their power against such arbitrary attempts from the pope. The firmness of the parliament caused the pope to stop short, and prevented his successors from ever after troubling the kings of England on that account. However, one of the monks ventured to defend the claim made by the pope; to which Wickliffe replied, and proved, that the resignation of the crown, and promise of a tribute made by king John, ought not to prejudice the kingdom, or oblige the present king, as it was done without consent of parliament. No wonder, then, that Wickliffe should incur the resentment of the pope, who was impatient of contradiction, and could not bear any opposition to his pretensions: But Wickliffe thereby made himself known to the court, and particularly to the duke of Lancaster, who took him under his patronage. At this time Wickliffe stiled himself *peculiaris regis clericus*, or the king's own clerk or chaplain: But he professed himself an obedient son of the Roman church, to avoid the personal injury intended him by his adversaries.

However, this deprivation was no injury to the reputation which Wickliffe had acquired. Every body saw it was a party business; and that it was not so much against his person that the monks had a prejudice, as against all the seculars that were members of the college. Shortly after, Wickliffe was presented, by the favour of the duke of Lancaster, to the living of Lutterworth, in the diocese of Lincoln; and then it was that he published, in his writings and sermons, certain opinions which appeared to be novel, because contrary to the received doctrine of those days. As he did not declare his sentiments till after he had lost his rectorship, his enemies have taken occasion, from thence, to accuse him of acting out of a spirit of revenge, by reason of the injury that had been done him. 'I shall not, says Rapin, undertake to clear him from this 'charge. As there is none but God alone that sees into 'the hearts of men, it is rashness to accuse or excuse 'them,

'them with regard to the sacred motives of their actions. 'I shall only take notice, that Wickliffe's bitterest enemies 'have never taxed him with any immoralities.'

Wickliffe was turned out of his rectorship by the court of Rome; and a man must be possessed of a very disinterested way of thinking, not to resent such usage; especially as Wickliffe was irreproachable in his morals. The spirit of the times was no little encouragement to his resentment. 'I must however,' says Mr Guthrie, 'do 'Wickliffe the justice, which has *not been done him before*, 'of observing, that he seems to have maintained his re-'forming opinions even before he was turned out of his 'rectorship.' This is to his honour, and removes one of the strongest objections against the motives of Wickliffe's Reformation, as we have it from an author unfavourable to his memory. This opinion is also farther confirmed by the ingenious Mr Gilpin.

But Wickliffe began more early to attempt the Reformation of those disorders and corruptions which he saw in men of his own profession; and particularly the exactions and usurpations of the pope. This is evident from his tract, "Of the last Age of the Church," which he published in the year 1356, fourteen years before he lost the rectorship.

Wickliffe, in 1372, took his degree as doctor of divinity, which he publicly professed, and read lectures in it with very great applause; for he had such authority in the schools, that his opinion was received as an oracle, instead of being disregarded after his ejectment. In these lectures, he more strongly exposed the follies and superstitions of the friars: He charged them with holding fifty heresies and errors: He shewed their corruptions, and detected their practices. This was striking at the root of all the abuses which had crept into the church; at a time when the greater and more necessary articles of faith, and all genuine and rational knowledge of religion, had generally given place to fabulous legends, and romantic stories, fables which, in this respect, only differed from those of the ancient heathen poets, that they were more incredible, and less elegant.

The pope disregarded the statute of provisors, by still continuing to dispose of ecclesiastical benefices and dignities as he thought fit. These were enjoyed by Italians, Frenchmen, and other aliens, who had the revenues of them remitted abroad. The parliament frequently complained to the king and the pope of this intolerable grievance,

ance, by representing its fatal inconveniences to the church, and pernicious consequences to the kingdom.

This oppression was so insupportable, in 1373, that the king sent the bishop of *Bangor*, and three other ambassadors, to the pope, to require of him that he would not interfere with the reservation of benefices: But this embassy was ineffectual; for though the pope entered into a concordate about that matter, it was only a temporal concession; and the parliament renewed their request, that remedy should be provided against the provisions of the pope, whereby he reaped the first fruits of ecclesiastical dignities. It has always been the policy of the court of *Rome* to play fast and loose with temporal princes in its transactions with them, waiting diligently for advantageous seasons, and pressing them closely whenever they occurred: But, when it met with dangerous oppositions, it dexterously waved the contest without renouncing its claims, and temporized, and soothed, and flattered, and lay by, for a more convenient opportunity.

The king, in 1374, issued out a commission for taking an exact survey of all the ecclesiastical dignities and benefices, throughout his dominions, which were in the hands of aliens. The number and value of them astonished the king, who then appointed seven ambassadors to treat with the pope upon the business of the former embassy. Doctor *Wickliffe* was the second person mentioned in this commission; and the ambassadors were met at *Bruges* by the pope's nuncio, two bishops, and a provost, to treat concerning the liberties of the church of *England*. The treaty continued two years, when it was concluded, that the pope should desist from making use of reservations of benefices. But all treaties with that corrupt court were of no signification; and the parliament, the very next year, complained the treaty was infracted. A long bill was brought into parliament against the papal usurpations, as the cause of all the plagues, injuries, famine, and poverty of the realm: They remonstrated that the tax paid to the pope amounted to five times as much as the tax paid to the king; and that God had given his sheep to the pope to be pastured, not fleeced. Doctor *Wickliffe* was now made more sensible of the pride, avarice, ambition, and tyranny of the pope, whom he boldly exposed in his public lectures, and private conversation. He called him "Antichrist, "the proud worldly priest of *Rome*, and the most cursed "of clippers and purse-kervers." He also very freely reproved the corruptions which prevailed among the pre-

lates and inferior clergy, observing, "that the abomi-
"nation of desolation had its beginning from a perverse
"clergy, as comfort arose from a converted clergy." Of prelates, he says, "Oh Lord, what token of mekeness,
"and forsaking of worldly riches is this? A prelate, as
"an abbot or priour that is dead to the world, and pride
"and vanity thereof, to ride with fourscore horse, with
"harness of silver and gold: and to spend with earls and
"barons, and their poor tenants, both thousand marcs
"and pounds, to meyntene a false plea of the world, and
"forbare men of their right." But *Wickliffe* sufficiently experienced the hatred and persecution of those, whom he endeavoured to reform. The monks complained to the pope that Wickliffe opposed the papal powers, and defended the royal supremacy; on which account, in 1376, they drew up nineteen articles against him, extracted from his public lectures and sermons. These articles were sent to the pope, and were principally as follow:

"That there is one only universal church, which is the
"university" [or entire number] "of the predestinate.
"*Paul* was never a member of the devil, although" [before his conversion] "he did certain acts like unto the
"acts of the church malignant. The reprobate are not
"parts of the" [invisible] "church; for that no part of
"the same finally falleth from her; because the charity"
[or grace] "of predestination, which bindeth the church
"together, never faileth."

"The reprobate, although he be sometime in grace,
"according to present justice," [i. e. by a present appearance of outward righteousnes,] "yet is he never a part
"of the holy church" [in reality:] "and the predesti-
"nate is ever a member of the church, although sometime
"he fall from grace *adventitiâ*, but not from the grace of
"predestination: ever taking the church for the convo-
"cation of the predestinate, whether they be in grace or
"not, according to present justice," i. e. whether they be converted already, or yet remain to be so, the predestinate, or elect, constitute, as such, that invisible church, which God the Father hath chosen, and God the Son redeemed.

"The grace of predestination is the band, wherewith
"the body of the church, and every member of the same,
"is indissolubly joined to Christ their head."

"That the eucharist, after consecration, was not the
"real body of Christ, but only an emblem or sign of it.
"That the church of *Rome* was no more the head of the
"universal

" universal church than any other church; and that St " *Peter* had no greater authority given him than the rest " of the apostles. That the pope had no more jurisdic- " tion in the exercise of the keys, than any other priest. " That if the church misbehaved, it was not only lawful, " but meritorious, to dispossess her of her temporalities. " That when a prince, or temporal lord, was convinced " that the church made an ill use of her endowments, he " was bound, under pain of damnation, to take them " away. That the gospel was sufficient to direct a Chris- " tian in the conduct of his life. That neither the pope, " nor any other prelate, ought to have prisons for the " punishing offenders against the discipline of the church; " but that every person ought to be left at his liberty in " the conduct of his life."

This was opposing the rights, which the popes had long asserted, of a superiority over temporal princes, and of depriving them of their kingdoms, whenever they thought proper. It was justifying the regal, in opposition to the papal, pretensions of an ecclesiastical liberty, or an exemption of the persons of the clergy, and the goods of the church, from the civil powers. It was denying the power that the pope maintained of remitting, or retaining, the sins of individuals absolutely: It was shewing the abuse of ecclesiastical censures, and rejecting the opinion of papal indulgences.

Such are the tenets with which this famous reformer is charged: And it is rather wonderful that he should have the courage to proceed so far, than extraordinary, that he did not go farther, considering the prejudices of education, which the wisest and best of men, without a particular effort of divine grace, seldom or never subdue.

The followers of *Wickliffe* went greater lengths than he intended: But all the opinions which they had fathered upon the Wickliffites are not to be regarded; any more than the censures which were afterwards thrown upon *Luther* for the subsequent heterodoxies of the Lutherans, the Anabaptists, and other sects in *Germany*, which he opposed himself while living, and to which his writings are a standing contradiction.

Wickliffe had opened the eyes of the people; and they began to think, the moment they could see; to which they were the more incited by the example set them by the duke of *Lancaster*, and the lord *Henry Percy*, earl-marshal, who took *Wickliffe* under their patronage and protection. This alarmed the court of *Rome*; and pope *Gregory* XI. sent

forth several bulls against *Wickliffe*, all dated the twenty-second of *May*, 1377. One was directed to *Simon Sudbury*, archbishop of *Canterbury*, and *William Courtney*, bishop of *London*, whom he delegated to examine into the matter of the complaint. Another was dispatched to the king himself: and a third to the university of *Oxford*. In the first bull to the two prelates, he tells them, 'he was informed 'that *Wickliffe* had rashly proceeded to that detestable 'degree of madness, as not to be afraid to assert, and 'publicly preach such propositions, as were erroneous 'and false, contrary to the faith, and threatening to subvert and weaken the estate of the whole church.' He therefore required them to cause *Wickliffe* to be apprehended and imprisoned by his authority; and to get his confession concerning his propositions and conclusions (of which they deemed *nineteen* to be heretical) which they were to transmit to *Rome*; as also whatever he should say, or write, by way of introduction or proof: But, if *Wickliffe* could not be apprehended, they were directed to publish a citation for his personal appearance before the pope within three months. The pope requested the king to grant his patronage and assistance to the bishops in the prosecution of *Wickliffe*, who had promulgated 'opinions full of errors 'and containing manifest heresy; some of which appeared 'to be the same with those of *Marsilius* of *Padua*, and '*John de Gandun*, condemned by Pope John XXII.' In the bull to the university, he says, the heretical pravity of *Wickliffe* tended 'to subvert the state of the whole 'church, and even the civil government:' And he orders them to deliver *Wickliffe* up in safe custody to the delegates.

King *Edward* III. died the twenty-first of June 1377, before the bulls arrived in England. The university treated their bull with contempt, or with very little devotion. They favoured and protected *Wickliffe*, who was powerfully supported by the duke of *Lancaster*, and the earl-marshal. These noblemen openly declared, they would not suffer him to be imprisoned: And, indeed, there was yet no act of parliament, which empowered the bishops to imprison heretics without the royal consent. But the delegated prelates, on the nineteenth of *February* 1378, issued out their mandate to the chancellor of the university of *Oxford*, commanding him to cite *Wickliffe* to appear before them in the church of St *Paul*, *London*, in thirty days.

Before that day came, the first parliament of king *Richard* II. met at *Westminster*, where it was debated, 'whether 'they

'they might lawfully refuse to send the treasure out of the 'kingdom, after the pope required it on pain of censures, 'and by virtue of the obedience due to him?' The resolution of this doubt was referred, by the king and parliament, to doctor *Wickliffe*, who answered it was lawful; and undertook to prove it so, by the principles of the law of *Christ*.

Wickliffe appeared to the summons of the delegates at St *Paul*'s, where a vast concourse of people assembled to hear the examination. The doctor was attended by the duke of *Lancaster*, and the lord-marshal *Percy*, who had conceived such a very high opinion of his learning and integrity, that they assured him he had nothing to fear, and that he might make his defence with courage against the bishops, who were but mere ignorants in respect to him. When *Wickliffe* came near the place of the assembly, there was so great a crowd of people attending, that it was with difficulty he and his two patrons got admission into the church. This manner of their appearance, by introducing *Wickliffe* as to a triumph, rather than a trial, touched the bishop of *London*, who told the earl-marshal, 'if he had known what masteries they would have kept 'in the church, he would have stopped them from coming 'there.'

The archbishop and the bishop of *London*, held their court in the chapel, where several other prelates, and some noblemen, attended to hear the trial. *Wickliffe* stood before the commissioners, according to custom, to hear what was laid to his charge: But the earl-marshal bid him sit down, 'as he had many things to answer, and had need of 'a soft seat to rest him upon, during so tedious an attend-'ance.' The bishop of *London* objected to this; which was answered by the duke of *Lancaster*, in such warm terms, that he told the bishop, 'he would bring down the pride 'of all the prelacy in the kingdom.' The bishop made a spirited reply: And the duke said softly, to one who sat by him, that, 'rather than take such language from the 'bishop, he would drag him out of the church by the hair 'of his head.' This was over-heard by some of the bye-standers, and the assembly was instantly in a violent commotion. The Londoners declared they would oppose any insults upon their bishop: The noblemen treated the citizens with disdain; they carried off *Wickliffe* in safety; and the court broke up without entering into an examination of the business. But the Londoners plundered the duke of *Lancaster*'s palace in the *Savoy*, and the duke turned the

mayor

mayor and aldermen out of the magistracy, for not restraining the sedition. *Wickliffe* had the happiness to find his doctrine embraced by men of letters, and persons of quality. Some would make us believe, that people were frightened into a feigned approbation of his doctrine: But it may be said, with much greater probability, that fear deterred many from being his followers. The truth is, a man ran no risk in continuing to adhere to the old tenets; whereas it might be dangerous to embrace the new ones.

The duke of *Lancaster* was made president of the council; and the bishops were afraid to offend the avowed protector of *Wickliffe*. However, the two prelates summoned the doctor a second time before them, at *Lambeth*. He appeared; when the Londoners forced themselves into the chapel, to encourage the doctor, and intimidate the delegates. *Wickliffe* seemed willing to give the prelates some sort of satisfaction, and delivered them a paper, wherein he explained the several conclusions with which he was charged. In all appearance, the delegates would not have been contented with so general an explanation; if the king's mother had not obliged them to desist, by sending Sir *Lewis Clifford* to forbid their proceeding to any definitive sentence against *Wickliffe*. The delegates were confounded with this message; and, as their own historian says, 'at the wind of a reed shaken, their speech became 'as soft as oil, to the public loss of their own dignity, 'and the damage of the whole church.' They dropped the thoughts of all censures against *Wickliffe*, and dismissed him, after enjoining him silence; to which injunction he paid no regard, and maintained his opinions in the utmost latitude. This steadiness ill agrees with the explanation of his opinions, which it is pretended he made before the bishops, and is represented as full of equivocations and evasions. The disguising his sentiments is little conformable to his natural temper, which was far enough from being fearful: Though a modern writer takes upon him to say, 'that *Wickliffe* appears to have been a 'man of slender resolution.' He also calls *Wickliffe*'s explanations aukward apologies: But he should have remembered they are only such as are given us by *Walsingham*, whom he calls a prejudiced writer.

The duke of *Lancaster* flattered himself with the hopes of being sole regent during the minority of the king his nephew, who was crowned on the thirteenth of July 1377; but the parliament joined some bishops and noblemen with him in the regency. This was a damp upon the Wickliffites,

liffites, or Lollards, who were become so numerous, that two men could not be found together, and one not a Lollard. But pope *Gregory* XI. died the twenty-seventh of *March* 1378, which was a great advantage to *Wickliffe*; for, by his death, an end was put to the commission of the delegates. Here the historian seems to be mistaken, when he says, the demise of the pope occasioned grief to the faithful. Because *Wickliffe* did not make his appearance before the delegates of *Lambeth*, till almost three months after the death of *Gregory*. A schism ensued, by a double election of two popes; which was a real advantage to the Wickliffites; since *Urban* VI. was not acknowledged by the kingdom to be lawful pope till the end of the next year. On this occasion, *Wickliffe* wrote a tract, "Of the Schism "of the *Roman* Pontiffs:" And soon after published his book "Of the Truth of the Scripture." In the latter he contended for the necessity of translating the scriptures into the *English* language, and affirmed, that the will of God was evidently revealed in two Testaments; that the law of Christ was sufficient to rule the church; and that any disputation, not originally produced from thence, must be accounted profane.

The fatigues which *Wickliffe* underwent by attending the delegates, threw him into a dangerous fit of illness, on his return to *Oxford*. The mendicant friars took this advantage, and sent a deputation to him, to inform him of the great injuries he had done them, by his sermons and writings. The deputies told him he was at the point of death, and exhorted him to revoke whatever he had advanced to their prejudice. *Wickliffe* immediately recovered his spirits, raised himself on his pillow, and replied: "I "shall not die, but live to declare the evil deeds of the "friars:" The unexpected force of his expression, together with the sternness of his manner, drove away the friars in confusion.

The parliament, which assembled in 1380, was famous for a statute made against the blood-suckers that had long devoured the land; viz. the foreign ecclesiastics, who, by this statute, were rendered incapable of holding any benefices in *England*. At the same time, the parliament petitioned the king to expel all foreign monks, for fear they should instil notions into the people of *England*, repugnant to the good of the state. While *Wickliffe*, in his lectures, sermons, and writings, embraced every opportunity of exposing the Romish court, and detecting the vices of the clergy both religious and secular.

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The festivals of *Wickliffe*, which are extant, and his sermons on the *Commune Sanctorum*, gave great offence to the monks, who kindled a seditious spirit among the people on account of the poll-tax, which soon broke out into those insurrections headed by *Wat Tyler*, *Ball*, and *Littstar*. These rebels beheaded *Simon Sudbury*, archbishop of *Canterbury*, the lord high-treasurer, and put many others to death. Their design was to murder the king, root out the nobility, and destroy all the clergy except the mendicant friars. Some historians accuse the Wickliffites with causing this rebellion; but without any foundation. It is certain, that religion had no hand in these commotions; since the duke of *Lancaster*, the avowed protector of *Wickliffe*, was the principal object of the rebels' fury: Besides, *Wickliffe* then resided on his living of *Lutterworth*, and was never charged with any thing on that account. Nor can we hardly find an instance of insurrections, caused by a religious zeal, appeased in so short a time as this was, which continued only about a month, from the beginning to the end.

The holy Scriptures had never been translated into *English*; except by *Richard Fitz-Ralph*, archbishop of *Armagh*, and *John de Trevise*, a *Cornish-man*, who both lived in the reign of *Edward* III. That task was now undertaken by *Wickliffe*, and other learned associates; which made it necessary for *Wickliffe* to apologize for their undertaking, by shewing that *Bede* translated the Bible, and king *Alfred* the psalms, into the *Saxon* tongue. It had long given *Wickliffe* great offence (says Mr *Gilpin*,) and indeed he always considered it as one of the capital errors of popery, that the Bible should be locked up from the people. He resolved, therefore, to free it from bondage. The Bible, he affirmed, contained the whole of God's will, which, he said, was sufficient to guide his church. These, and other arguments, paved the way for the publication of this great work, and satisfied the minds of all sober men.

This work, it may easily be imagined, raised the clamours of the clergy. *Knighton*, a canon of *Leicester*, and contemporary with *Wickliffe*, affords a sample of the language of his brethren. 'Christ entrusted his gospel (says he) to the 'clergy, and doctors of the church, to minister it to the 'laity and weaker sort, according to their exigencies and 'several occasions. But this master *John Wickliffe*, by 'translating it, has made it vulgar, and laid it more open 'to the laity, and even to women who can read, than it 'used to be to the most learned of the clergy and those of

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'the best understanding: And thus the gospel-jewel, the 'evangelical pearl, is thrown about, and *trodden under* '*foot of swine.*' However, some great and learned men were of opinion, there was an older translation, which must have been *that* above mentioned: Though it has been asserted, 'the first translation that was ever made of the '*whole* Bible into the *English* language, as spoke after the 'conquest, was made by doctor *Wickliffe.*' He and his assistants were very careful in making their translation, by correcting the *Latin* text, collecting the glosses, and consulting the ancient divines; after which they set about the translation, not literally, but as clearly as they could to express the sense and meaning of the text according to the *Hebrew*, as well as the *Latin* Bibles. In this he had much assistance from the commentators, and particularly from the annotations of *Nicholas Lyra.* They distinguished which books had the authority of holy writ, and which were apocryphal: They justified their translations; and affirmed, "that he that keepeth mekeness and charitie, hath "the trewe understandynge and perfection of holi write."

The zeal of the bishops to suppress *Wickliffe's* Bible only made it, as is generally the case, the more sought after. They, who were able, among the reformers, purchased copies; and they, who were not able, procured at least transcripts of particular gospels, or epistles, as their inclinations led. In after times, when Lollardy increased, and the flames were kindled, it was a common practice, to fasten about the neck of the condemned heretic, such of these scraps of scripture as were found in his possession, which generally shared his fate.

Wickliffe proceeded in detecting the errors and abuses that had crept into the church; and opposed the popish doctrine of transubstantiation, which was asserted by *Radbertus* about the year 820. It is confessed by the papists, that this man was the first that wrote seriously and copiously on this subject, 'the truth or reality of the body 'and blood of the eucharist.' This was contrary to the catholic doctrine that had existed near a thousand years after *Christ*, and particularly in the church of *England* according to the *Saxon* homilies. *Wickliffe* attacked this error in his divinity lectures, in 1381, and maintained the true and ancient notion of the Lord's supper. On this account he published sixteen conclusions, the first of which is, that "the consecrated host, seen upon the altar, is not "*Christ*, or any part of him; but an effectual sign of him." He offered to enter into a public disputation with any man upon

upon these conclusions; which was prohibited by the religious, who were doctors in divinity; and *Wickliffe* then published his opinion concerning the eucharist.

In his tract *de Blasphemia*, he observed, that the true doctrine of the sacrament of the eucharist was retained in the church a thousand years; even till the loosing of Satan; but this opposition to the doctrine of transubstantiation soon brought *Wickliffe* into more difficulties; for he was attempting to eradicate a notion, that exalted the mystical and hierarchical powers of the clergy. *William de Barton* chancellor of the university, and eleven doctors, of whom eight were of the religious, condemned *Wickliffe's* conclusions as erroneous assertions. *Wickliffe* told the chancellor, that neither he, nor any of his assistants, were able to confute his opinion; and he appealed from their condemnation to the king.

William Courtney, bishop of *London*, succeeded archbishop *Sudbury* in the see of *Canterbury*, and was entirely devoted to the interest of his patron the pope. This prelate had before shewn himself a violent opposer of *Wickliffe*, and now proceeded against him and his followers. But as soon as the parliament met, in 1382, *Wickliffe* presented his appeal to the king, and both houses. *Walsingham* represents this, as done with a design to draw the nobility into erroneous opinions; and that it was disapproved by the duke of *Lancaster*, who ordered *Wickliffe* to speak no more of that matter. Others say, that the duke advised the doctor, not to appeal to the king, but submit to the judgment of his ordinary; upon which, the monks assert, he retracted his doctrine at *Oxford*, in the presence of the archbishop of *Canterbury*, six bishops, and many doctors, surrounded with a great concourse of people. It is true, he openly read a confession in Latin; which was so far from being a retractation, that it seems rather a vindication of his opinion of the sacrament; for it declares his resolution to defend it with his blood; and censures the contrary as heresy. He at large explains his meaning, how he understood the body of *Christ* to be in the eucharist, or sacrament of the altar; and expressly says, "this venerable "sacrament is naturally bread and wine; but is sacramen-"tally the body and blood of *Christ*."

The new archbishop prevailed upon the king to empower the bishops to imprison heretics, without asking the royal permission: But the house of commons complained to the king, that this was a breach of the people's privileges, and very destructive to liberty; since the clergy thereby became

came the absolute masters of the honour and fortune of private persons. The king revoked the grant; but the revocation is not to be found on the parliament rolls, where it was expunged by the artifices of the clergy, whose chief view was to punish the Wickliffites.

The king, in 1382, married *Anne* of *Luxemburg*, sister of the emperor *Wenceslaus;* and this princess became a great patroness of the Wickliffites to the time of her death, which happened in 1394. But archbishop *Courtney* prosecuted *Wickliffe*, and appointed a court of select bishops, doctors and batchelors; which assembled in the monastery of the preaching friars, *London*. This court declared fourteen conclusions of *Wickliffe*, and others, heretical and erroneous.

It is said, *Wickliffe* was cited to appear at this court, but was prevented by his friends, who advised him, that a plot was laid by the prelates to seize him on the road. However, his cause was undertaken by the chancellor of *Oxford*, the two proctors, and the greatest part of the senate, who, in a letter, sealed with the university seal, sent to the court, gave him a great commendation for his learning, piety, and orthodox faith. Doctor *Nicholas Hereford*, Doctor *Philip Rapyngdon*, and *John Ayshton*, M. A. were the principal followers of *Wickliffe*, and appeared at this court, where they defended his doctrine, as also in the convocation. Doctor *Hereford* afterwards took a journey to *Rome*, and offered, in the consistory before the pope, to defend the conclusions lately condemned by the archbishop, who committed him to prison on his return to *England*. It has also been said, that the duke of *Lancaster* deserted the Wickliffites; and that all of them, except *Wickliffe*, submitted to the established church. Archbishop *Courtney* exerted all his own authority, and all his interest at court, to punish the Wickliffites, and suppress their doctrine. He ordered the condemnation of the heretical articles to be published in the university. But *Wickliffe* increased in reputation, and his doctrine gained ground in the affections of the people; while he was obliged to quit his professorship, and retire to *Lutterworth*, where he still vindicated his doctrine, and justified his followers.

Doctor *Wickliffe* was seized with the palsy, in 1382, soon after he left *Oxford;* and the pope then cited him to appear at Rome. *Wickliffe* returned a letter of excuse to this citation; wherein he tells the pope, that "*Christ* "taught him more obeishe to God than to man." His enemies were sensible that his distemper would soon put

a period to his life; and therefore they permitted him to spend the remainder of his days in tranquillity, after he had been many years exposed to continual danger. He was seized with another violent fit of the palsy, on Innocents' day, 1384, as he was in the church of *Lutterworth*, when he fell down, never recovered his speech, and soon expired, in the sixtieth year of his age.

The Christian world has not had a greater man in these last ages than doctor *Wickliffe*. He had well studied all the parts of theological learning; and he was endowed, by the grace of God, with an uncommon gravity and sanctity of manners; from whence arose that vehement desire of restoring the primitive purity of the church in that ignorant and degenerate age. His most inveterate adversaries never presumed to call in question his excellent piety, and unblemished life: But many of them have sufficiently acknowledged his great learning, and uncommon abilities. Indeed, in those writings of his which are yet remaining, doctor *Wickliffe* has shewn an extraordinary knowledge of the scriptures; he discovers a sound judgment, argues closely and sharply, breathes a spirit of true piety, and preserves a modesty becoming his character. Nothing is to be found in him either puerile or trifling, a fault very common to the writers of that age; but every thing he says is grave, judicious, and exact. He wanted nothing to render his learning consummate, but his living in a happier age.

The great *Bradwardin* was, in some sense, *Wickliffe's* spiritual father; for it was the perusal of *Bradwardin's* writings, which, next to the holy Scriptures, opened that proto-reformer's eyes to discover the genuine doctrine of faith and justification. *Bradwardin* taught him the nature of a true and justifying faith, in opposition to merit-mongers and pardoners, purgatory and pilgrimages.

The censure which *Melancton* passed on *Wickliffe* was made great use of by the papists: And some protestant writers have charged him with maintaining several erroneous opinions; but what *Collier* says of him is beneath contempt. *Guthrie* affects to condemn him for being a predestinarian; but he acknowledges, however, that 'his 'notions about the fopperies of religion, images, pilgrim-'ages, legends, and the like, are many of them sensible, 'and most of them allowable: That his opinions with 'regard to the sacraments of the church, as then believed 'in *England*, are free, and such as have been adopted by 'many strict foreign churches: That, however immo-

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'derate he was in his principles, he appears to have been 'a wise and moderate man in his practice; witness his 'dying in peace upon his own living, amidst an universal 'combustion which his tenets had raised: And that he 'must be allowed to have left behind him the dawn of that 'Reformation which was afterwards compleated.'

Mr *Guthrie* observed, that *Wickliffe* 'seems to have 'been a strong predestinarian.' It will presently appear (says a later writer) that he more than seemed to have been 'such; and that *Luther* and *Calvin* themselves were not stronger predestinarians that *Wickliffe*. I shall open the evidence with two propositions, extracted from his own writings:

1. "The prayer of the *reprobate* prevaileth for no man."

2. "All things that happen, do come *absolutely* of *ne-* "*cessity*."

The manner in which this great harbinger of the Reformation defended the latter proposition, plainly shews him to have been (notwithstanding *Guthrie's* insinuation to the contrary) a deep and skilful disputant. "Our "Lord," says he, "affirmed that such or such an event "should come to pass. Its accomplishment, therefore, "was unavoidable. The antecedent is infallible: By "parity of argument, the consequent is so too. For the "consequent is not in the power of a created being, for "as much as *Christ* affirmed so many things" [before they were brought to pass]. "Neither did [pre] affirm any "thing accidentally. Seeing, then, that his affirmation "was, not accidental, but necessary; it follows, that "the event affirmed by him, must be necessary likewise. "This argument," adds *Wickliffe*, "receives additional "strength, by observing, that, in what way soever God "may declare his will, by his after-discoveries of it in "time; still, his determination, concerning the event, took "place before the world was made: *Ergo*, the event will "surely follow. The necessity, therefore, of the ante-"cedent, holds no less irrefragably for the necessity of "the consequent. And who can either promote or hin-"der the inference, namely, That this was decreed of "God before the formation of the world." I will not undertake (says Mr *Toplady*) to justify the whole of this paragraph. I can only meet the excellent man half-way. I agree with him, as to the *necessity of events*: But I cannot, as he evidently did, suppose God himself to be *a necessary agent*, in the utmost sense of the term. That God *acts* in the most exact conformity to his own *decrees*,

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is a truth which scripture asserts again and again: But that God was *absolutely* FREE *in decreeing*, is no less asserted by the inspired writers; who, with one voice, declare the Father's predestination, and subsequent disposal, of all things, to be entirely founded, not on any antecedent necessity, but on the single, sovereign pleasure of his own *will*.

The quotation however, proves, that *Wickliffe* was an absolute necessitarian. And he improves, with great solidity and acuteness, the topic of *prophecy* into (what it most certainly is) a very strong argument for *predestination*. As the *prophecies* of the Old and New Testaments are such an evidence of the divine inspiration of the sacred writers, and such a proof of *Christianity*, as all the infidels in the world will never be able to overthrow; so, on the other hand, those same *prophecies* conclude, to the full, as strongly in favour of peremptory *predestination*. For if events were *undecreed*, they would be *unforeknown*: And, if *unforeknown*, they could not be infallibly *predicted* *. To say, that 'events may be *foreknown* without falling under any 'active or permissive decree;' would be saying neither *nothing* to the purpose, or *worse* than nothing. For, if God can, with certainty, *foreknow* any event whatever, which he did not *previously determine* to accomplish or permit; and that event, barely foreknown, but entirely undecreed, be so *certainly future*, as to furnish positive ground for *unerring prophecy*; it would follow, 1. That God is *dependent*, for his knowledge, on the things known; instead of all things being dependent on *him*: And, 2. That there are some extraneous concatenations of causes, *prior* to the will and

* It is very observable, that *Wickliffe's* argument for predestination, drawn from the *prophecies* of our Lord, so puzzled the then archbishop of *Armagh* (whose name I know not, nor do I think it worth hunting out) that it furnished his grace with employment for *two years* together, to reconcile the *free will* of man with the certain completion of *prophecy*. A task, however, which after all his labour, the Romish prelate found too hard for him. Yet, his lordship, that he might not be forced to acknowledge predestination, and give up *free-will*, thought proper to give up the infallible prescience of *Christ* himself; blasphemously affirming, that 'it was possible for *Christ* to be *mistaken* in his prophecies, and to '*misinform* his church as to future events.' The passage is so uncommon, that I will give it in the writer's own words. "Dicit adversarius [scil. "*Wickliffe*,] quoad istud argumentum, dominum *Armachanum* per duos an- "nos studuisse pro ejus dissolutione, & finaliter nescivit (ut dicit) aliter "evadere, nisi CONCEDENDO, quòd *Christus errâsse potuit, et ecclesiam decepisse*. "Quam conclusionem nullus catholicus (ut dicit *Wickliffe*) concederet. "Et sic videtur ponere dominum *Armachanum* extra numerum catholico- "rum." *Gulielm. Wodford* contrà *Wicklefum*. Vide *Fascic. Rer.* vol. I. p. 259.

and knowledge of God, by which his will is regulated, and on which his knowledge is founded.

What he little more than intimates, in the citation given above; he delivered, it seems, more plainly and peremptorily, elsewhere. Among the sixty-two articles, laid to his charge by *Thomas Netter* (commonly called, *Thomas* of *Walden* who flourished about the year 1409,) and for which that writer refers to the volume and chapter of *Wickliffe*'s works are these three: 1. That "*all things come to pass* "*by* FATAL *necessity.*" 2. That "*God could not make the* "*world otherwise than it is made:*" 3. And, that "*God* "*cannot do any thing, which he doth not do* *."

This is *fatalism* with a witness. And I cite these propositions, not to depreciate Dr *Wickliffe*, whose character I admire and revere, as one of the greatest and best since the apostolic age; nor yet with a view to recommend the propositions themselves: But, simply, to shew, how far this illustrious Reformer ran from the present Arminian system, or rather no-system, of chance and free-will. But, concerning even those of *Wickliffe*'s assertions, which were the most rash and unguarded; candour (not to say, justice) obliges me to observe, with *Fuller*, that were all his works extant, 'we might therein read the *occasion*, *intention*, and '*connection*, of what he spake: Together with the *limi*-'*tations*, *restrictions*, *distinctions*, and *qualifications*, of what 'he maintained. There we might see, what was the over-'plus of his passion, and what the just measure of his 'judgment. Many phrases, heretical in sound, would 'appear orthodox in sense. Yea, some of his [reputedly] 'poisonous passages, dressed with due caution, would prove 'not only *wholesome*, but cordial truths; many of his ex-'pressions wanting, not *granum ponderis*, but *granum salis*; 'no weight of truth, but some grains of discretion †.'

What I shall next add, may be rather styled bold truths, than indiscreet assertions. "He defined the *church* to "consist *only of persons* PREDESTINATED. And affirmed, "*That God loved* David *and* Peter *as dearly, when they* "*grievously*

* *Fuller*'s church hist. b. 4. p. 134.—What this valuable historian premises, concerning *Wickliffe*, before he enters on his account of him, deserves to be quoted. 'I intend,' says Dr *Fuller*, 'neither to deny, dis-'semble, defend, nor excuse, any of his faults. *We have* this treasure, 'saith the apostle, in earthen vessels: And he that shall endeavour to 'prove *a pitcher of clay* to be a *pot of gold*, will take great pains to small 'purpose. Yea, should I be over-officious to retain myself to plead for '*Wickliffe*'s faults, that glorious saint would sooner chide than thank me.'

† Ibid. p. 135.

" *grievously sinned, as he doth now when they are possessed of* " *glory**." This latter position might, possibly, have been more unexceptionably expressed; be it, substantially, ever so true.

Wickliffe was sound in the article of gratuitous pardon and justification by the alone death and righteousness of *Jesus Christ*. " The merit of *Christ*," says he, " is, of " itself, *sufficient* to redeem every man from hell. It is " to be understood of *a sufficiency* OF ITSELF, without *any* " *other* concurring cause. All that follow *Christ*, being " *justified by* HIS *righteousness*, shall be saved, as his off- " spring." Dr *Alix* observes, that *Wickliffe* ' rejects the ' doctrine of the *merit* of works, and falls upon those ' who say, that *God did not* ALL *for them*, but think that ' *their merits help.*' " *Heal us, Lord,* FOR NOUGHT, says " Wickliffe; *that is, for no merit of ours, but for thy mercy.*" It has been already observed, and proved, that he had very high notions of that inevitable *necessity*, by which he supposed every event is governed. Yet, he did not enthusiastically sever the end from the means. Witness his own words: " Though *all* future things do happen *necessarily*, " yet God wills that good things happen to his servants " through the efficacy of *prayer*." Upon the whole, it is no wonder that such a profligate factor for popery and arminianism, as *Peter Heylin*, should (*pro more*) indecently affirm, that " *Wickliffe's* field had more tares, than wheat; " and books more heterodoxies, than sound catholic doc- " trine." See *Toplady's* Historic Proof.

Whatever *Walsingham* and *Knighton* have advanced in prejudice of *Wickliffe*, is sufficiently contradicted by letters testimonial given by the university of *Oxford*, in 1406, in his behalf, and sealed with their common seal; wherein it is said, ' that his conversation, from his youth ' to his death, was so praise-worthy and honest in the ' university, that he never gave any offence, nor was he ' aspersed with any mark of infamy or sinister suspicion: ' But that in answering, reading, preaching, and determin- ' ing, he behaved himself laudably, as a valiant champion ' of the truth, and catholicly vanquished by sentences of ' holy Scripture all such as by their wilful beggary blas- ' phemed the religion of Christ. That this doctor was ' not convicted of heretical pravity, or by our prelates ' delivered to be burnt after his burial. For God forbid ' that our prelates should have condemned a man of so ' great probity for an heretic, who had not his equal in ' all

* Ibid. p. 134.

'all the university in his writings of logic, philosophy, di-
'vinity, morality, and the speculative sciences'

As Doctor Wickliffe was very diligent and frequent in preaching, and reading his divinity lectures; so he wrote and published a great many tracts, of which Bishop Bale has given a particular account. They are two hundred and fifty-five in all, of which thirty-two are preserved in *Trinity College*, and C. C. C. *Cambridge*; five in *Trinity College*, *Dublin*, four in the *Bodleian* Library, two in the *Cotton* Library, and three in the King's Library. Most of them are theological; but some are philosophical; forty-eight are in English, and the others are in Latin. Besides these, there is a volume of English tracts said to be wrote by Wickliffe; some of which are yet extant. He is said to have wrote two hundred volumes, besides his translation of the Bible into English, a fair copy of which is in *Queen's College*, *Oxford*, and two more in the university library. 'It was done no doubt in the most expressive language 'of those days, though sounding uncouth to our ears; the '*knave* of Jesus Christ, for *servant*; and Philip baptized 'the *gelding*, for *eunuch*: So much our tongue is improved 'in our age *.'

His opinions were misrepresented by his adversaries; but he was protected by many powerful friends, and his doctrine was embraced by the greatest part of the kingdom. King Edward III. the princess dowager of Wales, the duke of Lancaster, the queen of Richard II. the earl-marshal, Geoffry Chaucer the father of English poetry, and lord Cobham, who dispersed Wickliffe's works all over Europe, were his patrons and friends. From such a noble

 fountain

* *Romans* ix 11—21. "Whanne thei weren not ghit borun, neithir "hadden doon ony thing of good, eithir of yvel; that the purpos of God "schulde dwell bi electioun, not of workis, but of God clepying; it was "seid to him, that the more schulde serve the lasse: as it is writun, I louyde "Jacob, but I hatide Esau. What therefore schulen we seie? wher wic-"kidnesse be anentis God? God forbede. For he seith to Moises, I schal "have mercy on whom I haqe mercy, and I schal ghyve merci on whom I "have mercy. Therefore, it is not neither of man willynge, neither ren-"nynge; but of God hauynge mercy. And the scripture seith to *Farao*, "For to this thing have I styrrid thee, that I schewe in thee my vertu, and "that my name be teeld in al erthe. Therefore, of whom God wole, he 'hath mercy; And whom he wole, he endurith. Thanne seist thou to "me. What is sought ghit, for who withstondith his will? Oo man, what "art thou that answerist to God! Wher a maad thing seith to him that "made it, What hast thou maad me so? Wher a pottere of cley hath not "power to make, of the same gobet, oo vessel into onour, anothir into "dispyt!" *Lewis*'s edition of *Wickliffe*'s Transl. N. Test.—*Lond.* 1731. Folio.

fountain the stream ran strong, and was soon increased; for many eminent divines, noblemen, and other persons of distinction, embraced the new doctrine; which constantly gathered ground, notwithstanding it was violently opposed by the priests, who raised bloody persecutions against the Wickliffites in the reigns of Richard II. Henry IV. and Henry V.

The number of those who believed in the doctrine of Wickliffe multiplied like suckers growing out of the root of a tree After a time, the secular and ecclesiastical powers were combined to suppress its growth; and archbishop Arundel, in convocation, condemned eighteen of Wickliffe's conclusions, twelve years after his death. Acts of parliament were made against the Wickliffites, and many of them were burnt for heretics. The books of Wickliffe were prohibited to be read in the universities: And, in 1416, archbishop Chichely set up a kind of inquisition in every parish to discover and punish the Wickliffites; by which cruel and unchristian methods the great and good John lord Cobham was burnt for heresy; and he was the first nobleman whose blood was shed in England, on account of religion, by popish barbarity. Fox asserts, in his acts and monuments, that the two famous poets of that time, Gower and Chaucer, were Wickliffites, and that they covered their opinion very ingeniously, and by way of parable, in their writings; adding likewise, that, by the exposition of those writings by such as had the key, many were brought into Wickliffe's persuasion. Chaucer died in the year 1400, and Gower some time before.

The infallibility of the pope was opposed to the doctrine of Wickliffe; and the council of Constance, on the fifth of May, 1415, condemned forty-five articles, maintained by Wickliffe, as heretical, false, and erroneous. His bones were ordered to be dug up, and cast on a dunghill: But this part of the sentence was not executed till 1428, when orders were sent by the pope to the bishop of Lincoln to have it strictly performed. The remains of this excellent man were accordingly dug out of the grave, where they had lain undisturbed four and forty years. His bones were burnt, and the ashes cast into an adjoining brook called the *Swift*, which springs near Knaptoft in Leicestershire. Such was the resentment of the Romish Church on the memory of him, who was called the first *English Lollard* *.

Cambden

* The sect of the *Lollards*, spread throughout Germany, had for their leader WALTER LOLLARD, who began to disperse his doctrines about the year

Cambden says, this was done forty-one years after his death by warrant of the council of Sienna: But this is a mistake, for it was done by the same council of Constance, which condemned John Huss, and Jerom of Prague, to be burnt for favouring the doctrine of Wickliffe, and maintaining others which were also condemned as heretical. This council sat to give sanction to injustice, and to establish iniquity by law; though it inflicted an irretrievable blow upon the papal authority.

It is said, that the gown which doctor Wickliffe wore now covers the communion-table in the church of Lutterworth: and, as this eminent man may justly be considered as the author of the reformation, not only in England, but throughout all Europe; sure some decent respect should have been paid to his worth, and a public monument erected to his memory.

The Wickliffites were oppressed, but could not be extinguished: Persecution served only to establish that faith which became general at the reformation, about a hundred years after these restraints were moderated. The whole nation then unanimously embraced the doctrine which Wickliffe began; and popery was abolished in England, that the purity of religion might increase the blessings of liberty.

His works (says Mr Gilpin) are amazingly voluminous; yet he seems not to have engaged in any very large work: His pieces in general may be properly called tracts. Of these many were written in Latin, and many in English: Some on school-questions; others on subjects of more general knowledge; but the greatest part on divinity. It may be some amusement to the reader to see what subjects he hath chosen. I shall give a list therefore of the more remarkable of them, from the various collections which have been made. *Trialogorum, lib.* 4.——*De religione perfectorum.*——*De ecclesiâ & membris.*——*De diabolo & membris.*——*De Christo & Antichristo.*——*De Antichristo & membris.*——*Sermones in epistolas.*——*De veritate scripturæ.*——*De statu innocentiæ.*——*De stipendiis ministrorum.*——*De*

year 1515. He despised the sacraments of the church, and derided her ceremonies and her constitutions; observed not the fasts of the church, nor its abstinencies; acknowledged not the intercession of the saints, and believed that the damned in hell, and even the evil angels, should one day be saved. Trithemius, who recites their opinion, says, that Bohemia and Austria were infected with them; that there were above 24,000 persons in Germany which held those errors, and that the greater part defended them with obstinacy, even to death.—*Du Pin.*

De episcoporum erroribus.——De curatorum erroribus.——De perfectione evangelicâ.——De officio pastorali.——De simoniâ sacerdotum.——Super pœnitentiis injungendis.——De seductione simplicium.——Dæmonum astus in subvertendâ religione.——De pontificum Romanorum schismate.——De ultimâ ætate ecclesiæ.——Of temptation.——The chartre of hevene.——Of ghostly battel.——Of ghostly and fleshly love.——The confession of St Brandoun.——Active life, and contemplative.——Virtuous patience.——Of pride.——Observationes piæ in Christi præcepta.——De impedimentis orationis.——De cardinalibus virtutibus.——De actibus animæ.——Expositio orationis dominicæ.——De 7 sacramentis.——De naturâ fidei.——De diversis gradibus charitatis.——De defectione à Christo.——De veritate & mendacio.——De sacerdotio Levitico.——De sacerdotio Christi.——De dotatione Cæsareâ.——De versutiis pseudocleri.——De immortalitate animæ.——De paupertate Christi.——De physicâ naturali.——De essentiâ accidentium.——De necessitate Inturorum.——De temporis quidditate.——De temporis ampliatione.——De operibus corporalibus.——De operibus spiritualibus.——De fide & perfidiâ.——De sermone Domini in montem.——Abstractiones logicales.——A short rule of life.—The great sentence of the curse expounded.——Of good priests.——De contrarietate duorum dominorum.——Wickliffe's wicket.——De ministrorum conjugio.——De religiosis privatis.——Conciones de morte.——De vitâ sacerdotum.——De ablatis restituendis.——De arte sophisticâ.——De fonte errorum.——De incarnatione verbi.——Super impositis articulis.——De humanitate Christi.——Contra concilium terræ-motus.——De solutione Satanæ.——De spiritu quolibet.——De Christianorum baptismo.——De clavium potestate.——De blasphemiâ.——De paupertate Christi.——De raritate & densitate.——De materiâ & formâ.——De animâ.——Octo beatitudines.——De trinitate.——Commentarii in psalterium.——De abominatione desolationis.——De civili dominio.——De ecclesiæ dominio.——De divino dominio.——De origine sectarum.——De perfidiâ sectarum.——Speculum de antichristo.——De virtute orandi.——De remissione fraternâ.——De censuris ecclesiæ.——De charitate fraternâ.——De purgatorio piorum.——De Pharisæo & Publicano.

His great work, and what offended the church of Rome most highly, was his *Translation of the Scriptures into English*, which effectually exposed the sophistries and superstitions of the time, and led the people from following the traditions of men to the pure will and word of the blessed GOD.

JOHN


JOHN HUSS D.D.
Tho.s Trotter, sculp.t

JOHN HUSS, D. D.

THE BOHEMIAN REFORMER.

JOHN HUSS, or Hus, whose name in the Bohemian language signifies *Goose*, was born at Hussenitz, a village in Bohemia. His parents were not blest with affluence; but they gave him a liberal education, which he improved by his strong mental abilities, and close application to his studies, in the university of Prague, where he commenced batchelor of arts, in 1393, master of arts in 1395, and batchelor of divinity in 1408. Huss was a man (says Wharton in his appendix to Cave's Historia Literaria) even by the confession of his enemies, illustrious and remarkable both for doctrine and piety. It was in this year that Sbynko, or Subinsko Lepus, the archbishop of that city, issued two orders to suppress the doctrine of the Wickliffites, which had been introduced into that kingdom, and was countenanced by the greatest part of the masters and scholars of the university of Prague, who, by a providence we shall mention presently, had got the books of Wickliffe into their hands.

Queen Anne, the wife of king Richard II. of England, was daughter to the emperor Charles IV. and sister to Wenceslaus king of Bohemia, and Sigismund emperor of Germany. She was a princess of great piety, virtue, and knowledge; nor could she endure the implicit and unreasonable service and devotion of the Romish church. Her death happened in 1394, and her funeral was attended by all the nobility of England. She had patronized Wickliffe, who speaks of her in his book "Of the three-fold bond of Love," in these words; "It is possible that the noble queen of Eng-"land, the sister of Cæsar, may have the gospel written "in three languages, Bohemian, German, and Latin: "But to hereticate her, on this account, would be Lu-"ciferian folly." After her death, several of Wickliffe's books were carried by her attendants into Bohemia, and were the means of promoting the reformation there.

The books of Wickliffe were carried into Bohemia by Peter Payne, an Englishman, one of his disciples: But the archbishop of Prague ordered the members of that university

university to bring him the books of Wickliffe, that those in which any errors were found might be burnt. The tracts of Wickliffe had been so carefully preserved, that we are assured a certain bishop wrote out of England, that he had got two very large volumes of them, which seemed as large as St Austin's works. Archbishop Sbynko burnt two hundred volumes of them, very finely written, and adorned with costly covers and gold bosses; for which reason, they are supposed to belong to the nobility and gentry of Bohemia.

Peter Payne was principal of Edmund-hall, in the university of Oxford, where he was distinguished for his excellent parts, and his opposition to the friars. He was a good disputant, and confuted Walden, the Carmelite, about the beggary of Christ, pilgrimages, the eucharist, images, and relicts; for which he was obliged to quit the university, and fly into Bohemia, where he contracted an acquaintance with Procopius, the Bohemian General, and published some books written by Wickliffe, which were greatly esteemed by Huss, Jerom, and the greatest part of the university of Prague. The students belonging to this learned seminary were offended with their archbishop for suppressing the books of Wickliffe, and ordering the Bohemian clergy to teach the people, that, after the pronunciation of the words of the holy sacrament, there remained nothing but the body of Jesus Christ under the species of bread, and the body of Jesus Christ in the cup.

There was also, according to Fox, another cause of the dispersion of Wickliffe's books in Bohemia. A young man, of an opulent and noble family of that country, came over to Oxford, about the year 1389, for the prosecution of his studies, and, upon his return, carried with him several tracts of Wickliffe, amongst which were his books, *De realibus universalibus; De civili jure & divino; De ecclesiâ; De quæstionibus variis contra clerum*, &c. With this gentleman Huss was well acquainted, and obtained from him the loan of these books, which were the means of bringing light into his mind, and so much impressed him with the conviction of their truth, that he embraced and maintained the doctrines they contained ever afterwards. He used to call Wickliffe an angel sent from heaven to enlighten mankind; and would mention among his friends his meeting with that great author's writings, as the most happy circumstance of his life; adding, that it would be his joy in heaven to live for ever with that excellent man. Huss had distinguished himself in the university, where he taught grammar and philosophy. He had applied himself

self to the study of the holy scriptures, and the Latin fathers: He was become an excellent preacher, and was made chaplain in the church of the Holy Innocents, called Bethlehem, at Prague. He was held in great estimation for his exemplary life and conversation as a divine, and for having been one of the principal persons who had obtained a great favour to the university. It should be observed, that this university was founded by the emperor Charles IV. who composed it of persons from the four different states of Bohemia, Bavaria, Saxony, and Poland. The three latter were almost all Germans, and had three voices against one, which made them masters of the professor's chair, governors of the university affairs, and disposers of the best benefices in the city: While the poor Bohemians, whose prosperity depended entirely on those advantages, found themselves utterly excluded. This was the state of that seminary, when doctor Huss, assisted by others, represented the cause of the complaining Bohemians to their king Wenceslaus V. Huss was successful; he obtained a revocation of the privileges granted to those foreigners, and the Bohemians were restored to the principal places in the university; which so greatly offended the foreigners, that they retired to Misnia, and carried with them upwards of two thousand scholars. This increased the reputation of doctor Huss, and made him of great consideration in the university, when the archbishop published two orders against Wickliffitism.

Huss arduously embraced the doctrine of Wickliffe, and easily persuaded many members of the university *, that the first of these orders, made by the archbishop, was an infringement of the privileges and liberties of the university, whose members had a right to read all sorts of books, without any molestation. He also observed, that the second order contained a most intolerable error, in seeming to affirm that there was nothing but the body and blood of Christ under the species of bread, and in the cup. Upon this foundation, they appealed from those orders to Gregory XII. at Rimini, who was then acknowledged pope in Germany, in opposition to John XXIII. at Rome, and Benedict XIII. at Avignon. Their appeal was received, and the pope cited the archbishop to Rome. But that prelate informed the pope, that the doctrine of Wickliffe began to take root in Bohemia: upon which the archbishop obtained

* For Dr Huss's public defence of Wickliffe's opinions before the university of Prague, in the year 1412, see Fox's Acts, &c. vol. I. *temp. Rich.* .

obtained a bull, whereby the pope gave him commission to prevent the publishing of those errors in his province.

This archbishop, we are told, was a most illiterate man. He was so illiterate, that he was called, in ridicule, *Alphabetarius*, the A B C doctor. Indeed, the clergy of those times were remarkably ignorant, insomuch that many of the prelates could not write, but directed their chaplains to subscribe their very names for them to ecclesiastical deeds and papers.

The archbishop, by virtue of this bull, definitely condemned the writings of Wickliffe, proceeded against four doctors, who had not delivered up the copies of that divine; and prohibited them, notwithstanding their privileges, to preach in any congregation. Doctor Huss, with some other members of the university, and the patron of the chapel of Bethlehem, made their protestations against these proceedings; and, on the twenty-fifth of June, A. D. 1410, entered a new appeal from the sentences of the archbishop. This affair was carried before pope John XXIII. who granted a commission to cardinal Colonna to cite John Huss to appear personally at the court of Rome, to answer the accusations laid against him of preaching both errors and heresies. Doctor Huss desired to be excused a personal appearance, and was so greatly favoured in Bohemia, that king Wenceslaus, the queen, the nobility, and the university, desired the pope to dispense with such an appearance; as also, that he would not suffer the kingdom of Bohemia to lie under the defamation of being accused of heresy, but permit them to preach the gospel with freedom in their places of worship; and that he would send legates to Prague to correct any pretended abuses, the expence of which should be defrayed by the Bohemians.

Three proctors appeared for doctor Huss, before cardinal Colonna, who was elected pope, in 1417, and assumed the name of Martin V. The proctors alledged excuses for the absence of Huss, and declared they were ready to answer in his behalf: But the cardinal declared Huss contumacious, and excommunicated him accordingly.

The proctors appealed to the pope, who appointed the cardinals of Aquileia, Brancas, Venice, and Zabarella, to draw up the process of this whole affair. These commissioners not only confirmed the judgment given by cardinal Colonna, but carried the matter much farther; for they extended the excommunication, which had passed against Huss, to all his disciples, and also to his friends. He was declared a promoter of heresy, and an interdict

was

was pronounced against him. From these proceedings he appealed to a future council; and, notwithstanding the decision of the four commissioners, and his being expelled from the church of *Bethlehem*, he retired to *Hussenitz*, the place of his nativity, where he boldly continued to promulgate his doctrine, both from the pulpit, and with the pen.

The letters which he wrote about this time, are very numerous; and he compiled a treatise wherein he maintained that the reading of the books of heretics cannot be absolutely forbidden. He justified *Wickliffe*'s book on the Trinity, and defended the character of that Reformer against a charge brought by one *Stokes*, an *Englishman*, and others, who accused him of disobedience.

It is truth, and not opinion, which can travel through the world without a passport. The glorious cause of truth had been freely espoused by *Huss*, who undauntedly declaimed against the clergy, the cardinals, and even against the pope himself. He wrote a discourse to prove, that the faults and vices of churchmen ought to be reproved from the pulpit. Regarding the blood of *Jesus Christ*, which many pretended to have as a relic, he observed, that *Christ*, being glorified, took up with him all his own blood, and that there is no remain of it on earth; as also that the greatest part of the miracles, which are reported about the apparition of his blood, are the frauds and impostures of avaricious and designing men. He maintained, that *Jesus Christ* might be called bread: But he departed not from the doctrine of the church about the transubstantiation of the bread and wine into the body and blood of *Jesus Christ*. But it is of small importance with the church of *Rome*, in what particular points the judgments of men coincide with its doctrines, if the whole of the corrupt leaven be not implicitly swallowed. And perhaps no points are held more sacred by that heretical communion, than those which yield the most abundant profit to the holy see, falsely so called. To attack the virtue of papal indulgences, is striking at the most fundamental pillar of the popedom; and to deny the stock of merit, laid up in the church for public sale, is a damnable denial of the privileges of the clergy, to whom both heaven and earth belong, under the disposal of their pontiff, *Christ's* pretended vicar here below. These monstrous abuses, some very few of that church have attempted, as far as they dared, to censure.—And with respect to *Rome* itself, a journey thither would probably effect

effect more to prevent a perversion from protestantism to popery, than a thousand wordy arguments. The wickedness and vices of the clergy, in that city, speak aloud for their principles. The review of these caused Hildebert, archbishop of *Tours*, so long ago as the twelfth century, to characterize that famous mart of souls in the following words:

Urbs fœlix, si vel dominis urbs illa careret,
Vel dominis esset turpe carere fide.

That is,

'Happy city, if it had no masters; or if it were scandalous for those masters to be unfaithful.' Luther used to say, that 'for 1000 florins he would not but have 'been at Rome,' where he saw so thoroughly into that sink of sin and spiritual abomination, that he abhorred the place and its profession all his life afterwards. He had been sent thither, in the early part of his life, in behalf of his convent. But to proceed:

About the time when Huss wrote the above discourses, Peter of Dresden was obliged to fly from Saxony, and seek a refuge at Prague, where he encouraged Jacobelle of Misnia, a priest of the chapel of St Michael, to preach up the establishment of the communion under the species of wine. This opinion was embraced by doctor Huss and his followers, who began to preach, that the use of the cup was necessary to the laity, and that the sacrament should be administered under both kinds. Archbishop Sbynko was incensed at these proceedings, and applied to king Wenceslaus for assistance, which that monarch refused. The prelate then had recourse to Sigismund, king of Hungary, who promised to come into Bohemia, and settle the affairs of the church in that kingdom: But Sbynko died in Hungary, before Sigismund began his journey into Bohemia. Albicus succeeded to the archiepiscopal see of Prague, who permitted the Hussites to continue their sermons; and their doctrine became almost general.

Doctor Huss left this retirement, and returned to Prague, in 1412, at the time that pope John XXIII. published the bulls against Laodislaus, king of Naples, whereby he ordered a croisade against him, and granted indulgencies to all those who undertook this war. These bulls were confuted by doctor Huss, who declaimed against croisades and indulgences. The populace became animated by his orations, and declared that pope John was antichrist. The magistrates caused some of them to be apprehended, and the

the rest took up arms to set them at liberty; but they were pacified by the magistrates, who gave them solemn assurances that no injury should be done to the prisoners: however, they were privately beheaded in the judgment hall. The blood which ran out from the place of execution discovered the massacre of these men to the common people, who took arms again, forcibly carried off the bodies of those that were executed, honourably interred them in the church of *Bethlehem*, and reverenced them as martyrs. 'Huss (says Mr Gilpin) discovered, on this occasion, a true Christian spirit. The late riot had given him great concern; and he had now so much weight with the people, as to restrain them from attempting any farther violence—whereas, at the sound of a bell, he could have been surrounded with thousands, who might have laughed at the police of the city.'

The magistrates of Prague found it necessary to publish their reasons for these rigorous proceedings against the Hussites. They assembled many doctors of divinity in their city, who drew up a censure of forty-five of Wickliffe's propositions; and in their preface to it, they asserted the authority of the pope, the cardinals, and the church of Rome; after which, they accused the Hussites of sedition. Doctor Huss wrote many books, and other discourses, against the censure of these doctors, whom he called Prætorians. He maintained some of the articles which they condemned; particularly those concerning the liberty of preaching, the power of secular princes over the revenues of ecclesiastics, the voluntary payment of tythes, and the forfeiture that spiritual and temporal lords make of their power, when they live in mortal sin.

Doctor Huss wrote a long treatise about the church, to confute the preface of that censure, in which he maintains, that the church consists of those only who are predestinate; that the head and foundation of it is Jesus Christ; that the pope and cardinals are only members of it, and the other bishops are successors to the apostles as well as they; that no one is obliged to obey them, if their commands are not agreeable to the law of God; and that an excommunication, which is groundless, hath no effect. He particularly answered the writings of Stephen Paletz, Stanislaus Zuoima, and eight other doctors. He also caused a writing to be fixed upon the church of Bethlehem, charging the clergy with these six errors:

First, Of believing that the priest, by saying mass, becomes the creator of his Creator. Second, Of saying that we

we ought to believe in the virgin, in a pope, and in the saints. Third, That the priests can remit the pain and guilt of sin. Fourth, That every one must obey his superiors, whether their commands be just or unjust. Fifth, That every excommunication, just or unjust, binds the excommunicate. The sixth relates to simony.

He also wrote three large volumes against the clergy; the first entitled, "The Anatomy of the Members of Antichrist." The second, "Of the Kingdom of the "People, and the Life and Manners of Antichrist." The third, "Of the Abomination of Priests, and carnal "Monks, in the Church of Jesus Christ." Besides these, he wrote several other tracts on Traditions, the Unity of the Church, Evangelical Perfection, the Mystery of Iniquity, and the Discovery of Antichrist. With what surprising spirit, strength of argument, and powerful judgment, he wrote on these subjects, may be well conceived by the amazing influence that his doctrines obtained.

Wickliffe had advanced, 'That if a bishop or priest 'should give holy orders, or consecrate the sacrament of 'the altar, or minister baptism, whiles he is in mortal 'syn; it were nothing avaylable." This was vindicated by Doctor Huss, who observes, that the article consists of three parts: First, That a civil or temporal lord is no lord, while he is in mortal sin: Secondly, That a prelate is no prelate, while he is in mortal sin: Thirdly, That a bishop is no bishop, while he is in mortal sin. Both these divines taught subjection and obedience to princes: But Wickliffe asserted, that 'If temporal lords do wrongs and extor-'tions to the people, they ben traytors to God and his 'people, and tyrants of antichrist:' And Huss corroborated this opinion, by shewing that it was held by St Austin.

Though John Huss, and Jerom of Prague, so far agreed with Wickliffe, that they opposed the tyranny and corruptions of the pope and his clergy: Yet they were not of the same opinion with relation to the eucharist, for neither of them ever opposed the real presence, and transubstantiation, as Wickliffe had done.

The great and noble Sir John Oldcastle, Lord Cobham, had spoken boldly in several parliaments against the corruptions of the Christian faith and worship, and had frequently represented to the kings Richard II. Henry IV. and Henry V. the insufferable abuses committed by the clergy. This nobleman, at the desire of doctor Huss, caused all the works of Wickliffe to be wrote out, and dispersed

persed in Bohemia, France, Spain, Portugal, and other parts of Europe. But that good man, who had wrote several discourses concerning a reformation of discipline and manners in the church, was abandoned by Henry V. and fell a sacrifice to the fury of the priests. He was condemned, in 1413, by the archbishop of Canterbury as a heretic, and sent to the tower by the king, who had an affection for him. He escaped from his confinement, and avoided the execution of his sentence till 1418, when he was taken, and burnt hanging. His behaviour, at the time of his death, was great and intrepid. He exhorted the people to follow the instructions, which God had given them in the Scriptures; and admonished them to disclaim those false teachers, whose lives and conversations were so contrary to Christ, and repugnant to his religion. England was filled with scenes of persecution, which extended to Germany and Bohemia, where doctor Huss, and Jerom of Prague, were marked out to share the fate of Sir John Oldcastle.

The council of Constance was assembled on the sixteenth of November 1414, to determine the dispute between three persons who contended for the papacy. There were, as attendants and members of this council (says Mr Fox,) 'archbishops and bishops, 346; abbots and doctors, 564, 'princes, dukes, earls, knights, and squires, 16,000; 'common women, 450; barbers, 600; musicians, cooks, 'and jesters, 320.' Bartholomew Cossa took the name of John XXIII: Angeli de Coraro called himself Gregory XII. And Pedro de Luna was stiled Benedict XIII. But it was John, who summoned doctor Huss to appear at Constance. The emperor Sigismund, brother and successor to Wenceslaus, encouraged Huss to obey the summons, that he might clear the Bohemian nation from the imputation of heresy: And, as an inducement to his compliance, he sent him a passport, with assurance of safe conduct, whereby he gave him permission to come freely to the council, and return from it again.

Doctor Huss caused some placards to be fixed upon the gates of the churches in Prague, wherein he declared, that he went to the council to answer all the accusations that were made against him; and that he was ready to appear before the archbishop, to hear his adversaries, and justify his innocence. He demanded of the bishop of Nazareth, the inquisitor, whether he had any thing to propose against him; from whom he received a favourable testimony: But when he presented himself at the court of the

the archbishop, who had called an assembly against him, he was denied admission. When he departed from Prague to repair to Constance, he was accompanied by Wences, lord of Dunbar, and John, lord of Chlum. Huss made public declarations, in all the cities through which he passed, that he was going to vindicate himself at Constance, and invited all his adversaries to be present. He arrived at Constance on the third of November; and soon after Stephen Paletz came there as his adversary, who was joined by Michael of Causis. They declared themselves his accusers, and drew up a memorial against him, which they presented to the pope, and prelates of the council.

Doctor Huss, twenty-six days after his arrival, was ordered to appear before the pope and cardinals. It has been observed, that his appearing there was by the emperor's own request: But, notwithstanding the safe conduct, he was no sooner come within the pope's jurisdiction, than he was arrested, and committed prisoner to a chamber in the palace. This violation of common law and justice was taken notice of by a gentleman, who urged the imperial safe conduct: But the pope observed, that he never granted any safe conduct, nor was he bound by that of the emperor. This infamous synod acted up to the spirit of their own favourite maxim, THAT NO FAITH IS TO BE KEPT WITH HERETICS. The emperor arrived at Constance on the twenty-third of December, and pope John fled from thence; as the council had resolved, that he and his two rivals, Gregory and Benedict, should divest themselves of all authority, that their competition might be fairly decided, schism extirpated, and an universal Reformation of faith and manners enacted, with respect both to the head and members of the church. The fourth session was held on the twenty-sixth of March 1415, in which the powers of the council, independent of the pope, were re-acknowledged and ratified. The eighth session was held May the fifth, when the doctrines of Wickliffe were condemned as heretical in forty-five articles: And in the twelfth session, held the twenty-ninth of May, pope John XXIII. was deposed.

The fathers of the council were ranged under five nations; Italy, France, Germany, England, and Spain. All matters, proposed in the council, were to be determined by the plurality of voices in each nation: But the cardinals, and their college, had their votes: And it was agreed, that after the business had passed through the different committees, the full state of the whole should be made to the

the council, and that their decree should be formed upon the plurality of the votes of the nations. Robert Halam, bishop of Salisbury, the bishop of Litchfield, and the abbot of St Mary's, in York, were members of this council for the English nation.

The spirit with which the council of Constance acted against the popes; their declaring themselves as a council, and all councils to be above popes; the rigour with which they executed their decrees, and the awful form of their proceedings, are commendable. But to what did it all tend? To no generous principle of love to God, or benevolence to man. It only translated the seat of wicked power. The people were as much slaves to ignorance; they were as much tied down to superstition; and they had as little the exercise of any one rational sentiment, as ever. This council acted the part of inquisitors: They ordered the remains of doctor Wickliffe to be dug up and burnt, 'with this charitable caution, if they might be 'discerned from the bodies of other faithful people. His 'ashes (says Fuller) were cast into the Swift; that brook 'conveyed them into the Avon; Avon into the Severn; 'Severn into the narrow seas; they into the main ocean. 'Thus the ashes of Wickliffe are the emblems of his doc-'trine, which is now dispersed all over the world.'

Doctor Huss was allowed to be a man of consequence, and reputation, in Bohemia: He was a great and good man, and a noble martyr to Christianity. His accusers presented a petition to the pope, containing the heads of the accusation which they had to propose against him, and requested that commissioners might be named to draw up his process. The patriarch of Constantinople, and two bishops, were the persons commissioned, who heard many witnesses against doctor Huss, and ordered his books to be examined. While this process was drawing up, pope John escaped from the emperor Sigismund, who delivered Huss into the hands of the bishop of Constance, by whose order he was confined in a castle beyond the Rhine, near to Constance.

The council appointed the cardinals of Cambray, and St Mark; the bishop of Dol, and the abbot of the Cistercians, to finish the process against doctor Huss, and renew the condemnations against the doctrine of Wickliffe. Soon after, they joined to these commissioners a bishop for each nation, and granted a commission to cite Jerom of Prague, the companion and friend of doctor Huss, who was one of the principal preachers of this new doctrine. The nobi-

lity

lity of Bohemia and Poland presented a petition to the emperor and council, wherein they desired that doctor Huss might be set at liberty, as he had been seized and imprisoned contrary to the safe conduct of his imperial majesty. The Bohemians presented a writing to the council, wherein they maintained, that the propositions, which the enemies of Huss had drawn out of his books, were mutilated, and falsified, on purpose to put him to death: They prayed the council to set him at liberty, that he might be heard for himself, and offered to give bond for his appearance. The patriarch of Antioch answered, in the name of the council, that they could not set Huss at liberty; but would send for him, and give him a favourable hearing. The lords of Bohemia then addressed the emperor, who had sent him there to defend that kingdom from a charge of heresy, and was now one of his persecutors.

The fourteenth session was held on the fifth of June, when it was resolved, that, before they sent for doctor Huss, the articles drawn out of his books should be examined, and condemned, even without hearing his vindication. This was so strongly opposed by the nobles of Bohemia, that the emperor told the council, they must hear Huss, before they condemned him; upon which they sent for him, ordered him to acknowledge his books, and read the first articles of his accusation. These were about thirty *, drawn from the writings of Wickliffe, and some of them he freely admitted; such as, 'that there was one, only, 'universal church, which is a collection of all the elect. 'That the apostle Paul was never a member of the devil, 'which he proved from the testimony of St Augustin. 'That a predestinate person always continues a member 'of the church; because although he may sometimes fall 'from that grace which is adventitious to him, yet never 'from the grace of predestination. That no member of 'the true church apostatizes from it, because the grace 'of God, which establishes him, never fails. That St 'Peter never was, nor is, the head of the catholic church, 'because this is the peculiar prerogative of Christ. That 'the condemnation of the forty-five articles of Wickliffe 'was

* The reader, who is desirous more particularly to examine the acts and proceedings against this good man, together with some of his letters to friends, may find them at large in the first volume of Fox's *Acts and Monuments*. And for a more minute account, he may peruse an excellent history of Huss, Jerom, Ziska, &c. written in a very masterly manner by the Rev. Mr Gilpin.

'was irrational and unjust. That there was no colour of 'reason, that there should be a spiritual head always visibly 'conversant in the church, and governing it.'

Mr *Toplady*, in his very able performance, entitled, *Historic Proof of the Doctrinal Calvinism of the church of England*, states the following articles, for which, among others, this excellent man was put to death. "*There is* "*but one holy, universal, or catholic church, which is the* "*universal company of* ALL *the* PREDESTINATE. I do con- "fess," said *Huss*, "that this proposition is mine; and "[it] is confirmed by St *Augustin* upon St *John*."

"*St* Paul *was* NEVER *any member of the devil, albeit that* "*he committed and did certain acts like unto the acts of the* "*malignant church*" [i. e. St *Paul* prior to his conversion; acted like a *reprobate*, though he was, secretly, and in reality, one of God's *elect*.] "*And likewise St* Peter, *who fell* "*into an horrible sin of perjury, and denial of his Master; it* "*was by the* PERMISSION *of God, that he might the more firm-* "*ly and steadfastly rise again and be confirmed.*" To this charge, *Huss* replied, "I answer, according to St *Austin*, "that it is expedient that the elect and predestinate should "sin and offend *."

"*No part or member of the church doth depart, or fall* "*away, at any time, from the body: Forsomuch as the cha-* "*rity of* PREDESTINATION, *which is the bond and chain of* "*the same, doth never fall.*" *Huss* answers; "This pro- "position is thus placed in my book: *As the reprobate of* "*the church procede out of the same, and yet are not as parts* "*or members of the same: forsomuch as no part or member of* "*the same doth* FINALLY *fall away: Because that the charity* "*of* PREDESTINATION, *which is the bond and chain of the* "*same, doth never fall away.* This is proved by 1 *Cor.* "xiii. and *Rom.* viii. *All things turn to good, to them that* "*love God;* Also, *I am certain that neither death nor life* "*can separate us from the charity and love of God*, as it is "more at large in the book."

Another article objected against him, was, his being of opinion that "*The* PREDESTINATE, *although he be not* "*in the state of grace according to the present justice, yet is* "ALWAYS *a member of the universal church.*" He answers: "Thus it is in the book about the beginning of

* Let not the reader imagine (fays Mr *Toplady*) that I *approve* of the unguarded manner, in which Mr *Huss* here expreſſes himſelf. I only give his anſwer, faithfully, as I find it. His meaning I doubt not, was this: That, by the incomprehenſible alchymy of God's infinite wisdom, even moral evil itself ſhall be finally over-ruled to good."

" the fifth chapter, where it is declared, that *There be* " *divers manners or sorts of being in the church: For there* " *are* some in the church, according to the mis-shapen " faith; and other some *according to* PREDESTINATION: " As Christians predestinate, now in sin, SHALL RETURN " AGAIN *unto grace.*" The good man added: " *Predes-* " *tination* doth make a man a member of the universal " church; the which [i. e. *Predestination*] is a *preparation* " *of* GRACE *for the present, and of* GLORY *to come:* And " not any degree of" [outward] " dignity, neither elec- " tion of man" [or, one man's designation of another to some office or station], " neither any sensible sign," [i. e. *Predestination* does not barely extend to the outward signs, or means of grace: But includes something more and higher:] For the traitor *Judas Iscariot*, notwithstand- " ing *Christ's* election" [or appointment of him to the apostleship;] " and the *temporal* graces which were given " him for his office of apostleship, and that he was *reputed* " and *counted of men* a true apostle of *Jesus Christ;* yet " was he no true disciple, but a *Wolf* covered in a sheep's " skin, as St *Augustin* saith."

" *A* REPROBATE *man is never a member of the holy church.* " —I answer, It IS in my book, with sufficient long pro- " bation out of the xxvith *Psalm*, and out of the vth " chapter to the *Ephesians:* And also by St *Bernard's* " saying, *The church of* Jesus Christ *is* MORE *plainly and* " *evidently* HIS BODY, *than the body which he delivered for* " *us to death.* I have also written, in the fifth chapter of " my book, that the *holy church*," [i. e. the *outward, visible* church of professing Christians, here on earth] " *is the* " *barn of the Lord, in which are both good and evil, pre-* " *destinate and reprobate: The good being as the good corn,* " *or grain; and the evil, as the chaff.* And thereunto is " added the exposition of St *Austin.*"

" Judas *was* NEVER *a true disciple of* Jesus Christ.—I " answer, and I do confess the same.—*They came out from* " *amongst us, but they were none of us.—He knew, from the* " *beginning, who they were that believed not, and should betray* " *him. And therefore, I say unto you, that none* COMETH " *unto me, except it be* GIVEN *him of my Father.*"

Such were some of the allegations brought against this holy man by the council of *Constance;* and such were his answers, when he stood on his public trial, as a lilly among thorns, or a sheep in the midst of wolves. How easy is it for a man to write in defence of those inestimable truths, which (through the goodness of divine providence) have

have now, in *our* happy land, the sanction of national establishment! But with what invincible strength of grace was this adamantine saint endued, who bore his explicit, unshaken testimony to the faith, in the presence and hearing of its worst foes, armed with all the terrific powers of this world!

These are doctrines which, even in the purest ages of the church, have received countenance, and *Huss* boldly acknowledged them. But one circumstance bore more hard against him, which was, wishing his soul to be with the happy spirit of *Wickliffe*. Doctor *Huss* had too generous, too open a nature, to deny what he thought; nor did he imagine that life was worthy prevarication. He freely confessed, he was so charmed with *Wickliffe's* books, that he wished his spirit might enjoy the same fate with his hereafter. A great many other false and frivolous objections were raised against him, which he refuted with a manly eloquence, and recommending himself, and his cause to God, he was carried off.

He was no sooner gone, than the emperor, whose subject he was, and who shewed a peculiar zeal in his fate, rose, and told the assembly, 'That, in his opinion, every 'tenet he had then held, deserved death. That if he did 'not abjure, he ought to be burnt: And that all his fol-'lowers, especially *Jerom* of *Prague*, should be exem-'plarily punished.' But we are told, that the emperor and the cardinal of *Chambre*, exhorted doctor *Huss* to submit to the decision of the council. The next day, he was brought again before the assembly, where eighty-nine articles were read to him, which were said to be drawn out of his books, and he was advised to abjure them all: But he replied, that there were many of those propositions which he had never maintained, and he was ready to explain his opinion regarding the others. After many disputes, he was sent back to prison; and a resolution was then taken to burn him as a heretic, if he would not retract.

The emperor, on the tenth of *June*, sent four bishops, and two lords, to the prison, to prevail on *Huss* to make a recantation. But that pious divine, with truly Christian simplicity, called the great God to witness, with tears in his eyes, that he was not conscious of having preached, or written any thing against the truth of God, or the faith of his orthodox church. The deputies then represented the great wisdom and authority of the council. "Let "them, said *Huss*, send the meanest person that can con-

" vince me, by arguments, from the word of God, and I " will submit my judgment to him." This Christian and pious answer had no effect; because he would not take the authority and learning of the council upon trust, without the least shadow of an argument offered; and the deputies parted in high admiration of his obstinacy!

While this good confessor was in bonds, he wrote letters to incite his countrymen to persevere in the doctrines he had taught; and expressed his own firm resolution of never departing from them while he had life.

Doctor *Huss*, on the seventh of *July*, was conducted to the place where the fifteenth session of the council was held. He was required to abjure, which he refused: And the bishop of *Londi*, in a bloody, persecuting sermon, about the destruction of heretics, pronounced the prologue of his fate, by exhorting the emperor, who seemed ready enough of himself, to exterminate the growing heresy, *that* (as he was pleased to pervert the scripture) *the body of sin might be destroyed.* He told *Sigismund*, 'that he 'ought to destroy all errors and heresies, and especially 'the obstinate heretic *Huss* before him, since by his 'wickedness and mischief, many places of the world were 'infected with most pestilent and heretical poison, and, 'by his means and occasion, almost utterly subverted and 'destroyed. And that then the emperor's praises would 'be celebrated for evermore, for having overthrown such, 'and so great enemies of the faith.' A most honourable testimony for Dr *Huss* from the traducing mouth of a virulent adversary! In fine, the proctor of the council demanded that the process against *Huss* should be finished; the condemned articles of *Wickliffe* were read, and the thirty articles alledged against *Huss*, who explained some, and defended others. Many other articles of accusation were also read, which were proved by witnesses against him. His fate was determined, his vindication disregarded, and judgment was pronounced. His books were thereby condemned, and he was declared a manifest heretic, convicted of having taught many heresies and pernicious errors; of having despised the keys of the church, and ecclesiastical censures; of having seduced and given scandal to the faithful by his obstinacy; and of having rashly appealed to the tribunal of *Christ:* The council, therefore, censured him for being obstinate and incorrigible; and ordained, 'That he should be degraded from the priesthood, his 'books publicly burnt, and himself delivered to the secular 'power.'

Doctor

Doctor *Huss* heard this sentence without the least emotion. He kneeled down, with his eyes lifted towards heaven, and said, with all the spirit of primitive martyrdom, "May thy infinite mercy, O my God, pardon this "injustice of my enemies. Thou knowest the injustice "of their accusations: How deformed with crimes I have "been represented; how I have been oppressed by worthless witnesses, and an unjust condemnation: Yet, O "my God, let that mercy of thine, which no tongue can "express, prevail with thee not to avenge my wrongs." These excellent sentences were so many expressions of treason against the trade of priestcraft, and considered as such by the narrow-minded assistants. The bishops appointed by the council stript him of his priestly garments, degraded him from his priestly function and university degrees, and put a mitre of paper on his head on which devils were painted, with this inscription, in great letters, 'A RING-LEADER OF HERETICS.' Our heroic martyr received this mock-mitre, smiling, and said, "It was less "painful than a crown of thorns." A serenity, a joy, a composure, appeared in his looks, which indicated that his soul had cut off many stages of tedious journey in her way to the point of eternal joy and everlasting peace.

The bishops delivered *Huss* to the emperor, who put him into the hands of the duke of *Bavaria*. His books were burnt at the gate of the church, and he was led to the suburbs to be burnt alive. Prior to his execution, Mr *Huss* made his solemn *appeal* to God, from the judgment of the pope and council. In this *appeal* (the whole of which would well repay the reader's perusal, he again repeats his assured faith in the doctrine of *election*; where he celebrates the willingness with which *Christ* vouchsafed, "*By the most bitter and ignominious death, to* REDEEM "*the* CHILDREN OF GOD, CHOSEN BEFORE THE "FOUNDATION OF THE WORLD, *from everlasting damnation.*" When he came to the place of execution, he fell on his knees, sang portions of psalms, looked stedfastly towards heaven, and repeated these words: "Into "thy hands, O Lord, do I commit my spirit; thou hast "redeemed me, O most good and faithful God. Lord "*Jesus Christ*, assist and help me, that with a firm and "patient mind, by thy most powerful grace, I may undergo this most cruel and ignominious death, to which "I am condemned for preaching the truth of thy most "holy gospel." When the chain was put about him at the stake, he said, with a smiling countenance, "My

" Lord *Jesus Christ* was bound with a harder chain than " this for my sake; and why should I be ashamed of this " old rusty one?" When the faggots were piled up to his very neck, the duke of *Bavaria* was officious enough to desire him to abjure. " No, says *Huss*, I never preached " any doctrine of an evil tendency; and what I taught " with my lips, I now seal with my blood." He said to the executioner, " Are you going to burn a *goose?* In " one century, you will have a *swan* you can neither " roast nor boil." If he was prophetic, he must have meant *Luther*, who had a swan for his arms. The flames were then applied to the faggots, when the martyr sang a hymn with so loud and cheerful a voice, that he was heard through all the cracklings of the combustibles, and the noise of the multitude. At last his voice was cut short, after he had uttered, " *Jesus Christ*, thou Son of " the living GOD, have mercy upon me;" and he was consumed in a most miserable manner. The duke of *Bavaria* ordered the executioner to throw all the martyr's clothes into the flames: After which his ashes were carefully collected, and cast into the *Rhine*.

While doctor *Huss* was in prison, he wrote some treatises about the commands of God, of the Lord's prayer, of mortal sin, of marriage, of the knowledge and love of God, of the three enemies of man, and the seven mortal sins, of repentance, and of the sacrament of the body and blood of *Christ*. He also drew up a little piece about the communion in both kinds. He wrote an answer to the propositions drawn out of his books, which had been communicated to him: And he prepared three discourses; one about the sufficiency of the law of *Jesus Christ*; another to explain his faith about the last articles of the creed; and the third about peace. All these treatises were printed in one volume at *Nuremburg* in 1558: As also a second volume, containing a harmony of the four evangelists, with moral notes; many sermons; a commentary upon the first seven chapters of the first epistle to the *Corinthians*; commentaries upon the seven canonical epistles, the cixth psalm, and those following to the cxixth: and several other pieces, which, if they were not altogether correct, must be imputed to the reigning darkness of the times, and to his incessant conflicts with the sons of *Rome*.

This great martyr, as well as his friend *Jerom*, may be considered, in some measure, as dying for the principles of *Wickliffe*, or rather the principles of the gospel, transmitted to them from *England*. To preserve the memory of this

this excellent man, the seventh of *July* was, for many years, held sacred among the *Bohemians*. In some places large fires were lighted in the evening of that day upon the mountains, to preserve the memory of his sufferings; round which the country-people would assemble, and sing hymns.

As a specimen of the composed spirit of this excellent martyr, in the midst of this virulent persecution, we will subjoin one of his letters, which he wrote from the prison, to his friends in *Bohemia*.

" My dear friends, let me take this last opportunity of " exhorting you to trust in nothing here; but to give " yourselves up entirely to the service of GOD. Well " am I authorized to warn you not to trust in princes, " nor in any child of man, for there is no help in them. " GOD only remaineth stedfast. What HE promiseth, " he will undoubtedly perform. As to myself, on his " gracious promise I rest. Having endeavoured to be his " faithful servant, I fear not being deserted by him. " *Where I am*, says the gracious Promiser, *there shall my* " *servants be*.—May the GOD of heaven preserve you! " —This is probably the last letter I shall be enabled to " write. I have reason to believe, I shall be called upon " to-morrow to answer with my life.—*Sigismund* hath, in " all things, acted deceitfully. I pray, GOD forgive him! " You have heard in what severe language he hath spoken " of me."

There are several other letters in Fox's acts and monuments, in old *English*; to which we must refer our readers. They all breathe the same spirit of piety, firmness, and inward consolation.

JEROM OF PRAGUE.

THE LAY-REFORMER.

GREAT were the commotions, which prevailed in the world, about the time of the promulgation of the gospel in *Germany*. The truth had every kind of prejudice to encounter; nor did the kingdom of darkness yield to its power without violent struggles and disorder. And all Protestants, who are Protestants indeed, and who

know the grace of GOD and his gospel, have reason to bless that wonderful providence, by which many of the *European* nations were delivered from the grossest darkness and ignorance, and by which indeed even popish nations have been led to the revival of knowledge, and to disdain in part the blind submission, they once universally shewed to the corrupted see of *Rome*.

Jerom of *Prague* was the companion and co-martyr of doctor *Huss*, to whom he was inferior in experience, age, and authority; but he was esteemed his superior in all polite and liberal endowments. He was born at *Prague*, and educated in that university, where he was admitted master of arts; and promoted the doctrine of *Wickliffe* in conjunction with *Huss*. He travelled into most of the states of *Europe*, and was every where esteemed for his happy elocution, which gave him great advantages in the schools, where he promoted what *Huss* had advanced. The universities of *Paris*, *Cologne*, and *Heidelberg*, conferred the degree of master of arts upon him. He is said also to have had the degree of master of arts conferred upon him at *Oxford*; but it is certain, that he commenced doctor in divinity, in the year 1396. He began to publish the same doctrine with doctor *Huss* in 1408, and it is averred, that he had a greater share of learning and subtilty than his excellent friend. However that may be, the council of *Constance* kept a very watchful eye upon him, and esteemed him to be a very dangerous person to the interests of *Rome*. While he was in *England*, and most probably when at *Oxford*, he copied out the books of *Wickliffe*, and returned with them to *Prague*. By that great man's evangelical writings, it pleased GOD to work upon him, and upon his friend doctor *Huss*, to the acknowledgment of his truth. *England*, therefore (as we observed in the life of *Wickliffe*) may claim the honour of beginning the Reformation; and may it be the last country upon earth to lose it! At present, it must be owned, such is the national corruption of manners, the prevailing luxury of the times, and the practical atheism and irreligion of many among us, that it will be through GOD's mercy, if we are not consumed by his judgments, and given up for a prey to our enemies.

Jerom was cited before the council of *Constance*, on the seventeenth of *April* 1415, when his friend doctor *Huss* was confined in a castle near that city. He arrived at *Constance* in the same month, when he was informed how his friend had been treated, and that he also would be seized:

Upon

Upon which, *Jerom* retired to *Iberlingen*, an imperial city, from whence he wrote to the emperor and council to desire a safe conduct; and one was presented to him, which gave him permission to come, but not to return. He then caused a protestation to be fixed up, wherein he declared, that he would appear before the council to justify himself, if a proper safe conduct was granted: And he demanded of the *Bohemian* lords an act of his declaration. After this, he began his journey to return into *Bohemia*: But he was stopt at *Hirschau*, by the officers of *John*, the son of prince *Clement*, count *Palatine*, who had the government of *Sultzbach*: And *Lewis*, another son of the same prince, carried *Jerom* to *Constance*, where he was to answer the same accusation as had been exhibited against doctor *Huss*, who was martyred on the seventh of *July*.

Jerom had many friends at the council, who bore him great affection, and tried all they could to bring him to a recantation; as they were convinced he had no prospect of escaping if he took his trial, because the emperor had declared that he should be exemplarily punished. His friends prevailed, and he was brought before the council, in the nineteenth session, held the twenty-third of *September*, when he read a public abjuration of his doctrines, thinking thereby to elude his prosecution.

In this retractation, he is said to have anathematized the doctrines of *Wickliffe* and *Huss*; to have protested, that he was of the same sentiments with the *Romish* church; and to have professed, that he would follow its doctrine, particularly about the keys, the sacraments, the orders, the offices, and the censures of the apostolic see; as also concerning indulgences, the relics of saints, ecclesiastical liberty, and the ceremonies. It is farther said, that he thereby approved the condemnation of the articles which the council prescribed; acknowledged they were faithfully extracted from the works of *Huss*, and that he was justly condemned. But he was carried back to prison, notwithstanding this recantation, and was accused of insincerity. New articles of accusation were brought against him, and it was alledged, that it would be dangerous to set him at liberty. He immediately repented of his abjuration, and of condemning *Huss*. He desired audience of the council, and was twice heard in the general congregations held in *May*, 1416, when one hundred and seven heads of accusation were proposed against him, which he endeavoured to answer, and made an oration, wherein he declared that he repented of his recantation, and of having approved the

the condemnation of *Wickliffe* and *Huss*. *Dupin* also says, that the fathers of the council were fully satisfied of his relapse, and sent for him to the twenty-first session, held the thirtieth of *May*. The bishop of *Londi*, who preached the sermon previous to the condemnation of *Huss*, now preached another to usher in the fate of *Jerom*. When the sermon was ended, the martyr, unjustly stigmatized a heretic, declared he still persisted in his last retractation, and told them, that they would condemn him wickedly and unjustly. But (says he) after my death, I will leave a sting in your conscience and a nail in your hearts, ET CITO VOS OMNES, UT RESPONDEATIS MIHI CORAM ALTISSIMO ET JUSTISSIMO JUDICE, POST CENTUM ANNOS: That is, "I cite you all to answer to me before the "most High and the most just Judge, within a hundred "years." He was then condemned as a heretic relapsed, delivered over to the secular power, and led away to death, which he endured with great constancy.

Such is the account given by the popish writers: But the *Florentine* secretary, *Poggius*, who was a spectator of all he relates, and gave a full account of the matter to *Aretin* the pope's secretary, is more circumstantial and impartial in his relation of this affair. He tells us, (as we shall see below) that as *Jerom* was returning to *Bohemia*, he was brought back to *Constance* by the Duke of *Bavaria*; and, the next day, carried as a prisoner before the council, where it soon appeared, that his abjuration had slipt from him in an unguarded hour through the weakness of the flesh. *Poggius*, who was one of the best judges of the age, asserts, that *Jerom* spoke with such a quickness of sentiment, such a dignity of expression, and such strength of argument, that he seemed to equal the noblest of the ancient compositions. When some members of the council called out to him to put in his answers, he told the assembly, that the objections against him were the effects of prepossession and prejudice: That, therefore, to justice, they should permit him to lay open the whole tenor of his doctrine, life, and conversation, whereby he could indubitably weaken and invalidate all the prepossessions, which ignorant zeal and open malice had rendered too strong against him in his unhappy condition. He was told, he could not expect such indulgence. This exhausted his patience, and he exclaimed to the whole assembly in these terms. "What barbarity "is this! For three hundred and forty days have I been "through all the variety of prisons. There is not a

"misery

" misery, there is not a want, that I have not experienced. " To my enemies you have allowed the fullest scope of " accusation: To me you deny the least opportunity of " defence. Not an hour will you indulge me in pre- " paring my trial. You have swallowed the blackest " calumnies against me. You have represented me as a " heretic, without knowing what is my doctrine; as an " enemy to the faith, before you knew what faith I pro- " fessed; and as a persecutor of priests, before you could " have any opportunity of understanding my sentiments " on that head. You are a general council: In you " center all that this world can communicate of gravity, " wisdom, and sanctity: but still you are men, and men " are seducible by appearances. The higher your cha- " racter is for wisdom, the greater ought your care to be " not to deviate into folly. The cause I now plead is " not my own cause: It is the cause of men; it is the " cause of Christians; it is the cause which is to affect " the rights of posterity, however the experiment is to " be made in my person." The bigotted part of the assembly considered this speech as poison to the ears of the auditors: But many of the members were men of taste and learning, who were favourably inclined to the prisoner, and pitied him in their hearts, though a restraint was on their tongues.

Jerom was obliged to give way to their authority, and to hear his charge read, which was reduced under these heads; 'That he was a derider of the papal dignity, an 'opposer of the pope, an enemy of the cardinals, a per- 'secutor of the prelates, and a hater of the Christian 'religion.' He answered this charge with an amazing force of elocution, and strength of argument. " Now, " says he, wretch that I am! whether shall I turn me? " To my accusers! My accusers are as deaf as adders. " To you my judges! You are prepossessed by the arts " of my accusers." We are told by *Poggius*, that *Jerom*, in all he spoke, said nothing unbecoming a great and wise man: And he candidly asserts, that, if what *Jerom* said was true, he was not only free from capital guilt, but from the smallest blame.

The trial of *Jerom* was brought on the third day after his accusation, and witnesses were examined in support of the charge. The prisoner was prepared for his defence; which will appear almost incredible, when it is considered, that he had been three hundred and forty days shut up in a dark offensive dungeon, deprived of day-light, food, and sleep.

sleep. His spirit soared above these disadvantages, under which a man less enabled, must have sunk; nor was he more at a loss for quotations from fathers and ancient authors, than if he had been furnished with the finest library in *Europe*.

Many of the zealots and bigots of the assembly were against his being heard, as they knew what effect eloquence is apt to have on the minds even of the most prejudiced. However, it was carried by the majority that he should have liberty to proceed in his defence, which he began in such an exalted strain of moving elocution, that the heart of obdurate zeal was seen to melt, and the mind of superstition seemed to admit a ray of conviction. He made an admirable distinction between evidence as resting on facts, and as supported by malice and calumny. He laid before the assembly the whole tenor of his life and conduct, which he owned had been always open and unreserved. He justly observed, that the greatest and most holy men have been known to differ in points of speculation, with a view to distinguish truth, not to keep it concealed. And he then expressed a noble contempt of all his enemies, who would have induced him to retract the cause of religion and truth. He next entered on a high encomium upon doctor *John Huss*; and declared he was ready to follow him in the glorious tract of martyrdom. He was (said *Jerom*) a good, just, and holy man, and very unworthy of the death which he suffered. He knew him, from his youth upward, to be neither fornicator, drunkard, nor addicted to any kind of vice; on the contrary, he was a chaste and sober man, and a faithful and true preacher of the blessed gospel. That, with respect to himself, whatsoever things *Wickliffe* and *Huss* had written, and especially against the pomp and pride of the clergy, he would affirm to his latest breath, that they were holy and blessed men, and that nothing so much troubled his conscience as the sin, which he committed by his recantation in speaking against them, which recantation he utterly abjured and abhorred from the bottom of his heart. He added, that he could not help saying, with his dying breath, it was certainly impious that the patrimony of the church, which was originally intended for the purpose of charity and universal benevolence, should be prostituted to the lust of the flesh, and the pride of the eye, in whores, feasts, foppish vestments, and other reproaches to the name and profession of Christianity.

The

The prisoner received many interruptions from the impertinence of some, and the inveteracy of others: But he answered every one with so much readiness, and vivacity of thought, that, at last, they were ashamed, and he was permitted to finish his defence. His voice was sweet, clear, and sonorous; pliable to captivate every passion, and able to conciliate every affection, which he knew how to do with wonderful address. He was admired by his enemies, and compassionated by his friends: But he received the same sentence that had been passed upon his martyred friend; and, *Poggius* says, the assembly condemned him with great reluctance.

The same author tells us, that *Jerom* had two days allowed for his recantation; and that the cardinal of *Florence* used all the arguments he could for that effect, which were ineffectual. The divine was resolved to seal his doctrine with his blood; he could not be seduced to make another retractation; and he suffered death with all the magnanimity of *Huss*. He embraced the stake to which he was fastened, with the peculiar malice of wet cords. When the executioner went behind him to set fire to the pile, "Come here, said the martyr, and kindle "it before my eyes; for if I dreaded such a sight, I "should never have come to this place, when I had a free "opportunity to escape." The fire was kindled, and he then sung a hymn, which was soon finished by the incircling flames.

He cried out several times, *In manus tuas, Domine, commendo spiritum meum;* i. e. "Into thy hands, O Lord, I "commend my spirit." His last words, which could be heard were; "O Lord God, the Father Almighty, "have mercy upon me, and forgive all my sins: Thou "knowest, with what sincerity I have loved thy truth." He appeared to endure much by the fire for the space of a quarter of an hour, all the while seeming, by the motion of his lips, to pray within himself. After he was dead, his bed, clothes, and the other things he had with him in prison, were thrown into the fire and consumed with him. Finally, the ashes were gathered together, and cast into the river *Rhine*, which runs close by the city.

We cannot conclude this account of *Jerom*, without annexing at large the most honourable testimony given of him by *Poggius* of *Florence*, an adversary, and the secretary of two popes, and consequently not a more favourable testimony than truth itself compelled. We copy it from Mr *Gilpin*'s valuable and elegant history of *Jerom*; whose life

of

of *Zisca*, the great General of the *Bohemians*, is an admirable p rformance.

A Letter from *Poggius* of *Florence* to *Leonard Aretin*.

'In the midst of a short excursion into the country, I 'wrote to our common friend; from whom, I doubt not, 'you have had an account of me.

'Since my return to *Constance*, my attention hath been 'wholly engaged by *Jerom*, the *Bohemian* heretic, as he 'is called. The eloquence, and learning, which this 'person hath employed in his own defence are so extraordinary, that I cannot forbear giving you a short account 'of him.

'To confess the truth, I never knew the art of speaking carried so near the model of ancient eloquence. It 'was indeed amazing to hear with what force of expression, with what fluency of language, and with what 'excellent reasoning he answered his adversaries; nor 'was I less struck with the gracefulness of his manner; 'the dignity of his action; and the firmness, and constancy of his whole behaviour. It grieved me to think 'so great a man was labouring under so atrocious an accusation. Whether this accusation be a just one, God 'knows: For myself, I enquire not into the merits of 'it; resting satisfied with the decision of my superiors. '—But I will just give you a summary of his trial.

'After many articles had been proved against him, 'leave was at length given him to answer each in its order. But *Jerom* long refused, strenuously contending, 'that he had many things to say previously in his defence; 'and that he ought first to be heard in general, before he 'descended to particulars.—When this was over-ruled, "Here, said he, standing in the midst of the assembly, "here is justice; here is equity. Beset by my enemies, "I am already pronounced a heretic: I am condemned, "before I am examined. Were you gods omniscient, "instead of an assembly of fallible men, you could not "act with more sufficiency.—Error is the lot of mortals; "and you, exalted as you are, are subject to it. But "consider, that the higher you are exalted, of the more "dangerous consequence are your errors.—As for me, "I know I am a wretch below your notice: But at least "consider, that an unjust action, in such an assembly, "will be of dangerous example."

'This, and much more, he spoke with great elegance 'of language, in the midst of a very unruly and indecent 'assembly:

'assembly: And thus far at least he prevailed; the coun-
'cil ordered, that he should first answer objections; and
'promised that he should then have liberty to speak.
'Accordingly, all the articles alledged against him were
'publicly read; and then proved; after which he was
'asked, whether he had ought to object? It is incredible
'with what acuteness he answered; and with what
'amazing dexterity he warded off every stroke of his ad-
'versaries. Nothing escaped him: His whole behaviour
'was truly great and pious. If he were indeed the man
'his defence spoke him, he was so far from meriting
'death, that, in my judgment, he was not in any degree
'culpable.—In a word, he endeavoured to prove, that
'the greater part of the charge was purely the invention
'of his adversaries.—Among other things, being accused
'of hating and defaming the holy see, the pope, the car-
'dinals, the prelates, and the whole estate of the clergy,
'he stretched out his hands, and said, in a most moving
'accent, "On which side, reverend fathers, shall I turn
"me for redress? whom shall I implore? whose assistance
"can I expect? which of you hath not this malicious
"charge entirely alienated from me? which of you hath
"it not changed from a judge into an inveterate enemy?
"—It was artfully alledged indeed! Though other parts
"of their charge were of less moment, my accusers might
"well imagine, that if this were fastened on me, it could
"not fail of drawing upon me the united indignation of
"my judges."

'On the third day of this memorable trial, what had
'passed was recapitulated: When *Jerom*, having obtained
'leave, though with some difficulty, to speak, began his
'oration with a prayer to God; whose divine assistance
'he pathetically implored. He then observed, that many
'excellent men, in the annals of history, had been op-
'pressed by false witnesses, and condemned by unjust
'judges. Beginning with profane history, he instanced
'the death of *Socrates*, the captivity of *Plato*, the banish-
'ment of *Anaxagoras*, and the unjust sufferings of many
'others: He then instanced the many worthies of the
'Old Testament, in the same circumstances, *Moses*, *Jo-
'seph*, *Daniel*, and almost all the prophets; and lastly
'those of the New, *John* the *Baptist*, St *Stephen*, and
'others, who were condemned as seditious, profane, or
'immoral men. An unjust judgment, he said, proceed-
'ing from a layic was bad; from a priest, worse; still
'worse from a college of priests; and from a general

'council,

'council, superlatively bad.——These things he spoke 'with such force and emphasis, as kept every one's atten-'tion awake.

'On one point he dwelt largely. As the merits of the 'cause rested entirely upon the credit of witnesses, he 'took great pains to shew that very little was due to 'those produced against him. He had many objections 'to them, particularly their avowed hatred to him; the 'sources of which he so palpably laid open, that he made 'a strong impression upon the minds of his hearers; and 'not a little shook the credit of the witnesses. The 'whole council was moved, and greatly inclined to pity, 'if not to favour him. He added, that he came uncom-'pelled to the council; and that neither his life nor doc-'trine had been such as gave him the least reason to 'dread an appearance before them. Difference of opi-'nion, he said, in matters of faith had ever arisen among 'learned men; and was always esteemed productive of 'truth, rather than of error, where bigotry was laid 'aside. Such, he said, was the difference between *Aus-'tin* and *Jerom:* and though their opinions were not only 'different, but contradictory, yet the imputation of here-'sy was never fixed on either.

'Every one expected, that he would now either retract 'his errors, or at least apologize for them: But nothing 'of the kind was heard from him: He declared plainly, 'that he had nothing to retract. He launched out into 'an high encomium of *Huss;* calling him a holy man; 'and lamenting his cruel, and unjust death. He had 'armed himself, he said, with a full resolution to follow 'the steps of that blessed martyr; and to suffer with con-'stancy whatever the malice of his enemies could inflict. "The perjured witnesses, (said he) who have appeared "against me, have won their cause: But let them re-"member, they have their evidence once more to give "before a tribunal, where falsehood can be no disguise."

'It was impossible to hear this pathetic speaker with-'out emotion. Every ear was captivated; and every 'heart touched.—But wishes in his favour were vain. 'He threw himself beyond a possibility of mercy. Brav-'ing death, he even provoked the vengeance which was 'hanging over him. "If that holy martyr, (said he, "speaking of *Huss*) used the clergy with disrespect, his "censures were not levelled at them as priests, but as "wicked men. He saw with indignation those reve-

"nues,

" nues, which had been designed for charitable ends,
" expended upon pageantry, and riot."

' Through this whole oration he shewed a most amaz-
' ing strength of memory. He had been confined almost
' a year in a dungeon: The severity of which usage he
' complained of, but in the language of a great and good
' man. In this horrid place, he was deprived of books
' and paper. Yet notwithstanding this, and the constant
' anxiety, which must have hung over him, he was at
' no more loss for proper authorities, and quotations, than
' if he had spent the intermediate time at leisure in his
' study.

' His voice was sweet, distinct, and full: His action
' every way the most proper, either to express indigna-
' tion, or to raise pity; though he made no affected ap-
' plication to the passions of his audience. Firm, and
' intrepid, he stood before the council; collected in him-
' self; and not only contemning, but seeming even de-
' sirous of death. The greatest character in ancient story
' could not possibly go beyond him. If there is any jus-
' tice in history, this man will be admired by all poste-
' rity.——I speak not of his errors: Let these rest with
' him. What I admired was his learning, his eloquence,
' and amazing acuteness. God knows whether these
' things were not the ground-work of his ruin.

' Two days were allowed him for reflection; during
' which time many persons of consequence, and particu-
' larly my lord cardinal of *Florence*, endeavoured to bring
' him to a better mind. But persisting obstinately in his
' errors, he was condemned as a heretic.

' With a chearful countenance, and more than stoical
' constancy, he met his fate; fearing neither death itself,
' nor the horrible form, in which it appeared. When he
' came to the place, he pulled off his upper garment,
' and made a short prayer at the stake; to which he was
' soon after bound with wet cords, and an iron chain;
' and inclosed as high as his breast with faggots.

' Observing the executioner about to set fire to the
' wood behind his back, he cried out, " Bring thy torch
" hither. Perform thy office before my face. Had I
" feared death, I might have avoided it."

' As the wood began to blaze, he sang an hymn, which
' the violence of the flame scarce interrupted.

' Thus died this prodigious man. The epithet is not
' extravagant. I was myself an eye-witness of his whole

'behaviour. Whatever his life may have been, his death, 'without doubt, is a lesson of philosophy.

'But it is time to finish this long epistle. You will 'say I have had some leisure upon my hands: And, to 'say the truth, I have not much to do here. This will, 'I hope, convince you, that greatness is not wholly con-'fined to antiquity. You will think me perhaps tedious; 'but I could have been more prolix on a subject so copi-'ous.——Farewell, my dear *Leonard*.'

Constance, May 20th.

Such was the testimony borne to an adversary by this ingenuous papist. His friend *Aretin* was less candid. 'You 'attribute more, says he, to this man, than I could wish. 'You ought at least to *write* more cautiously of these 'things.' And indeed, it is probable, *Poggius* would have written more cautiously, had he written a few days afterwards. But his letter is dated on the very day on which *Jerom* suffered, and came warm from the writer's heart. It is sufficiently plain, what *Poggius* himself thought of the council, and its proceedings. His encomium on *Jerom* is certainly a tacit censure of them.

WE may add here, as there are not materials to compose a distinct life, that the persecution of JOHN de WESALIA, for adopting the opinions of *Wickliffe*, followed not many years after the martyrdom of *Huss* and *Jerom*. He was brought before the inquisition and treated with great harshness and severity, which appear to be the more inhuman, as the good man was advanced to decrepid old age. However, he boldly defended the truth, and even told his inquisitors, upon an instance of their ill treatment, that "if *Christ* himself were upon the earth, they "must condemn him for an heretic, if they condemned "him for following his doctrines." He maintained, that the substance of bread continued in the sacrament, but did not deny that *Christ's* body was there, after a manner; That no profession of religion can save a man, but only the grace of GOD; That the merits of the saints could not be disposed of on earth at market by the pope and his priests, if even the works of the saints *had* any merit, because it is written that *their works do follow them*; That pardons and indulgences were nothing better than *piæ fraudes*, holy cheats, to impose upon the ignorant; * That holy

* See an entertaining expoſure of theſe deluſions in a late pamphlet, entitled, *A New Defence of the holy Roman Church againſt Heretics*: Where,

holy water had no more virtue than common water; That GOD gives his grace without the motion of our free-will; and that St *Paul* in particular did nothing of his own free-will in his conversion; That nothing is to be believed, which cannot be proved by scripture; That GOD hath from everlasting written a book, where he hath inscribed *all his elect*, and that whosoever is not already written there, will never be written there at all; but that he who is written therein, will never be blotted out of it; That the elect are saved by the alone grace of GOD; and that what man soever GOD willeth to save, by enduing him with grace, if all the priests in the world were desirous to damn and excommunicate that man, he would still be saved; That he despised the pope, his church, and his councils; but that he loved *Christ*, and desired that his word might dwell in him abundantly.

Doctor *Wesalia* was bowed down with years and infirmities, when he underwent the above examination, which produced, in that dark age [*viz.* A. D. 1479.] this noble testimony for the truth. Thus broken by age, and insulted with menaces, he was prevailed upon to sign a retractation, into which he was trepanned. It is plain, that this retractation was not considered as sincere, from his being condemned to perpetual confinement and penance in a monastery of the *Augustins*, where he died soon after, about the time of the birth of LUTHER.

PATRICK HAMILTON,

THE FIRST SCOTCH REFORMER.

PATRICK HAMILTON was a gentleman of *Scotland*, and, says Mr *Hugh Spence*, of royal descent, being by his father nephew to *James Hamilton*, earl of *Arran*; and by his mother nephew to *John Stewart*, duke of *Albany*; a circumstance in Providence, that was subservient to raise more attention to his excellent doctrine, holy life, and patient sufferings. He had an amiable

Where, in a vein of irony, the author has shewn the most palpable absurdities and blasphemies of popery. Printed for *Matthews*, in the *Strand*.

disposition, and was well educated; he was very early made abbot of *Ferme*, with a view to his being one day more highly preferred. At the age of twenty-three, he with three companions travelled into *Germany*, in pursuit of religious knowledge, and coming to *Wittenberg* he met with *Luther* and *Melancthon*, with whom he held frequent and close conferences, and by whom he was well instructed in the doctrines of the gospel. From thence he went to *Marpurg*, an university newly erected by *Philip Landgrave* of *Hesse*; he became intimately acquainted with *Lambert*, our English martyr, at whose instance he was the first in that university who set up public disputations concerning faith and works; the propositions and conclusions of which are in what is entitled *Patrick's Places*, of which excellent tract we shall subjoin a specimen at the end of this article.

He grew daily in grace and in the knowledge of *Jesus Christ*; and being well established in the faith, and much improved in all useful learning, he returned with one of his companions to *Scotland*, desirous to impart the knowledge of the true religion to his countrymen. With a view to this, he began to preach the gospel of *Jesus Christ* with great fervency and boldness, and to lay open the errors and corruptions of the church of *Rome*. This soon alarmed the whole body of the clergy, and particularly *James Beaton*, archbishop of St *Andrew*'s, who laboured to get Mr *Hamilton* to come to him at St *Andrew*'s; where, after several days conference, he was dismissed, the archbishop seeming to approve of his doctrine, acknowledging that many things wanted reformation in the church. But, at the same time, the archbishop consulted with other bishops, to put the king, (who was young and much led by them) upon going on a pilgrimage to St *Dothesse* in *Ross*: so that, during his absence, they might condemn Mr *Hamilton*, as no interest could then be made with the king to save his life. Mr *Hamilton*, not suspecting their malice and treachery, remained at St *Andrew*'s; and the king being gone on his pilgrimage, he was cited to appear before the archbishop and his colleagues on the first day of *March*, 1527. The articles of accusation brought against him, which he was found guilty in holding and maintaining, and for which he was condemned to death, are the following. "That "man hath no free-will.—That there is no purgatory.— "That the holy patriarchs were in heaven before *Christ*'s "passion.—That the pope hath no power to loose and

"bind:

" bind: Neither any pope had that power since St *Peter*.—That the pope is *antichrist*, and that every priest " hath the power that the pope hath.—That Mr *Patrick Hamilton* was a bishop.—That it is not necessary " to obtain any bulls from any bishop.—That the vow " of the pope's religion is a vow of wickedness.—That " the pope's laws be of no strength.—That all Christians, " worthy to be called Christians, do know that they be " in the state of grace.—That none be saved, but those " that are before predestinate.—Whosoever is in deadly " sin is unfaithful.—That God is the cause of sin, in " this sense; that is, that he withdraweth his grace from " men, whereby they sin.—That it is devilish doctrine to " enjoin to any sinner actual penance for sin.—That the " said Mr *Patrick Hamilton* himself doubteth whether all " children, departing incontinent after their baptism, are " saved or condemned.—That auricular confession is not " necessary to salvation."

Though these articles are inserted in their registers, 'nevertheless,' says Mr *Fox*, 'other learned men, who 'communed and reasoned with him, do testify, that these 'articles following were the very articles, for which he 'suffered.'

" 1. Man hath no free-will. 2. A man is only justi- " fied by faith in *Christ*. 3. A man, so long as he liveth, " is not without sin. 4. He is not worthy to be called " a Christian, who believeth not that he is in grace. 5. " A good man doeth good works: But good works do " not make a good man. 6. An evil man bringeth forth " evil works: Evil works, being faithfully repented, do " not make an evil man. 7. Faith, hope, and charity, be " so linked together, that one of them cannot be without " another in one man in this life."

'And as touching the other articles,' adds Mr *Fox*, 'whereupon the doctors gave their judgments, as divers 'do report, he was not accused of them before the arch- 'bishop. Albeit in private disputation he affirmed and 'defended the most of them.' That he did not hold the whole of them, at least as they are expressed in their register, may easily be learnt from his writings, where he treats of the same doctrines, and especially in his treatise entitled *Patrick's Places*. A performance so very judicious and truly evangelical, that it is some concern to us, that we cannot oblige the reader with the whole of it.

Having gone through the farce of a trial, they proceeded to pronounce sentence upon him, which, because it

it shews his understanding, orthodoxy, and innocence, as well as the ignorance and cruelty of the papists, we will lay it before the reader in their own words.

His sentence, as it stands in the register of the archbishop's court, was as follows:

'CHRISTI *nomine invocato:* We *James*, by the mercy 'of God, archbishop of Saint *Andrew*'s, primate of *Scot-* 'land, with the council, decree, and authority of the 'most reverend fathers in God, and lords, abbots, doc- 'tors of theology, professors of the holy Scripture, and 'masters of the university, assisting us for the time, sit- 'ting in judgment within our metropolitan church of 'Saint *Andrew*'s, in the cause of heretical pravity, against 'Mr *Patrick Hamilton*, abbot or pensionary of *Ferme*, 'being summoned to appear before us, to answer to cer- 'tain articles affirmed, taught, and preached by him, and 'so appearing before us, and accused, the merits of the 'cause being ripely weighed, discussed, and understood 'by faithful inquisition made in *Lent* last past: We have 'found the same Mr *Patrick Hamilton* many ways inflamed 'with heresy, disputing, holding, and maintaining divers 'heresies of *Martin Luther*, and his followers, repugnant 'to our faith, and which are already condemned by gene- 'ral councils, and most famous universities *. And he 'being under the same infamy, we decerning before him 'to be summoned and accused upon the premises, he of 'evil mind (as may be presumed) passed to other parts 'forth of the realm, suspected and noted of heresy. And 'being lately returned, not being admitted, but of his own 'head, without licence or privilege, hath presumed to 'preach wicked heresy.

'We have found also, that he hath affirmed, published, 'and taught divers opinions of *Luther*, and wicked he- 'resies, after that he was summoned to appear before us, 'and our council; "That man hath no free-will: That "man is in sin so long as he liveth: That children, in- "continent after their baptism, are sinners †: All Chris- "tians, that be worthy to be called Christians, do know "that they are in grace: No man is justified by works, but "by faith only: Good works make not a good man, but "a good man doth make good works: That faith, hope, "and charity, are so knit, that he that hath the one, hath "the

* They do not pretend so much as to say they were condemned by the Scriptures.

† It may be observed, that these articles do not agree with those in their register.

" the rest, and he, that wanteth the one of them, wanteth " the rest, &c." with divers other heresies and detestable ' opinions: and hath persisted so obstinate in the same, ' that by no counsel nor persuasion he may be drawn ' therefrom to the way of our right faith.

' All these premises being considered, we, having God ' and the integrity of our faith before our eyes, and following the council and advice of the professors of the ' holy Scripture, men of law, and other assisting us for the ' time, do pronounce, determine, and declare the said ' Mr *Patrick Hamilton*, for his affirming, confessing, and ' maintaining of the aforesaid heresies, and his pertinacity ' (they being condemned already by the church, general ' councils, and most famous universities) to be an heretic, and to have an evil opinion of the faith, and therefore ' to be condemned and punished, like as we condemn, and ' define him to be punished, by this our sentence definitive, depriving and sentencing him to be deprived of all ' dignities, orders, offices, and benefices of the church; ' and therefore do judge and pronounce him to be delivered over unto the secular power, to be punished, and his ' goods to be confiscate.

' This our sentence definitive was given and read at ' our metropolitan church of St *Andrew*'s the last day ' of the month of *February*, Anno 1527, being present the ' most reverend fathers in *Christ*, and lords, *Gawand*, bishop of *Glasgow*; *George*, bishop of *Dunkeldon*; *John*, ' bishop of *Brecham*; *William*, bishop of *Dunblane*; *Patrick*, prior of St *Andrew's*; *David*, abbot of *Abirbrothoke*; *George*, abbot of *Dumfermling*; *Alexander*, abbot ' of *Caunbuskineth*; *Henry*, abbot of *Lendors*; *John*, prior ' of *Peterweme*; the dean and subdean of *Glasgow*; Mr ' *Hugh Spence*, *Thomas Ramsay*, *Allane Meldrum*, &c. In ' the presence of the clergy and the people.'

That this sentence might have the greater authority, they caused it to be signed by all present, of any account, whether clergy or laity; and, in order to make their number appear great, they took the subscription of the very children of the nobility. Being thus condemned as an obstinate heretic, he was delivered over to the secular power, and after dinner, on the same day, the fire was prepared, and he was led to execution; whilst most people thought it was only to terrify him, and to make him recant. But God, for his own glory, the good of the elect, and for the manifestation of their brutal tyranny, had decreed it otherwise; and so strengthened him, that neither

neither the love of life, though young, nor fear of this cruel death, could in the least move him from the truth he had boldly professed.

At the place of execution, he gave his servant, that had long attended him, his gown, coat, cap, and his other garments, saying, "These are the last things you can "receive of me, nor have I any thing now to leave you, "but the example of my death, which I pray you to bear "in mind; for, though it be bitter to the flesh, and fear- "ful before men, yet it is the entrance into eternal life, "which none shall inherit, who deny *Jesus Christ* before "this wicked generation." He was then bound to the stake in the midst of wood and coal, which they attempted to set on fire with gun-powder; but it neither killed him nor kindled the fire, only exceedingly scorched one side of his body and his face. During the painful interval of their going to the castle for more powder and combustibles, the friars called frequently upon him to recant; and when the fire was kindled, it burnt so slowly, that he endured great torment; which the friars endeavoured to increase by setting some of their own creatures to cry out in a clamorous manner, 'Turn, thou heretic, pray 'to the virgin, say, *salve regina*, &c.' to whom he answered, "Depart from me, and trouble me not, you "messengers of *Satan*." One friar *Campbell*, who had visited him often in prison, was particularly officious, and continued to bellow out, 'Turn, thou heretic; turn thou 'heretic;' whom Mr *Hamilton* thus addressed, "Wicked "man! you know I am not a heretic, and have confessed "the same to me in private; but I appeal to the just tri- "bunal seat of *Jesus Christ*, and cite you to appear there "to answer for it to Almighty GOD." And then said, "How long, O Lord, shall darkness overwhelm this realm? "and how long wilt Thou suffer the tyranny of these "wicked men?" And at length with a loud voice he cried, as he had frequently done, "Lord *Jesus*, receive my "Spirit!" and died.

It is recorded, that friar *Campbell* died not long after in a phrensy, and seemingly in despair. Which, considered with the circumstance of his being cited by Mr *Hamilton*, made a great impression on the minds of the people, and caused them to inquire more particularly into the nature and meaning of the articles, for which Mr *Hamilton* was burnt; and so this event proved the means of many embracing the truth. Mr *Knox*, in his History of *Scotland*, relates the amazing effects of this great man's death,

and

and how wonderfully the Lord spread abroad the light of the gospel, by a careful examination of the articles upon which he was condemned, and of his writings.

'When those cruel wolves had, as they supposed, clean 'devoured the prey, they found themselves in worse case 'than before; for then, within St *Andrew*'s, yea, almost 'within the whole realm, (who heard of that fact) there 'was none found who began not to inquire, wherefore 'Mr *Patrick Hamilton* was burnt; and when his articles 'were rehearsed, question was holden, if such articles 'were necessary to be believed, under the pain of dam-'nation? And so, within a short space, many began to 'call in doubt, that which before they held for a certain 'verity; insomuch that the university of St *Andrew's* 'and St *Leonard's* college, principally by the labours of 'Mr *Gavin Logy*, the novices of the abbey, and the sub-'prior, began to smell somewhat of the verity, and to 'espy the vanity of the received superstition; yea, within 'few years after, began both black and grey friars pub-'licly to preach against the pride and idle life of bishops, 'and against the abuses of the whole ecclesiastical state. 'Amongst whom was one called *William Arithe*, who, 'in a sermon preached in *Dundee*, spake somewhat more 'freely against the licentious life of the bishops than 'they could well bear. The bishop of *Berchin* having 'his parasites in the town, buffeted the friar, and called 'him heretic. The friar passed to St *Andrew*'s, and did 'communicate the heads of his sermon to Mr *John Mair*, 'whose word then was held as an oracle, in matters of 'religion; and being assured of him, that such doctrine 'might well be defended, and that *he* would defend it, 'for it contained no heresy; there was a day appointed to 'the said friar, to make repetition of the same sermon; 'and advertisement was given to all such as were of-'fended at the former to be present. And so, in the 'parish church of St *Andrew*'s, upon the day appointed, 'appeared the said friar, and had, amongst his auditors, 'Mr *John Mair*, Mr *George Lockhart*, the abbot of '*Cambuskeneth*, Mr *Patrick Hepburn*, prior of St *An-'drew*'s, with all the doctors and masters of the univer-'sities. Shortly after this, new consultation was taken 'there, that some should be burnt; for men began freely 'to speak. A merry gentleman, called *John Lindsay*, fa-'miliar to archbishop *Beaton*, standing by, when consul-'tation was had, said, "My lord, if ye burn any more, "except ye follow my counsel, ye will utterly destroy "yourselves;

" yourselves; if you will burn them, let them be burnt " in hollow cellars; for the smoke of Mr *Patrick Hamil-* " *ton* hath infected as many as it blew upon."

The rulers and doctors of the university of *Louvain*, hearing that the bishops and doctors of *Scotland* had condemned and burnt this great and good man, exceedingly rejoiced and triumphed; and in a letter written to the archbishop of St *Andrew*'s and the other doctors, they 'highly applauded the worthy and famous deservings of 'their atchieved enterprise in that behalf.' Which letter *Fox* has given at large.

We may here observe, that the church of *Rome*, from the very beginning of her claiming *temporal* authority, *worldly* riches, and *earthly* government, has more and more departed from the purity of the gospel, has imbibed a bloody and persecuting spirit against all opponents, and at length has placed itself entirely upon a footing with the princes and kingdoms of this world, which come to nought. The love of temporal dominion and authority in the church, in which the passions of carnal men can be as fully satisfied as in any other system of human polity, has been the chief ground of dissention, error, and persecution. Nor is this love of rule to be confined to the church of *Rome*; the smallest sect or party, acting upon the same principles, and founded upon the bottom of human aims and human authority, ever exercising dominion or despising dominion from worldly motives, is guilty of the same spirit, and would exercise the same conduct, but for the prevention of superior force. While men act *from* the world, their end will be *the world*; be their outward professions what they may. These professions, in no sense make a Christian, whose definition it is, to be *crucified to the world* and to the *flesh*, *to put on Christ* and to be *one with him*, and to be a *stranger and pilgrim upon earth*, seeking *a better country and a heavenly*.

In the interval between this holy man's death, and the public ministrations of the excellent Mr *George Wishart*; several persons suffered for the truth in *Scotland*, and, among the rest, Mr *John Rogers*, a gracious and learned minister, who was murdered in prison, by the order of Cardinal *Beaton*, and thrown over the wall, with a report, that in attempting to escape he had broken his neck. Mr *Thomas Forrest*, another minister, was also burned, for an heretic, by the means of the popish bishop of *Dunkelden*. By the writings and sermons of these blessed men, a seed of Reformation was sown in *Scotland*, which, being watered and

and witnessed by their blood, soon sprung up into a flourishing tree, and gloriously overspread that whole country.

WE promised to give our readers a specimen of this excellent man's tract, called *Patrick's Places*, which have ever been esteemed by the most able and serious Christians (especially considering the time when they were written) as an admirable and invaluable performance. They were prefaced by Mr *John Frith*, the martyr, in the following manner:

'JOHN FRITH unto the *Christian Reader*.

'Blessed be the God and Father of our Lord *Jesus* 'Christ, which, in these last days and perilous times, 'hath stirred up in all countries witnesses unto his Son, to 'testify the truth unto the unfaithful, to save at the least 'some from the snares of antichrist, which lead to perdition; as ye may here perceive by that excellent and 'well learned young man, *Patrick Hamilton*, born in *Scotland* of a noble progeny: Who, to testify the truth, 'sought all means, and took upon him priesthood (even 'as *Paul* circumcised *Timothy*, to win the weak *Jews*) 'that he might be admitted to preach the pure word of 'God. Notwithstanding, as soon as the chamberlain 'and other bishops of *Scotland* had perceived, that the 'light began to shine, which disclosed their falsehood that 'they conveyed in darkness, they laid hands on him, and 'because he would not deny his Saviour *Christ*, at their 'instance, they burnt him to ashes. Nevertheless, God 'of his bounteous mercy (to publish to the whole world, 'what a man these monsters have murdered) hath reserved 'a little treatise, made by this *Patrick*, which if ye list, 'ye may call PATRICK'S PLACES: For it treateth exactly of certain common places, which known, ye have 'the pith of all divinity. This treatise I have turned 'into the *English* tongue, to the profit of my nation: To 'whom I beseech God to give light, that they may espie 'the deceitful paths of perdition, and return to the right 'way, which leadeth to life everlasting. Amen.'

The following are extracts from the treatise.

The doctrine of the LAW.

Proposition.

"He that keepeth not all the commandments of God, "keepeth not one of them.

Argument.

Argument.

" *He that keepeth one commandment of God, keepeth all:*
" Ergo, *he that keepeth not all the commandments of God,*
" *keepeth not one of them.*

Proposition.

" It is not in our power to keep any one of the com-
" mandments of God.

Argument.

Ba- " *It is impossible to keep any of the commandments of*
" *God, without grace.*
ro- " *It is not in our power to have grace.*
" Ergo; *it is not in our power to keep any of the com-*
co. " *mandments of God.*

" And even so may you reason concerning the Holy
" Ghost and faith, forasmuch as neither without them
" we are able to keep any of the commandments of God,
" neither yet be they in our power to have. *Non est*
" *volentis neque currentis, &c.* Rom. ix. 16.

Proposition.

" The law was given us to shew our sin.

" *By the law cometh the knowledge of sin;* Rom. iii. 20.
" I knew not what sin meant, but through the law:
" *For I had not known what lust had meant, except the law*
" *had said, Thou shalt not lust. Without the law, sin was*
" *dead, that is, it moved me not, neither wist I that it was*
" *sin, which notwithstanding was sin, and forbidden by the*
" *law.* Rom. vii.

Proposition.

" The law biddeth us do that thing, which is impos-
" sible for us.

Argument.

Da- " *The keeping of the commandments is to us impossible.*
" *The law commandeth to us the keeping of the com-*
ri- " *mandments.*
" Ergo; *the law commandeth unto us, what is impos-*
i. " *sible.*

" *Objection.* But you will say, Wherefore doth God
" bid us do that, which is impossible for us?

" *Answer.* To make thee know, that thou art but evil,
" and that there is no remedy to save thee in thine own
" hand: And that thou mayest seek a remedy at some other:
" For the law doth nothing else, but condemn thee.

" *The doctrine of the* GOSPEL.

" The GOSPEL is, in other words, good tidings *; and
" may be expressed in the following manner.

" *Christ*

* *Luke* ii.

" *Christ* is the Saviour of the [elect] world [1]. *Christ* is " the Saviour [2]. *Christ* died for us [3]. *Christ* died for our " sins [4]. *Christ* bought us with his blood [5]. *Christ* " washed us with his blood [6]. *Christ* offered himself for " us [7]. *Christ* bare our sins on his own back [8]. *Christ* " came into this world to save sinners [9]. *Christ* came into " this world to take away our sins [10]. *Christ* was the " price that was given for us and our sins [11]. *Christ* was " made debtor for us [12]. *Christ* hath paid our debt, for " he died for us [13]. *Christ* made satisfaction for us and " our sins [14]. *Christ* is our righteousness [15]. *Christ* is our " sanctification [16]. *Christ* is our redemption [17]. *Christ* is " our peace [18]. *Christ* hath pacified the Father of heaven " for us [19]. *Christ* is ours, and all his [20]. *Christ* hath " delivered us from the law, from the devil, and from " hell [21]. The Father of heaven hath forgiven us our " sins for *Christ's* sake. And many other similar ex- " pressions, equally scriptural, which declare unto us the " *mercy* of God.

" *The nature and office of the* LAW *and of the* GOSPEL.

" The law sheweth us our sin. *Rom.* iii.
" The gospel sheweth us a remedy for it. *John* i.
" The law sheweth us our condemnation. *Rom.* vii.
" The gospel sheweth us our redemption. *Col.* i.
" The law is the word of ire [wrath.] *Rom.* iv.
" The gospel is the word of grace. *Acts* xiv. 20.
" The law is the word of despair. *Deut.* xxvii.
" The gospel is the word of comfort. *Luke* ii.
" The law is the word of disquietude. *Rom.* vii.
" The gospel is the word of peace. *Eph.* vi.

" *A disputation between the* LAW *and the* GOSPEL, *in which* " *is shewed the difference or contrariety between them both.*

" The law saith, *Pay the debt.*
" The gospel saith, *Christ hath paid it.*
" The law saith, *Thou art a sinner, despair, and thou* " *shalt be damned.*
" The gospel saith, *Thy sins are forgiven thee; be of good* " *comfort, for thou shalt be saved.*
" The law saith, *Make amends for thy sins.*
" The gospel saith, *Christ hath made it for thee.*

" The

(1) *John* iv. (2) *Luke* ii. (3) *Rom.* v. (4) ibid. iv. (5) 1 *Pet.* ii. (6) *Rev.* i. v. (7) *Gal.* i. (8) *Isa.* liii. (9) 1 *Tim.* i. (10) 1 *John* iii. (11) 1 *Tim.* ii. (12) *Rom.* viii. (13) *Col.* ii. (14) 1 *Cor.* vii. (15) 1 *Cor.* i. (16) 1 *Cor.* i. (17) *Eph.* ii. (18) *Rom.* v. (19) 1 *Cor.* iii. (20) *Gal.* iii. (21) *John* i.

" The law saith, *The Father of heaven is angry with thee.*
" The gospel saith, *Christ hath pacified him with his blood.*
" The law saith, *Where is thy righteousness, goodness, and* " *satisfaction?*
" The gospel saith, *Christ is thy righteousness, goodness,* " *and satisfaction.*
" The law saith, *Thou art bound and obliged to me, to the* " *devil, and to hell.*
" The gospel saith, *Christ hath delivered thee from them* " *all.*

" *A comparison between* FAITH *and* UNBELIEF.

" Faith is the root of all good.
" Unbelief is the root of all evil.
" Faith maketh God and man good friends.
" Unbelief maketh them foes.
" Faith bringeth God and man together.
" Unbelief separates them.
" All that faith doth, pleaseth God.
" All that unbelief doth, displeaseth God.
" Faith only maketh a man good and righteous.
" Unbelief maketh him unjust and evil.
" Faith maketh a man a member of *Christ.*
" Unbelief maketh him a member of the devil.
" Faith maketh him an inheritor of heaven.
" Unbelief maketh a man the inheritor of hell.
" Faith maketh a man the servant of God.
" Unbelief maketh him the servant of the devil.
" Faith sheweth us God to be a tender Father.
" Unbelief sheweth him to be a terrible judge.
" Faith holdeth fast by the word of God.
" Unbelief wavereth here and there.
" Faith esteemeth God to be true.
" Unbelief looketh upon him to be false and a liar.
" Faith knoweth God.
" Unbelief knoweth him not.
" Faith loveth both God and his neighbour.
" Unbelief loveth neither of them.
" Faith only saveth us.
" Unbelief only condemneth us.

" *A comparison between* FAITH, HOPE, *and* CHARITY.

" *Faith* cometh of the word of God; *hope* cometh of " faith; and *charity* springeth of them both.

" *Faith* believeth the word; *hope* trusteth to enjoy that " which is promised in the word; *charity* doeth good unto " her

" her neighbour, through the love that it hath to God,
" and the gladness that is within herself.

" *Faith* looketh to God and his word; *hope* looketh
" unto his gift and reward; *charity* looketh on her neigh-
" bour's profit.

" *Faith* receiveth God; *hope* receiveth his reward; *cha-*
" *rity* loveth her neighbour with a glad heart, and that
" without any respect of reward.

" *Faith* pertaineth to God only; *hope* to his reward,
" and *charity* to her neighbour."

This little treatise of Mr *Hamilton's* (continues his editor) though short, is very comprehensive, containing matter sufficient for several volumes; and shews us the true doctrine of the law, of the gospel, of faith, and of works, with their nature, properties, and difference. Which difference is thus to be understood, that in the article of salvation, and in the office of justifying, they are distinct and to be kept asunder, the law from the gospel, and faith from works: Though in the person that is justified, and also in the order of doctrine, they ought and do go necessarily together.

Therefore, wheresoever any question or doubt ariseth respecting salvation, or our justification before God, there the law and all good works must be utterly excluded, that grace may appear to be sovereign, the promise free and gratuitous, and that faith may stand alone; which faith alone, without law or works, confirms to every believer his own particular salvation. For as the grace of God is the *efficient* cause, and *Jesus Christ* the *meritorious* cause of our redemption; so faith is the *instrumental* cause, by which the believer applieth the merits of *Christ* particularly to his own salvation. So that, in the act and office of justification, both the law and works are entirely out of the question, as things that have nothing to do in the matter. The reason is this, that as all our salvation is by *Christ* alone, so nothing can savingly profit us, but that with which we can apprehend *Christ*. Now, as neither the law nor works, but faith alone is that by which we can apprehend *Christ* as an almighty and all-sufficient Saviour, so faith alone justifieth the sinner before God, through the object it doth apprehend; namely, *Jesus Christ*. For the only object of our faith is *Christ*, just as the brazen serpent lifted up in the wilderness, was the object only of the eyes of the *Israelites* looking, and not of their hands working; by virtue of which, through the promise of God, immediately proceeded health to the beholders:

So

So *Christ*, being the object of our faith, becomes righteousness and salvation to our souls, not by works, but by faith only.

Thus we see how faith, being the only eye of our soul, standeth alone in apprehending or seeing *Christ* for justification to life; but yet, nevertheless, in the body it standeth not alone: For besides the eye, there are also hands to work, feet to walk, ears to hear, and other members, every one convenient for the service of the body; and yet of them all, the eye only can see. So in a Christian man's life, and in order of doctrine, there is the law, repentance, hope, charity, and the deeds of charity; all which in life and in doctrine are joined, and necessarily do concur together, and yet in the act of justification there is nothing else in man, that hath any part or place but faith alone apprehending the object, which is *Christ* crucified, in whom is all the worthiness and fulness of our salvation; that is, by our apprehending and receiving of him by faith, as it is written, *Whosoever received him, to them gave he power to become the sons of God*, even *to them that believe on his name: Which were born, not of blood, nor of the will of the flesh, nor of the will of man, but of God* *. And also in *Isaiah* †,—*By his knowledge, shall my righteous Servant justify many; &c.*

Argument.

Datisi.
"Apprehending and receiving of *Christ* only maketh us justified before God. *John* i.
"*Christ* only is apprehended and received by faith.
"*Ergo;* faith only maketh us justified before God.

Argument.

Baroco.
"Justification cometh only by apprehending and receiving of *Christ*. *Isa.* liii.
"The law and works do nothing pertain to the apprehending of *Christ*.
"*Ergo;* the law and works pertain nothing to justification.

Argument.

Celare.
"Nothing, which is unjust of itself, can justify us before God, or help any thing to our justifying.
"Every work we do is unjust before God. *Isa.* lxiv.
"*Ergo;* no work, that we can do, can justify us before God, nor help any thing to our justifying.

* *John* i. 12, 13. † Chap. liii. 11.

Argument

Argument.

Ca- "If works could any thing further our justification,
"then should our works something profit us be-
"fore God.
me- "No works, do the best we can, do profit us be-
"fore God, Luke xvii. John xv.
"*Ergo*; no works that we do, can any thing fur-
stres. "ther our justification.

Argument.

Ba- "All that we can do with God, is only by Christ,
"John xv.
ro- "Our works and merits be not Christ, neither any
"part of him.
"*Ergo*; our works and merits can do nothing with
co. "God.

Argument.

Da- "That which is the cause of condemnation, can-
ri- "not be the cause of justification.
"The law is the cause of condemnation. Rom. iv.
i. "*Ergo*; it is not the cause of justification.

A consequent.

"We are quit and delivered *from* the law. Rom. vii.
"*Ergo*; we are not quit and delivered *by* the law.

"For as much, therefore, as the truth of the scripture, "in express words, hath thus included our salvation in "faith only; we are inforced necessarily to exclude all "other causes and means in our justification, and to "make this difference between the law and the gospel, "between faith and works; affirming, with scripture, "that the law condemneth us, our works do not avail us, "and that faith in *Christ* only justifieth us. And this "difference and distinction ought diligently to be learned "and retained of all Christians, especially in conflicts of "conscience between the law and gospel, between faith "and works, grace and merits, promise and condition, "God's free election and man's free-will: So that the "light of the free grace of God in our salvation may ap-"pear to all consciences, to the immortal glory of God's "holy name. *Amen.*

"*The order and difference of places.*

"The Gospel.	Faith.	Promise.
		God's free election.
	Grace.	
"The Law.	Works.	Condition.
	Merits.	Man's free will.

" The difference and repugnance of these foresaid " places being well noted and expended, it shall give no " small light to every faithful Christian, both to under- " stand the scriptures, to judge in cases of conscience, " and to reconcile such places in the Old and New Testa- " ment, as seem to contradict each other, according to " St Augustine's rule, which is, *Distingue tempora, &* " *conciliabis scripturas*, &c. ' Make distinction of times, ' and thou shalt reconcile the scriptures, *&c.*' On the " other hand, where men are not perfectly instructed in " these places, to discern between the law and the gospel, " between faith and works, *&c.* so long they can never " rightly establish their minds in the free promises of " God's grace; but walk confidently without order, in " all matters of religion. Example of which we have " too much in the Romish church, who confounding these " places together without distinction, following no me- " thod, have perverted the true order of Christian doc- " trine, and have obscured the sweet comfort and benefit " of the gospel of Christ, not knowing the true use either " of the law or gospel.

" *In the doctrine of the* LAW *three things are to be noted.*

" In the *law*, three things are to be considered. *First*, " What is the true vigour and strength of the law, which " is, to require full and perfect obedience of the whole " man, not only to restrain his outward actions, but also " his inward motions, and inclinations of will and af- " fection from the appetite of sin. And therefore, saith " St Paul, *The law is spiritual, but I am carnal*, &c. " Rom. vii. Whereupon riseth this proposition, That " it is not in our nature and power to fulfil the law. " *Item*; The law commandeth that which is to us im- " possible, *&c.*

" The *second* thing to be noted in the doctrine of the " law, is, to consider the time and place of the law, what " they be, and how far they extend. For as the surging " seas have their banks and bars to keep them in; so the " law hath its times and limits, which it ought not to " pass. If Christ had not come and suffered, the time " dominion of the law had been everlasting. But now, " seeing Christ hath come, and hath died in his righteous " flesh; the power of the law against our sinful flesh doth " cease. *For the end of the Law is Christ*, Rom. x. that is, " the death of Christ's body is the death of the law to all " that believe in him: So that whosoever repent of their " sins, and flee to the death and passion of Christ; the

" condemnation

" condemnation and time of the law to them is expired. " Wherefore, this is to be understood as a perpetual rule " in the scripture, that the law, with all his sentences " and judgments, wheresoever they are written, either " in the Old or New Testament, do ever include a privy " exception of repentance and faith in Christ, to the " which always it giveth place, having there his end, and " can proceed no further; according as St Paul saith, " *The law is our schoolmaster* until Christ, *that we might be* " *justified by faith* *.

" Moreover, as the law hath its time *how long* to reign, " so also it hath his proper place *where* to reign. By " the reign of the law here is meant the condemnation of " the law: For as the time of the law ceaseth, when the " faith of Christ in a true repenting heart beginneth; so " hath the law no place in such, as be good and faithful; " that is, in sinners repenting and amending, but only " in them which be evil and wicked. Evil men are such, " as walking in sinful flesh are not yet driven by earnest " repentance to flee to Christ for succour. And therefore, " saith St Paul, *The law is not made for a righteous man,* " *but for the lawless and disobedient, for the ungodly and for* " *sinners*, &c. †. By the *just* man here is meant, not he " which never had disease, but he, who knowing his dis- " ease, seeketh out the physician, and being cured, keepeth " himself in health, as much as he may, from any more " surfeits. Notwithstanding, he shall never so keep " himself, but that his health (that is, his new obedience) " shall always remain frail and imperfect, and shall con- " tinually need the physician. Where, by the way, these " three things are to be noticed; first, the sickness itself: " Secondly, the knowing of the sickness: Thirdly, the " physician. The sickness is sin. The knowing of the " sickness is repentance, which the law worketh. The " physician is Christ. And therefore although in remis- " sion of our sins repentance is joined with faith, yet it " is not the dignity or worthiness of repentance that " causeth remission of sins, but only the worthiness of " Christ, whom faith only apprehendeth; no more than " the feeling of the disease is the cause of health, but " only the physician. For else when a man is cast and " condemned by the law, it is not repentance that can " save or deserve life; but if his pardon come, then is it " the grace of the prince, and not his repentance that " saveth.

* Gal. iii. 24. † Tim. i. 9.

"The third point to be considered in the doctrine of "the law, is this, that we mark well the end and purpose "why the law is given, which is not to bring us to sal- "vation, nor to work God's favour, nor to make us "good: But rather to declare and convict our wicked- "ness, and to make us feel the danger thereof, to this "end and purpose, that we, seeing our condemnation, "and being in ourselves confounded, may be driven "thereby to have our refuge in Christ the Son of God, "and submit ourselves to him, in whom only is to be "found our remedy, and in none other And this end "of the law ought to be seriously considered by all Chris- "tians: That they do not fall into manifold errors and "inconveniences. 1. They pervert all order of doc- "trine. 2. They seek that in the law, which the law "cannot give. 3. They are not able to comfort them- "selves nor any other. 4. They keep mens souls in an "uncertain doubt of their salvation. 5. They obscure "the light of God's grace. 6. They are unkind to "God's benefits. 7. They are injurious to Christ's pas- "sion, and enemies to his cross. 8. They stop Chris- "tians' liberty. 9. They bereave the church, the spouse "of Christ, of her due comfort, as taking away the sun "out of the world. 10. In all their doings, they shoot "at a wrong mark: For where Christ only is to be set "up to be apprehended by our faith, and so freely to jus- "tify us; they, leaving this justification by faith, set up "other marks, partly by the law, partly of their own "devising for men to shoot at. And here cometh in "the manifest and manifold absurdities of the bishop of "Rome's doctrine, which (the Lord willing) we will re- "hearse, as in a catalogue here following."

Errors and absurdities of the Papists, *touching the doctrine of the* LAW, *and of the* GOSPEL.

"1. They erroneously conceive an opinion of salva- "tion in the law, which only is to be sought in the faith "of Christ, and in no other.

"2. They erroneously seek God's favour, by works of "the law: Not knowing that the law, in this our cor- "rupt nature, worketh only the anger of God. Rom. iii.

"3. They err also in this, that where the office of the "law is diverse and contrary from the gospel, they, "without any difference, confounded the one with the "other, making the gospel to be a law, and Christ to be "a Moses.

"4. They

" 4. They err in dividing the law unskilfully into " three parts, into the law-natural, the law-moral, and " the law-evangelical.

" 5. They err again in dividing the law-evangelical " into precepts and counsels, making the precepts to " serve for all men, the counsels only to serve for them " that be perfect.

" 6. The chief substance of all their teaching and " preaching resteth upon the works of the law; as ap- " pears by their religion, which wholly consisteth in " men's merits, traditions, laws, canons, decrees, and ce- " remonies.

" 7. In the doctrine of salvation, of remission, and " justification, either they admit the law equally with the " gospel, or else, clean secluding the gospel, they teach " and preach the law; so that little mention is made of " the faith of Christ, or none at all.

" 8. They err in thinking, that the law of God re- " quireth nothing in us under pain of damnation; but " only our obedience in external actions: As for the in- " ward affections and concupiscence, they esteem but " light matters.

" 9. They, not knowing the true nature and strength " of the law, do erroneously imagine that it is in man's " power to fulfil it.

" 10. They err in thinking, that it is in man's power, " not only to keep the law of God, but also to perform " more perfect works than be in God's law commanded, " and these they call the works of perfection. And hereof " rise the works of supererogation, of satisfaction, of con- " gruity, and condignity, to store up the treasure-house of " the pope's church, to be sold out to the people for money.

" 11. They err in saying, that the state monastical is " more perfect for keeping the counsels of the gospel, " than other states be in keeping the law of the gospel.

" 12. The counsels of the gospel they call the vows of " their religious men; as profound humility, perfect chas- " tity, and wilful poverty.

" 13. They err abominably, in equalling their laws " and constitutions with God's law, and in saying, that " man's law bindeth under pain of damnation, no less " than God's law.

" 14. They err sinfully, in punishing the transgressors " of their laws more sharply than the transgressors of the " law of God; as appeareth by their inquisitions, and " their canon-law, &c.

" 15. Finally, they err most horribly in this, that where " the free promise of God ascribeth our salvation only to " our faith in Christ, excluding works; they, on the con- " trary, ascribe salvation only, or principally, to works " and merits, excluding faith. Whereupon ariseth the " application of the sacrifice of the mass, *ex opere operato*, " for the quick and dead, application of the merits of " Christ's passion, in bulls, application of the merits of " all religious orders, and other such like trumpery, as " above mentioned.

" THREE *cautions to be observed and avoided in the true understanding of the* LAW.

" *First*, That we, through the misunderstanding of the " scriptures, do not take the law for the gospel, nor the " gospel for the law; but skilfully discern and distinguish " the voice of the one from the voice of the other. Many " there be, who reading the book of the New Testament, " imagine whatever they find contained in it, to be " only and merely the voice of the gospel. And, on the " other hand, whatever is contained in the Old Testament, " that is, within the *law*, *stories*, *psalms*, and *prophets*, " to be only and merely the word and voice of the law. " In which they are deceived; for the preaching of the " law and of the gospel are mixed together in both the " Testaments, as well in the Old as in the New. Neither " is the order of these two doctrines to be distinguished " by books and leaves, but by the diversity of God's Spi- " rit speaking unto us. For sometimes in the Old Tes- " tament God doth comfort, as he comforted Adam, with " the voice of the gospel. Sometimes also in the New, " he doth threaten and terrify; as when Christ threatened " the Pharisees. In some places, again, Moses and the " *prophets* play the *evangelists:* Insomuch that Jerom " doubted whether he should call Isaiah a *prophet*, or an " *evangelist*. In some places, likewise, Christ and the " apostles supply the part of Moses: And as Christ him- " self, until his death, was under the law (which law he " came not to break, but to fulfil,) so his sermons made to " the Jews, run all for the most part upon the perfect doc- " trine and works of the law, shewing and teaching what " we ought to do by the right law of justice, and what " danger ensueth in not performing the same. All which " places, though they be contained in the book of the " New Testament, yet they are to be referred to the doc- " trine of the law, ever having in them included a privy

" exception

" exception of repentance and faith in Christ Jesus. As " for example: where Christ thus preacheth, *Blessed are " the pure in heart; for they shall see God* *. *Except ye be " converted, and become as little children, ye shall not enter " into the kingdom of heaven* †. *But he that doeth the will " of my Father, shall enter into the kingdom of heaven* ‡. " Likewise the parable of the unkind servant, justly cast " into prison for not forgiving his fellow-servant, &c. §. " The casting the rich glutton into hell, &c. ‖. *He that " denieth me before men, shall be denied before the angels of " God* ¶. With other such like places of scripture. All " these, I say, pertaining to the doctrine of the law, do " ever include in them a secret exception of earnest re- " pentance and faith in Christ's precious blood. For " else, Peter denied, and yet repented. Many publicans " and sinners were unkind, unmerciful, and hard-hearted " to their fellow-servants: and yet many of them re- " pented, and by faith were saved, &c. The grace of " Christ Jesus works in us repentance towards God, and " faith in himself unfeigned.

" Briefly, to know when the law speaketh, and when " the gospel speaketh, and to discern the voice of the one " from the voice of the other, we may learn from the " following remark. That when there is any moral " work commanded to be done, either to avoid punish- " ment, or upon promise of any reward, temporal or eter- " nal, or else when any promise is made with condition " of any work commanded in the law; there is to be un- " derstood the voice of the law. On the other hand, " where the promise of life and salvation is offered unto " us freely, without any merits or doings of ours, and " simply without any condition annexed, of any law, " either natural, ceremonial, or moral: All such places, " whether they be read in the Old Testament or in the " New, are to be referred to the voice and doctrine of " the gospel. And this promise of God, freely made to " us by the merits of Jesus Christ, so long before pro- " phesied to us in the Old Testament, and afterward ex- " hibited in the New Testament, and now requiring no- " thing but our faith in the Son of God, is called pro- " perly the voice of the gospel, and differeth from the " voice of the law in this, that it hath *no condition* ad- " joined of our meriting, but only respecteth the merits " of Christ the Son of God; by faith in whom alone we

* Matth v. 8. † Ibid. xviii. 3. ‡ Ibid. vii. 21.
§ Ibid. xviii. 23, &c. ‖ Luke xvi. 19, &c. ¶ Ibid. xii. 9.

" are promised of God to be saved and justified, accord-
" ing as we read. *The righteousness of God*, which is *by*
" *faith of Jesus Christ unto all, and upon all them that be-*
" *lieve*, &c. Rom. iii. 22.

" The second caution or danger to be avoided is, that
" we now knowing how to discern rightly between the
" law and the gospel, and having intelligence not to
" mistake one for the other, must take heed again that
" we break not the order between these two, taking and
" applying the law where the gospel is to be applied,
" either to ourselves or toward others. For notwith-
" standing the law and the gospel many times are to be
" joined together in order of doctrine; yet it may some-
" times fall out, that the law must be utterly sequestered
" from the gospel. As when any person or persons do
" feel themselves with the majesty of the law and judg-
" ment of God so terrified and oppressed, and with the
" burden of their sins overweighed and thrown down in-
" to utter discomfort, and almost even to the pit of hell,
" as happeneth many times to soft and timorous con-
" sciences of God's good servants: When such mortified
" hearts do hear, either in preaching or in reading, any
" such example or place of the scripture, which per-
" taineth to the law; let them think, that they do not in
" the least belong to them, no more than a mourning-
" weed belongeth to a marriage-feast; and therefore re-
" moving out of their minds all thoughts of the law, of
" fear, of judgment, and condemnation, let them only
" set before their eyes the gospel, the sweet comfort of
" God's promise, free forgiveness of sins in Christ, grace,
" redemption, liberty, rejoicing, psalms, thanks, singing,
" and a paradise of spiritual jocundity, and nothing else;
" thinking thus with themselves, that the law hath done
" his office in them already, and now must needs give
" place to his better; that is, must needs give room to
" Christ the Son of God, who is the Lord and Master,
" the Fulfiller and Finisher of the law; *for Christ is the*
" *end of the law for righteousness to every one that believeth.*
" Rom. x. 4.

" The third danger to be avoided is, that we do not,
" on the other hand, use or apply the gospel, instead of
" the law. For, as applying the law instead of the gos-
" pel is like going to a marriage feast in a mourning
" gown; so to apply the gospel instead of the law, is to
" cast pearls before swine: In which there is great abuse
" among many. For commonly it is seen, that these
" worldly epicures and secure mammonists, to whom the

" doctrine

" doctrine of the law doth properly appertain, do receive " and apply to themselves most principally the sweet " promises of the gospel: So likewise it is too often the " case, for those broken and contrite in heart, to whom " only belong the joyful tidings of the gospel and not " the law, to receive and retain to themselves the terrible " voice and sentences of the law. Whereby it cometh " to pass, that many do rejoice, that should mourn; and " many fear and mourn, that should rejoice. Where- " fore, to conclude, in private use of life, let every per- " son wisely discern between the law and the gospel, " and aptly apply to himself, that which he seeth con- " venient.

" And again, in public order of doctrine, let every " discreet preacher put a difference between the broken " heart of the mourning sinner, and the impenitent " worldling, and so join both the law with the gospel, " and the gospel with the law; that in throwing down " the wicked he ever spare the weak-hearted; and again, so " spare the weak, that he do not encourage the ungodly."

The Christian reader will excuse the length of these extracts, which we will conclude with remarking; that this excellent man Hamilton, and his blessed commentator Frith, lived before the establishment of the reformation in their respective countries of Scotland and England; and that it is comfortable to reflect, that the same Spirit teaches the same truth in all places and times; as appears in the instance before us, which contains the gospel with as much clearness (and would to GOD, it might not be said, with *more* clearness) as among the professors of a later day.

GERARD GELDENHAUR,

SOMETIMES CALLED,

GERARDUS NOVIOMAGUS.

GERARD GELDENHAUR, a very learned German, was born at Nimeguen, in the year 1482. From his earliest youth, he was distinguished by his love of

of learning, especially of history and poetry. He studied classical learning at Daventer, and went through his course of philosophy at Louvain with such success, that he was chosen to teach that science there. It was in this famous university, that he contracted a very strict friendship with several learned men, and in particular with Erasmus, as appears from the epistles of the latter. He made some stay at Antwerp, from whence he was invited to the court of Charles of Austria, to be reader and historian to that prince: But not loving to change his abode often, he did not think proper to attend him into Spain, but disengaged himself from his service, and entered into that of Philip of Burgundy, bishop of Utrecht. He was his reader and secretary twelve years, namely, to the year 1524; after which, he executed the same functions in the court of Maximilian of Burgundy. He was sent to Wittemberg in the year 1526, in order to enquire into the state of the schools, and of the church there. He faithfully reported what he had observed in that city, and confessed, he could not disapprove of a doctrine so conformable to the scriptures, as that which he heard there: And upon this he forsook the popish religion, and retired towards the Upper Rhine. He married at Worms, and taught youth for some time. Afterwards, about the year 1531, he was invited to Augsburg, to undertake the same employment; and at length, in the year 1534, he went from thence to Marpurg, where he taught history for two years, and then divinity to his death. He died of the plague on the 10th of January, A. D. 1542. He was a man well skilled in poetry, rhetoric, and history. The most considerable of his works are—*Historia Batavica*; Strasburg, 1533; but Vossius mentions an edition of the year 1520.—*De Batavorum Insulâ.*—*Germaniæ Inferioris Historia*; Strasburg, 1532.—*Epistola de Zelandiâ.*—*Satyræ Octo*, printed at Louvain, in 1515.—*Historiæ et Catalogus episcoporum Ultrajectinorum*, &c.

His changing his religion, and some writings which he published against the church of Rome, occasioned a quarrel between him and Erasmus. Erasmus called him a seditious fellow, and blamed him for publishing scoffing books, which only irritated princes against Luther's followers. He blamed him also for prefixing the name, and some notes of Erasmus, to certain letters, the intent of which was to shew, that the heretics ought not to be punished. This was exposing Erasmus to the court of Rome, and to the popish powers: For it was saying in effect,

effect, that Erasmus had furnished the innovators with weapons to attack their enemies. Nothing could be more true; but Erasmus did not like to have such offices done him. Age had made him a coward, if he was not one naturally; and he was afraid to avow principles which he secretly maintained. He abused Geldenhaur, therefore, in very severe terms; compared him to the traitor Judas; and, instead of assisting him in his necessity, put him off with raillery. 'But, my dear Vulturius,' for so he nick-named him, 'since you have taken 'the resolution to profess an evangelical life, I wonder 'you find poverty uneasy; when St Hilarion, not having 'money enough to pay his boat-hire, thought it cause of 'glory, that he had undesignedly arrived at such gospel-'perfection. St Paul also glories, that he knew how 'to abound, and how to suffer need; and that, having 'nothing, he possessed all things. The same apostle 'commends certain Hebrews, who had received the gos-'pel, that they took the spoiling of their goods joyfully. 'Add that, if the Jews suffer none to be poor among 'them, how much more does it become those who boast 'of the gospel, to relieve the wants of their brethren by 'mutual charity: Especially since evangelical frugality 'is content with very little? Those, who live by the 'spirit, want no delicacies, if they have but bread and 'water: They are strangers to luxury, and feed on fast-'ing. We read, that the apostles themselves satisfied 'their hunger with ears of corn rubbed in their hands. 'Perhaps, you may imagine, I am jesting all this while; '—very likely—but others will not think so.'——These taunts of Erasmus give us another trace of his true character. He had not grace to dare the frowns of the world, and particularly of the great, among whom were most of his considerable friends; and these were of the Roman communion. Whatever he said in favour of Protestantism, was by pure constraint of the truth. He had very little court to make in that quarter. Hence, as he was a man of great wit as well as learning, he was free in his jests upon the foibles of many excellent men among the Protestants, which served his purpose, with many of the popish party, of concealing his real sentiments, or of enjoying them without molestation. He had, in short, too much of that wisdom, which strives to reconcile God and mammon.

Under this life, Melchior Adam relates an anecdote of John Weselus, a physician, as well as divine, who canvassed

vassed the doctrine of the sacrament full thirty years before the ventilation of that subject by Luther and Zuinglius, and wrote notes upon those passages of the New Testament, in which it occurs. Weselus was also surnamed Basil and Gansfort. He was esteemed of such uncommon learning, piety, and judgment that he was usually called *lux mundi*, 'The light of the world;' and, in respect to any controverted matter (like another Pythagoras) it was sufficient for determination to prove, *hoc dixit*, *hoc docuit*, *hoc scripsit*; that Weselus had said, taught, and wrote it. He visited most of the universities of note in the Christian world, and was an intimate friend of John de Wesaliâ, whom we mentioned before, and whom the younger Spanheim has mistaken for the same person in his ecclesiastical history. He expected to have shared persecution with his learned friend; and probably would, but for the interposition of David à Burgundiâ, then bishop of Utrecht, whom he had greatly served in his medical capacity. He wrote many tracts, which were printed at Leipsig, Antwerp, &c. and which have been honoured by being placed in the first class of those books, prohibited by the church of Rome. He died in his 70th year. By the writings of this excellent person, were the eyes of Geldenhaur opened, to the acknowledgment of the truth. And he relates this remarkable circumstance, that in the church of St Levinus, in March 1520, he [Geldenhaur] was informed by John Ostendorp, a man advanced in years, that Weselus, long before, had, in conversation with him, when he was but a youth, addressed him [the said Ostendorp,] in these words: "My studious young friend, you will live to see the day, "when the doctrine of our late contentious school-di-"vines, Thomas Aquinas, Bonaventure, and others of the "same leaven, shall be exploded by all true teachers of "the Christian religion."—How true a prophet he was, the event amply shewed; for, soon after that time, the Reformation began in Germany.—The learned reader may see more of this Weselus, in Baselius's "Sulpitius "Belgicus," and in the writings of Flaccus Illyricus, Wolfius, and others.

It is proper to observe, that Gerard Geldenhaur was better known by the name of his country, than by that of his family; for he was usually called Geradius Noviomagus: and Erasmus, in his letters to him, gives him no other name.

JOHN

JOHN OECOLAMPADIUS.

THIS German Reformer was born at Winsperg in Franconia, in the year 1482, according to Bayle. Dupin says he was born at Auschein in Switzerland; but it is certain he was of Franconia. His parents were of a good family and in very competent circumstances. It appears, in the preface to his annotations upon the prophecy of Isaiah, that his grand-father was of Basil, and that his mother was remarkable for the great sanctity of her life, and liberality to the poor. His father, being (it is said) a merchant, designed him for his own profession; but his mother was desirous of making him a scholar, and prevailed on her husband to send him to the college of Heilbrun. He was soon removed to the university of Heidelberg, where he received the degree of batchelor at fourteen years of age. From Heidelberg, he was sent to Boulogne, where he studied the civil law six months; and then returned to Heidelberg, where he applied himself to the study of divinity. He assiduously read the works of Thomas Aquinas, Richard, and Gerson; but he despised the subtilties of Scotus, and scorned to follow the humour which prevailed in the universities. He disregarded the honorary distinctions in the public exercises; and only endeavoured to obtain the character of a learned man. He furnished his mind with useful knowledge, and abstained from the disputations of the schoolmen. All his conversation was remarkably serious and exemplary, grounded upon the maxim, *Eum, qui proficiat in literis & deficiat in moribus, non proficere, sed deficere:* That he, who increases in knowledge without virtue, does not increase, but decrease. 'Not long after (says Dr Fuller in his Abel Redivivus) he was honoured with the title of master of arts, in the same academy; after which, by the advice of his parents, he went to Bononia, with an intent to apply himself to the study of the civil law; but after staying half a year, and finding the air very prejudicial to his health, he returned again to his father, and remained with him till he had recovered his former strength. He then went again to Heidelberg; where, contrary to the will of his father, he quitted the study of the civil law, and gave himself

himself wholly to the study of divinity; being led and guided thereto by the love of truth. In the performance of which act he imitated the example of that burning lamp of the church, John Chrysostom, the same act being also approved and embraced by Martin Luther, John Calvin, Peter Martyr, Theodore Beza, Lambertus Danæus, and others.

Here he began to make himself acquainted with such schoolmen, whose judgment in points of controversy were most approved of in that academy; as Thomas Aquinas, Gerson, and others; which he studied with the utmost labour day and night, desiring an explanation of such distinctions, as he could not understand.

This more than ordinary industry procured him a general approbation, together with a certain demonstration of his future worth, not only in Heidelberg, but in the adjacent places; insomuch, that he was recommended to that illustrious prince Philip, Elector Palatine, who sent for him, and committed his youngest sons to his tuition; bearing always a reverend respect to him, for the excellency of those parts with which he saw he was endowed. After he had been a while in this new employment, he perceived that a courtly life did not suit his natural inclination; therefore he left it, and returned again (as one that had been long captivated) to the study of divinity.

His parents perceiving that his mind was altogether set on that study, and having no other child but him, they made use of those means that God had blessed them with, in order to procure a priesthood for him, in the town where he was born, to which also was added the authority of preaching: Unto this place he was called; but finding himself, after a fortnight's trial, unable to undergo so laborious an office; he desired leave to return again to Heidelberg, that he might acquire a greater measure of knowledge, and return from thence better qualified to discharge the important duties of that sacred function.

Having obtained leave, he changed his resolution and steered his course towards Tubingen; and from thence to Stutgard, where Reuchlin lived; a man famous for his excellent knowledge in the languages. Here he stayed for a short space, during which time, he received from Reuchlin some light concerning the Greek; in which, by daily study and practice, he so profited, that, upon his return to Heidelberg, he published a Greek grammar; where he also learned the Hebrew by a Spanish teacher.

Finding

Finding himself better qualified by the addition of the languages, he returned to his native place, and chearfully laboured in his pastoral office; preaching Christ so powerfully to them, that he was greatly admired of his auditors; nor did he shine only in sound excellent doctrine, but also in a corresponding life and conversation; setting a good example before those to whom he preached; and always associating with such as were famous for religion or learning, especially Wolfgang Capito, with whom he was acquainted at Heidelberg: Their friendship being here renewed, it continued firm till death.

During the discharge of his holy calling in the place of his nativity, Wolfgang Capito was called to Basil, to be their public lecturer; which advancement did not cause him at all to forget his old friend Oecolampadius, but rather put him upon thinking, how he might be of service in promoting him to some more eminent place; shewing great concern, that so bright a lamp of piety should be shut up in so narrow and unregarded a part of the country; wherefore he used all means to persuade the inhabitants of Basil, signifying his worth, to invite him to this city, and to confer that dignity upon him, which should correspond with his merit. Capito herein succeeded according to his wishes, for they readily agreed, and sent Oecolampadius a call to the pastoral office in that city, in 1515. Where, after he had preached, with great applause, for about a twelve-month, he was honoured, in the same academy, with the title of doctor in divinity. About the same time Erasmus Rotterodamus came to Basil, to publish his annotations on the New Testament; for the perfecting of which, he used the assistance of our Oecolampadius, on account of the eminency of his parts, as he himself freely confesseth.

When Erasmus's work was finished, Oecolampadius left Basil and went to Augsburg, being called by the commons of the cathedral church to preach in that place unto the people: But he remained not long here; partly because of the humble opinion he had of his own abilities, thinking himself insufficient for so important and eminent a station; and, partly because of a degree of melancholy which predominated in his constitution, that disposed him to retirement and solitude. He therefore departed, and entered into the monastry of St Bridget, situated without the city of Augsburg; but used such caution in making his covenant with the monks, as that he was to have liberty to study, and to believe what he would, and to depart from the n

them when he pleased; for, said he, "*Etiamsi sexcentis "juramentis me obstrixero, nequaquam ea servare potero, si "quando utilis ministerio verbi sum futurus.*" Although I should bind myself by innumerable oaths, I shall not by any means be able to keep them, if at any time I shall perceive that any profit will accrue to the church by my ministry.

The monks, sensible of their acquisition, received him joyfully into their society, bestowing all things on him that he desired most liberally, and particularly acquainted him with all their privileges. After a few months he was so well pleased, that he purposed to spend the rest of his days in this lazy manner of life: But it pleased God to call him out again, and for that end stirred up his friends, and especially Capito, who seriously persuaded and earnestly exhorted him to give over that monastical life; to whose entreaties he yielded, and purposed to betake himself again to the labours of his calling; but, by way of preparation to his leaving the monastry, he first prepared and published a book of confession, in which, in many particulars, he opposed the doctrine of the church of Rome, and thereby rendered his life in danger. The monks also were greatly afraid, lest any inconvenience should happen to them on account of his proceedings, and therefore endeavoured to free their monastry of him. In the mean time, he sharply reprehended them for their errors, persuading them to embrace the truth, which so exceedingly incensed them against him, that they laboured privately with his friends to be more earnest with him to leave the monastry.' Thus far Fuller.

Oecolampadius, in 1517, wrote a letter to Erasmus, full of friendship and respect. He had seen Erasmus at Basil, and informed him, of his own occupations at this time; for he was collating the Vulgate with the Hebrew; and of his connections with Melancthon. In 1518, Erasmus wrote a friendly letter to Oecolampadius, in which he highly commends Melancthon; though, at that time, he was displeased with him, for having spoken slightly of his New Testament.

Oecolampadius had acquired a great reputation for his skill in the learned languages, and was held in great esteem for his preaching. He was so far from admitting any change in religion, that he wrote a book against Luther to prove that the mass might be called a sacrifice. It was in 1520, when he was thirty-eight years old, that he withdrew himself from the world, and became a monk of the order of St Bridget, in the monastry of St Laurence, near Augsburg.

Augsburg. 'I hear, says Erasmus, that Oecolampadius is 'turned monk: I wish he had thought better upon it.' Erasmus approved this step of Oecolampadius as little as his friend Bilibaldus; and observes, that a man's discontented and restless temper will pursue him even into the retirement of a monastery. Oecolampadius informed Erasmus of his change of life; to which the latter replied, and wished, that this learned man might find his new situation answerable to his hopes. 'If I thought, says 'Erasmus, it would prove so, I could be content to bear 'you company: But I fear you will find your expec-'tations disappointed.' Oecolampadius suspected, that Erasmus disapproved of his entering into a monastic life. Erasmus tells him, it was not so; and that, when he treated the monks as Pharisees, he only meant his own persecutors; and those, who under a pretence of religion, were real foes to it. He was willing to suppose, that Oecolampadius had chosen a society less infected than some others.

Erasmus was not deceived in his conjecture; for, in 1521, Oecolampadius began to go over to the reformers. He had corrected the first edition of the New Testament published by Erasmus, who describes him as a person that approved the state of life into which he had entered, and performed his duty: However, Oecolampadius soon altered his judgment, and left his monastery in 1522. He retired to Basil, in Switzerland, where he was made curate, and preacher of the church of St Martin; and he soon introduced the doctrine of Luther. Here he was again advanced by the senate to a pastoral office, with a yearly stipend, which he performed with great zeal and constancy to the glory of God and the good of his church; here he boldly discovered to his auditors those errors, which by continuance had got firm footing in the church—he opened up to them the perfection and sufficiency of the merits of Christ—he declared to them the true nature of faith—and explained to them the true doctrine of charity; insomuch that they began to waver in their minds about the authority of the popish religion. Whilst he was thus zealously occupied in these things, there were some who laboured to draw him again to the Pseudo-Catholic religion, especially Johannes Cochlæus, who, in 1524, wrote letters to him, in which he declared himself deeply afflicted, to hear that a man, so excellently learned, should lay aside his coul, and adhere to such heretical opinions; and at the same time exhorted him to revoke his opinion

and return to the monastery, promising him a dispensation from the Pope, and the favour of the Prior, which he had formerly enjoyed: But these and such like things were slighted by Oecolampadius, who bringing them to the word of God, found they would not endure the trial.

In the performance of his pastoral charge, an assistant was appointed him by public authority; and now he began to settle a more excellent Reformation in the church, commanding the sacrament of baptism to be administered in the mother tongue, and the sacrament of the Lord's supper to be received in both kinds; he taught that the mass was not a sacrifice for the living and the dead, or for those who were tormented in their feigned purgatory; but that perfect satisfaction was made for all believers by the passion and merits of Christ. He dissuaded them from sprinkling themselves with holy-water, and from the consecration of palms, and the like; declaring, that they who attributed virtue to such things, did exceedingly detract from the glory and power of God. His preachings of the doctrines of Christ took such deep root in the hearts of his auditors, that they gave a period to many superstitious actions among them.

The foundation of future Reformation was no sooner laid, than the old dragon began to play his part, and to discover his malicious envy and hatred against such things as make for the glory of God; either by hindering their proceedings, or by laying some foul aspersion on them: For at that time brake forth that, yet continued, sacramentary dissension between Martin Luther and Huldericus Zuinglius, pastor of the church at Zurich, concerning the eucharist, which caused a great dissention between the churches of Switzerland and Saxony. Oecolampadius endeavoured, but with little success, to heal these dissensions by publishing a book upon the true meaning of these words, *Hoc est corpus meum*; and by many strong arguments affirmed, that it was a *tropial* phrase.

This intended Reformation was again hindered by Eckius and his followers, who taught, 1. That the substantial body and blood of Christ was in the sacrament of the altar. 2. That they were truly offered up in the mass, both for the living and the dead. 3. That the Virgin Mary and the saints were to be worshipped as intercessors. 4. That the images of Jesus and the saints were not to be abolished. 5. That after this life there was a purgatory.

These positions were vehemently opposed by Oecolampadius at the public disputation held at Baden: The consequence

consequence of which was, that some of the Helvetians, or Switzers, subscribed the arguments of Eckius, and others those of Oecolampadius; so that their dissension still remained; nor could it be removed by any means, although attempted by many worthy instruments of Christ, who encountered many dangers, in order to accomplish an end so desirable. However Oecolampadius wrought so with the people, that liberty of conscience was granted to the citizens in matters of religion.

Luther was introducing the Reformation in Germany; while Zuinglius began to introduce it in Switzerland, by publicly preaching against the corruptions of the Roman church. Oecolampadius assisted Zuinglius; which made Erasmus speak ill of them both, in 1524, and inveigh violently against the morals both of the reformed, who then began to make a party, and of the Lutherans. 'Shall we, says Erasmus, shake off the domination of 'popes and prelates, to submit to worse tyrants than 'they, to scabby madmen, to the scum of the earth?' He had in view Otho Brunfield, and Farellus, whom he could not bear, because they had declared him as a political time-server, who durst not act according to his true sentiments. They had their faults: But they applied themselves closely to the study of the holy scriptures; and, as far as they understood the gospel, they preached it with great fervour, and with no less danger, if there was something in their behaviour which Erasmus could justly censure, there was also something which he might have commended.

Oecolampadius and Zuinglius had declared openly enough, that they followed not the sentiments of Luther in all things. Yet they spake of Luther with respect; and these differences were not concerning things essential and fundamental. Erasmus, who was so well versed in ecclesiastical antiquities, knew that the ancient fathers were far enough from being all of a mind, though they agreed in the main; and as he pardoned them, he ought to have extended the same favour to his contemporaries, to men equally liable to the same defects, and equally worthy of the same regard and respect.

Erasmus, in 1525, appeared angry with Oecolampadius; because in the preface to his commentary on Isaiah, he had said of Erasmus, *Magnus* Erasmus *noster*, "*Our* great "*Erasmus*," which might give occasion to the enemies of the latter to say, that he and Oecolampadius were of a mind. The beginning of this epistle is not worthy of Erasmus.

'I judge not, says he; I leave that to the Lord, who will 'absolve, or condemn you: But I consider what several 'great men think of you, the emperor, the pope, Ferdi-'nand, the king of England, the bishop of Rochester, car-'dinal Wolsey, and many others, whose authority it is 'not safe for me to despise, and whose favour it is not 'prudent for me to throw away.' What reply this learned and worthy Reformer made to this strange complaint, we know not: But he might very justly have told Erasmus, that he had done him more honour than he deserved; and that for the future, he would throw away no more civilities upon him.

Whilst Lutheranism was settling in Germany, the doctrine of the new sect, founded in Switzerland by Zuinglius, was called, 'Evangelical Truth;' and Zuinglius boldly opposed the errors of the church of Rome. Upon this foundation he continued preaching from the beginning of the year 1519, not only against indulgences, but also against the intercession and invocation of saints, the sacrifice of the mass, the ecclesiastical vows, the celebacy of priests, and the abstinence from meats. However, he attempted no alteration in the outward and public worship of God till 1523, when he found the magistrates and citizens of Zurich disposed to cast off the Romish doctrine, and receive the reformed.

About this time, the sect of Anabaptists sprung up in Germany, under Nicholas Stork and Thomas Muncer, who had been followers of Luther. They taught, that the goods of all men ought to be common: That all men should be free, and independent: That God would no longer permit the oppressions of kings, and the injustice of magistrates: That the time was come for them to be deposed, and men of honesty and religion set up in their places. This seditious doctrine was dispersed in Germany, and caused a rebellion among the peasants in all places. The first commotions began in Swabia, which soon spread throughout all the ten circles of the empire, where vast multitudes of peasants plundered the country; robbed and burnt the churches, monasteries, and castles; slew the priests, monks, and nobility; and made a strange desolation in all the states. The princes of the empire sent a confederate army against the rebels, who were defeated in three battles by George Truchses, count of Walburg, and the elector Palatine. Muncer still kept some bands of peasants in Thuringia, and made Mulhausen the chief residence of his Utopian kingdom. But John, elector of Saxony,

Saxony, Frederic prince of Hesse, and the duke of Brunswick, attacked Muncer at Franckhusen, where he was defeated, taken prisoner, and executed.

While the German princes were crushing this rebellion of the peasants, there happened great disputes in Germany and Switzerland between the Romish priests and the Reformers; as also between the Lutherans, Zuinglians, and Anabaptists. Luther declared himself against the doctrine of Zuinglius, concerning the Lord's Supper: But Oecolampadius concurred with Zuinglius, and taught the same doctrine at Basil.

Erasmus resided at this time at Basil, and speaks of the slaughter of the peasants in Germany: But commends the comparative moderation of the reformers of Basil. He wrote to Bedda, to justify a letter which he had formerly sent to the bishop of Basil. In it we find some remarkable things concerning the sentiments of the reformed, as to the eucharist. 'Carolostad, says he, hath brought a most 'formidable tragedy upon the stage. He hath persuaded 'the people, that there is nothing in the Lord's Supper 'except bread and wine. Zuinglius hath written books 'to support this opinion: And Oecolampadius hath de-'fended it with such skill, and hath employed so many 'arguments, and such persuasive eloquence, that, if God 'should not interpose, even the elect may be seduced. 'This city of Basil wavers; but it may still be confirmed 'in the faith. I am obliged to quit all my other affairs, 'to enter into this war, although I have not abilities 'equal to so difficult a task.' It appears not, that Erasmus even undertook to confute Oecolampadius; and this was probably a mere bragging and threatening, not intended to be put in execution, and thrown out only to please the Romanists. He acted very prudently in leaving Oecolampadius and Zuinglius at quiet, and in declining a combat, wherein he would infallibly have been buffeted and disgraced. He was ever suspected of favouring this very sentiment; and, in another letter, he bestows the same praises upon this work of Oecolampadius.

Oecolampadius agreed with Zuinglius in the nature of the doctrine; but he gave a different sense of our Lord's words. Zuinglius placed the figure of these words, 'This 'is my body,' in the verb, '*is*;' which he held to be taken for *signifies*. Oecolampadius laid it upon the noun, *body*; and affirmed that the bread is called, *the body*, by a metonymy, which allows the name of the thing signified to be given to the sign.

The Lutherans, in Swabia and Bavaria, decried the doctrine of Oecolampadius in their sermons, which obliged him to dedicate a treatise upon the words of the institution of the Lord's Supper to them, printed at Strasburg in 1525, and afterwards in the German tongue at Basil, where it was at first forbidden. As soon as this formidable book appeared, the magistrates of Basil consulted two divines and two lawyers, to know whether the public sale of it might be permitted. The divines were Erasmus and Berus, the lawyers were Bonifacius Amerbachius and Claudius Canzonetta. Erasmus says, that, in giving his answer upon this point, he made no invectives against Oecolampadius; and so the book was allowed to be sold. He adds, Zuinglius, Oecolampadius, Capito, and Pellican, were alarmed at this procedure; and that Capito wrote from Strasburg, desiring that too much deference might not be paid to the judgment of these four arbitrators.

Brentius answered Oecolampadius, in the name of all the Lutheran ministers of Swabia, in a book intitled, *Syngramma Suevicum super verbis cœnæ*, in which he asserted, 'That Jesus Christ is present in the sacrament, and in 'the action of the supper: That his body and blood are 'received, although in an invisible manner, by faith; as 'remission of sins is received by baptism.' Yet he intimated, that the body and blood of Christ are present only by faith, and are received only spiritually. The *Syngramma* was translated by John Agricola into the German language; and it was approved by Luther, who wrote a preface to it, wherein he says, 'The sacramentarians 'had already five or six leaders; the first, Carolostadius; 'who applies the pronoun this, to the visible body of 'Jesus Christ; the second Zuinglius, who expounds the 'word *is*, by *signifies*; the third Oecolampadius, who places 'the figure upon the word, *body*; a fourth perverts the 'order of the words; a fifth alters their places; the sixth 'is not yet produced, who will chicane about the words; 'and, perhaps, we may soon see a seventh, who will 'overthrow all."

Oecolampadius and Zuinglius were obliged to defend themselves against Luther, who answered them, and wrote a book on purpose upon the eucharist in the German tongue, in which he attempted to prove the ubiquity of the body of Jesus Christ by this argument: 'That in all 'places where the divinity of our Saviour is, there his 'humanity ought also to be present.' Oecolampadius and Zuinglius immediately replied: And Oecolampadius and

Bucer

Bucer confuted the large confession of Luther. Brentius opposed their opinions in his exposition upon the gospel of St John; and the other Lutherans persisted resolutely in the condemnation of it.

Erasmus, in 1526, passed a remarkable judgment upon the sentiments of Oecolampadius touching the eucharist, in a letter to Pirckheimerus, who had written a book on the subject against Oecolampadius. 'The opinion of Oecolampadius, says Erasmus, would not displease me, if the 'consent of the church did not hinder me from adopting 'it: For I discern not what good an invisible substance 'can do there, or how it can profit any one, if it were 'discernable.' Here the good sense of Erasmus suggested to him plain and strong arguments against either transubstantiation, or the real and bodily presence: He thought miracles should be so wrought as to be seen, and that they should never be wrought in vain. Pirckheimerus rallied Erasmus for having said, that he preferred the sentiment of Oecolampadius upon the eucharist to that of others. Erasmus replied, 'I never said that his sentiment was the 'best: I only said to some friends that I could adopt it, if 'the authority of the church had approved it; but that I 'could not quit the sentiments of the church. I call the 'church, the consent of the body of Christian people.'

The consequence of these disputes was a division among the reformers into two considerable sects: The Lutherans, and the Zuinglians, or Sacramentarians. The Saxons continued firm to the doctrine of Luther; and that of Zuinglius was received by the Switzers, and some cities of the upper Germany.

All this time, the gospel was preached in no other of the Swiss cantons, than Zurich. The other twelve cantons, therefore, appointed among themselves a disputation to be held at Baden, at which place were assembled the famous Eckius, John Faber, Murner, &c together with the bishops' legates of Lucern, Basil, Lausanne, &c. The points disputed were, transubstantiation, the propitiation offered in the mass, the invocation of saints, the worship of images, and purgatory. Oecolampadius, with others, disputed against these theses; but came to no other conclusion, than to refer the decision, to the authority of the next general council, when it should be convened.

A conference between the Zuinglians, Lutherans, and Papists, was held at Bern, on the seventh of January, 1528. This disputation was particularly on the proposition of the sacrament; and Oecolampadius, together with

Zuinglius, Bucer, Capito, Blauretus, and several other Sacramentarians, maintained it against the Papists and Lutherans. It ended in the abolition of the superstitious ceremonies of the Romish church, throughout the canton of Bern. The cities of Constance and Geneva immediately followed the example: But it was not effected in the cities of Basil and Strasburgh till 1529. Oecolampadius was married this year to the widow of Cellarius. It is remarkable, that, after the death of Oecolampadius, she was married to Wolfangus Capito: And lastly, to Martin Bucer. Erasmus laughed at Oecolampadius for his marriage; and said, 'He 'hath taken to himself a wife, a pretty girl; probably he 'designs to mortify the flesh. Some call Lutheranism a 'tragedy: I call it a comedy, where the distress ends in 'matrimony.' Yet he afterwards commended him as a divine.

The troubles of Germany increased, and the emperor Charles V. was obliged to call a diet at Spire, in March 1529; in the first place, to require the assistance of the princes of the empire against Solyman, who had taken Buda, and threatened to conquer all Hungary: And in the next place, to find out some way to allay the disputes about religion. The Anabaptists were not permitted to come to this diet: It was also intended to exclude the deputies of Strasburg, and the other cities, who had, contrary to the edicts of the preceding diets, abolished the mass, and other ceremonies, by their own authority. The Catholics laboured all they could to divide the Lutherans, and Sacramentarians; and had accomplished their design, if the Landgrave of Hesse had not prevented their divisions from breaking out. The Lutheran princes protested against the edict published at the diet of Spire; and, for that reason, were called PROTESTANTS. In the following year they presented to the emperor, at the diet of Augsburg, their confession of faith; and entered into a defensive league, at Smalcald, for their common security.

The article of the protestation, which concerned the doctrine of the Sacramentarians, was particularly worded, that the princes might take away the difference between the Lutherans and Zuinglians, without approving the doctrine of the Sacramentarians. Oecolampadius complained, in a letter wrote to Melancthon, that Faber, bishop of Vienna, attempted to procure the condemnation of their opinions: And he desired Melancthon to declare on his side. Melancthon answered him, that he could not approve their opinion, as he found no sufficient reason to depart

depart from the literal sense of the words. He desired Oecolampadius to consider the importance of the question in debate: And adds, it would be convenient that some good men should confer together upon that head. Oecolampadius replied to this letter of Melancthon, and yielded to the necessity of some conferences: But observed, that the persons to be appointed should be men free from passion, and not of contentious spirits; otherwise they would be unable to discover the truth, and only increase their enmity.

The Landgrave of Hesse, in pursuance of these propositions, invited Zuinglius and Luther to a friendly conference at Marpurg, in October following. Both parties were unwilling to accept the proposal: But Oecolampadius prevailed on Zuinglius, Bucer, and Hedio, to embrace it, and repair to Marpurg, where they were followed by Luther, Melancthon, Justus Jonas, Andreas Osiander, Brentius, and Agricola. Before they held their public conference, there was a private meeting between Oecolampadius and Zuinglius, Luther and Melancthon. They disagreed upon the article of the Lord's Supper, and debated it before the Landgrave himself. This conference held three days; wherein Luther kept close to the words of the institution, which he affirmed to be full and positive for the corporal manducation. Oecolampadius asserted, that they ought to be understood metaphorically, and of a spiritual presence; but affirmed, that it did not exclude the corporal. Many authorities and arguments were produced on both sides: Though neither was convinced.

Bucer endeavoured to reconcile the Lutherans and Zuinglians at the diet of Augsburg: But Oecolampadius disapproved of his articles; and his labours to procure an union were ineffectual. In 1531, a civil war broke out between the popish and protestant cantons in Switzerland, in which Zuinglius was killed. The same year the book, published by Servetus about the errors concerning the Trinity, was brought into Switzerland, where it disgusted several of the protestant divines, as it appears from a letter of Oecolampadius to Bucer, dated the fifth of August, 1531, wherein he says, "I have seen our friends of Bern, "who are very much offended with the book intitled *De*, "*Trinitatis Erroribus*. I desire you will acquaint Luther, "that this book was printed out of this country, and "without our knowledge. The author impudently af-"firms, that the Lutherans do not understand the doc-"trine of justification; and our church will be ill spoken "of,

" of, unless our divines make it their business to explode " him. I beseech you to make an apology for our church, " at least in your confutation inscribed to the emperor. " He wrests all the passages of the scripture, to prove " that the Son is not co-eternal and consubstantial with " the Father; and that the man Christ is the Son of God."

The magistrates of Basil desired that Oecolampadius would give them his opinion concerning the book of Servetus; and the reformer made a short discourse in their presence, wherein he shewed that it was a pernicious book; but he expressed himself with great moderation. Oecolampadius also wrote two letters to Servetus about his book, wherein he confuted him in a very civil manner, and intreated him to renounce his errors. He blamed Servetus for expressing a greater esteem for Tertullian, than for all the other fathers of the church. Servetus continued an Anti-trinitarian; and some are of opinion, that the Reformation would have made a further progress, if it had not been for that sect.

After the painful sustaining (says Dr Fuller) of so many labours, at home and abroad, he returned to Basil, where he spent the remainder of his life in preaching, reading, writing, publishing, visiting the sick, and also the care of certain adjacent churches, till 1531, when it pleased God to visit him with sickness, that soon confined him to his bed, with the greatest appearance of a speedy dissolution. He sent for the pastors of the place, and welcomed them with a short, pithy oration; in which he exhorted them to remain constant and firm in the purity of the doctrine which they professed, because it was agreeable to the word of God: As to other things, he wished them to be less careful; assuring them, that the all-sufficient God would care for them, and would not be wanting to his church.

His children standing before him, he took them by their right-hand, and gently stroking their heads, he advised them to love God, who would be to them in place of a father.

A little before his death, one of his intimate friends coming to him, he asked him, " *What news?*" his friend answered, '*None.*' But (said he) " *I will tell thee news;*" being asked, what it was? he answered, " *Brevi ero apud* CHRISTUM DOMINUM:" I shall in a *short* time be with CHRIST my LORD. And laying his hand upon his breast, he said, " *Here is abundance of light.*" In the morning before he died, he repeated the fifty-first psalm; at the end of which he added, " *Salva me, Christe Jesu;*" save me, O *Christ Jesus;*


ZUINGLIUS.
Tho.s Trotter sculp.

Jesus; being the last words he was heard to speak: Those present in the room praying, continued to pray till he had surrendered his spirit to his Creator; which he did most willingly and chearfully, on the first day of December, 1531, and in the forty-ninth year of his age; and was buried, with every mark of respect and concern, in the same city.

He was of a meek and quiet disposition, in the undertaking of any business; he was very circumspect; nor was any thing more pleasing to him, than to spend his time in reading and commenting. He left the following works behind him.

1. Annotations on Genesis. 2. On Job. 3. On Isaiah. 4. Jeremiah. 5. Ezekiel. 6. Daniel. 7. Hosea. 8 Amos. 9. Jonah. 10. Micah, chap. ii. 11. On the three last prophets. 12. On the Psalms. 13. Matthew. 14. Romans. 15. Hebrews. 16. 1 Epistle of John. 17. Of the genuine sense of these words, *Hoc est corpus meum.* 18. An exhortation to the reading of God's word. 19. Of the dignity of the eucharist. 20. Of the joy of the resurrection. 21. A speech to the senate of Basil. 22 A catechism. 23. Annotations on Chrysostom. 24. Enchiridion to the Greek tongue. 25 Against Anabaptists. 26. Annotations on the Acts of the apostles, and epistles to the Corinthians. 27. Of alms-deeds. 28. Against Julian the apostate. 29. Of true faith in Christ. 30. Of the praises of Cyprian. 31. Of the life of Moses. 32. Against usury.

His learning and doctrine were such, that even cardinal Sadolet, on hearing the news of his death, wished that he could lawfully grieve for the loss of him. He was succeeded by Oswaldus Myconius. Sleidan says, that his grief upon the death of Zuinglius, whom he loved extremely, heightened his disorder, and hastened his end. Verheiden says, that there was scarce ever such an instance of cordial friendship, as subsisted between these two great men.

ULRICUS ZUINGLIUS,

THE REFORMER OF SWITZERLAND.

ULRICUS ZUINGLIUS, the famous Reformer of this country, was of a good parentage, and born on the first of January, 1487, at Wildehausen in the county of

of Tockenburg, which is a distinct republic, in alliance with the Switzers, or Helvetic body. He was sent to Basil, when he was ten years of age, to receive the first rudiments of his learning; and from thence he went to Bern, where he was taught Greek and Hebrew under Henry Lupulus. He studied philosophy at Vienna, and divinity at Basil, where he was made doctor in 1505, about which time he heard Thomas Wittenbach preach, that the death of Christ is the only price of our redemption, and that indulgences were but a device of the pope: And the next year he began to preach with such good success, that he was elected pastor of Glaris, the chief town in the canton of that name. He continued there till 1516, when the reputation which he had acquired by his sermons occasioned him to be called to the *Hermitage*, a place famous for pilgrimages to the Virgin Mary.

It is reported, that Zuinglius, about this time, had a remarkable conference with cardinal Matthew, bishop of Syon, in the allied country of Valais, concerning the abuses which had crept into the church, and the way to work a Reformation. He had before read the conclusions of the famous Picus of Mirandula, which had gone far to determine his judgment. He then had heard nothing of Luther.

He was soon after invited to Zurick, the capital of that canton, to undertake the principal charge of that city, and to preach the word of God among the inhabitants. The method which he followed in his sermons, was to explain a text of holy scripture; and he began with the gospel of St Matthew.

About the year 1517, Martin Luther, professor of Wittenberg in Saxony, had entered into a dispute against the custom of selling indulgences by the pope, who condemned Luther: But he appealed to a council, and went on writing against the errors of the church of Rome.

Zuinglius shewed himself at first very favourable to Luther, and recommended his books to his auditors, though he would not preach them himself. Samson, a franciscan of Milan, was sent by the pope, as general visitor of his order, to publish indulgences at Zurick. He preached, according to the usual manner, that the pope had granted an absolute pardon of sins to such as purchased those indulgences, and that they might thereby infallibly deliver souls out of purgatory. Zuinglius followed the example of Luther, by declaiming powerfully against this franciscan, and against the indulgences. Hugh, bishop of Constance

stance believed, that Zuinglius was displeased only with the abuse, and exhorted him to proceed under his patronage: But Zuinglius went farther, and solicited that prelate, as also the papal legate in Switzerland, to favour the doctrine that he intended to settle, which he called *evangelical truth*. They refused his proposals; and he opposed the popish ceremonies from the year 1519, to 1523, when he found an opportunity of establishing his own doctrine, and of abolishing the superstition of Rome.

Erasmus was displeased at the violent quarrels which arose about the Lord's Supper among the Reformers, the Zuinglians and the Lutherans; for, in those days Zuinglius and his adherents were the only men who talked reasonably upon that subject. He informed the president of the court at Mechlin, in 1522, that the Spirit of Reformation increased in Switzerland, where there were two hundred thousand who abhorred the see of Rome. Erasmus was not mistaken in this, as the Reformation in Switzerland soon afterwards shewed.

The Switzers had rendered themselves a very formidable nation, and their bravery was admired in all the European states. Francis I. king of France purchased their friendship with a great sum of money in 1515: And, in 1521, concluded a treaty with the Switzers, by which he was at liberty to levy any number of Swiss troops, from six to sixteen thousand, without asking the consent of the magistrates. The canton of Zurick refused to enter into this treaty; because Zuinglius, who was in great esteem there, represented that the suffering a foreign prince to raise troops in this manner, was, in effect, selling the blood of their allies and children.

Zuinglius conducted the Reformation in Switzerland with as much progress as Luther conducted that in Saxony; though he carried himself with more moderation and prudence. He propounded his doctrine in his sermons, which he preached four years successively in Zurick, and thereby prepared the minds of the people for its reception: But he would not attempt to make any alterations in the divine worship, without the concurrence of the magistrates, and he caused an assembly to be called for that purpose by the senate of Zurick, on the twenty-ninth of January, 1523, that the differences among preachers in matters of religion might be composed.

The assembly met upon the day appointed, when a great number of the clergy appeared, and the bishop of Constance sent three deputies, among whom was John Faber,

ber, his chief vicar. The consul opened the conference by declaring, that the sermons of Zuinglius had raised so many disputes in their city, that the senate thought it the best way to allay these differences by appointing a conference before the council of two hundred, to which all the clergy both of the city and country had been summoned. Zuinglius replied, "That the light of the gospel "had been obscured, and almost extinguished, by human "traditions: But that several eminent men had lately "endeavoured to restore it, by preaching the word of "God to the people in its purity. That he was one of "that number; and, like them, had been treated as an "heretic and seducer; though he had, for five years past, "taught only what was contained in the holy scripture. "That it was for this reason he had desired to give an "account of his doctrine before the senate of Zurick, and "the bishop of Constance. That he thanked the senate "for granting him this favour; and that he had drawn his "doctrines into sixty-seven propositions, which he was "fully persuaded were agreeable to the gospel: And he "was ready to answer for himself, if any person would "accuse him of error or heresy."

The doctrines contained in those sixty-seven propositions, may be reduced to these following articles. That the gospel is the only rule of faith. The church is the communion of saints. We ought to acknowledge no other head of the church but Jesus Christ. All traditions should be rejected. There is no other sacrifice but that of Jesus Christ upon the cross: And the mass is no sacrifice, but a commemoration of the sacrifice of Christ. We have need of no other intercessor with God than Jesus Christ. All sorts of meat may be eaten at all times. The habits of monks smell of hypocrisy. Marriage is allowed to all men, and no man is obliged to make a vow of chastity, nor are priests at all obliged to live unmarried. Excommunication ought not to be inflicted by the bishop alone, but by the whole church; and notorious offenders only ought to be excommunicated. The power which the pope and bishops assume to themselves, is a piece of pride that has no foundation in the scripture. God alone can forgive sins: For confession of sin to a priest, is only to beg his ghostly advice; and works of satisfaction proceed from human tradition. The scripture does not teach us, that there is such a place as purgatory. The character which the sacraments are said to impress, is of a modern invention. The scripture acknowledges

none

none for priests, or bishops, but such as preach the word of God. Lastly, he promised to deliver his judgment about tythes, the revenues of the church, the condition of infants not baptized, and about confirmation, if any person desired to dispute with him upon these points.

Zuinglius exhorted the magistrates of Zurick to leave their citizens no longer in doubt of what concerned their salvation. The council then declared, that if any person present had any thing to alledge against Zuinglius, he had free liberty to speak. Zuinglius made a public challenge three times: But he met with no opponent, except Faber who inadvertently mentioned the intercession of saints, which gave Zuinglius an opportunity of opposing that doctrine, and drawing his adversary into a dispute.

Faber made a very general discourse about the authority of the church and councils, which had condemned the ancient heretics, and lately Wickliffe, Huss, and Jerom of Prague, whose doctrines were now revived. He said, that the intercession of saints was a doctrine, which had been long settled in the church, and authorized by the practice of all nations: But concluded, that such questions ought to be debated only among divines, as in the universities of Paris, Cologne, or Louvain.

Zuinglius replied, that he desired of him only to resolve, whether the scripture made any mention of the intercession of saints? If councils were infallible? Whether traditions and customs ought not to be rejected, when they are not grounded upon the authority of holy scripture? And whether it is not clearly expressed, that Jesus Christ is our only Mediator?

From this question, they passed to another concerning the celibacy of priests; and these two questions were the subject of a long contest, between the deputies of the bishop of Constance on the one part, and Zuinglius, Leo Judæ, and some other ministers on the other. The former supported their opinions by tradition, the authority of the church, and the canons of the councils: But the latter would abide only by the holy scripture.

The debates ended at noon, and the senate published an edict, whereby it was ordained, 'that Zuinglius should 'continue to teach and preach the doctrine of the gospel, 'and the word of God, in his usual manner; and all pas-'tors and teachers, both in the city and country, were 'forbid to teach any thing that could not be proved by 'the gospel and holy scripture; and they were enjoined 'to forbear all accusations of heresy, or other crimes.'

Faber

Faber entered a protestation against this edict, and said, he would demonstrate, that the doctrine of Zuinglius was contrary to that of St Paul. Zuinglius challenged him to do it; and promised him a cheese of *hare's milk*, if he could prove any of his doctrines erroneous, by the gospel, or holy scripture.

It is easy to imagine, after the publication of this edict, that the doctrine of Zuinglius became general throughout all the canton of Zurick, under the name of '*evangelical truth*.' The external worship was contrary to the new doctrine; for images remained, and mass was celebrated in the churches, which could not be abolished without authority. Zuinglius was determined to perfect his design, and engaged the senate to call a new assembly, to which they invited the bishops of Constance, Coire, and Basil, the university of Basil and the other twelve cantons of Switzerland, to send their deputies, and make the assembly of greater authority.

The senate assembled again, on the twenty-sixth of October, 1523, when Joachim Vadianus, Sebastian Hoffman, and Christopher Chapplerus, were chosen arbitrators of the dispute: Zuinglius and Leo Judæ were respondents: And all persons present were allowed to object what they pleased. The first question propounded was, 'What the 'church is, and where it is?' Zuinglius distinguished, and said, "That the church was taken in two senses: "First, For the congregation of all true Christians, of "whom Jesus Christ is the head: Secondly, For the par-"ticular congregation of Christians in one place:" And he maintained, that the congregations of cardinals and bishops were not the church. He declared his disregard of the councils, his contempt of the pope's decree, and his neglect of the emperor's edict. Leo Judæ opposed the use of images by texts of the Old Testament, whereby it was forbidden the Jews to make or worship any graven image; and by such places of the New Testament wherein the adoration of idols was prohibited. Zuinglius maintained, that images were not to be tolerated, and that the law of God forbad them absolutely. The resolution of this first conference was, that no images were to be allowed among Christians.

In the second conference, they discoursed about the mass, which Zuinglius maintained was no sacrifice. The three arbitrators, appointed by the senate, gave sentence, that 'The abuses of images and masses were sufficiently 'proved by the word of God; therefore they left it to 'the

'the senate to enquire how they might be abolished with-
'out offence.' This was the result of the conference, which was followed with an edict, whereby it was forbidden to the priests and monks to make any public processions, to carry the holy sacrament, or elevate it in the church to be worshipped. Relics were taken out of churches: It was ordered, that organs should not be played, or bells be rung; that palm-branches, salt, or tapers should not be blessed: and that extreme unction should not be administered to the sick. Thus, part of the outward worship and ceremonies of the church of Rome were abolished in the canton of Zurick.

The other twelve cantons were dissatisfied with this edict, which was maintained by the canton of Zurick, whose senators ordered all the images to be pulled down.

Zuinglius himself relates in his book *Coronis de Eucharistiâ*, *Oper. part* 11. *fol.* 249. that when one of his opponents in the conference, challenged him to shew in any place of scripture, where the verb *est* (is) stood for *significat* (signifies) without an evident tropical allusion; such as where Christ says, *the seed* IS *the word of God*, in which place, *is*, evidently means *signifies*; or, *I* AM *the door*, *the vine*, &c. which are tropical expressions at first sight; but that *hoc est corpus meum* did not necessarily and obviously imply, *this* SIGNIFIES *my body*, or that our Lord used in that case a figurative way of speech: Zuinglius was puzzled at the time, and (as he says) for thirteen days afterwards, in which he was continually revolving the matter in his mind, and turning over his bible incessantly, but without the explicit satisfaction he desired. At length in his sleep, he dreamed that he was in disputation with his adversary, who pressed him very close with this circumstance, insomuch that he seemed to have given up the point, and to be struck dumb before the audience. While he was in this perplexity, he saw in his vision a form approaching to him, and saying, 'O thou unwise 'one, why dost not answer to him the word of the Lord 'in Exod. xii. 11. where it is expressly and positively 'said of the Lamb that was eaten, IT IS *the Lord's* PASS-'OVER, or *passage out of* Egypt.'—He awoke from his sleep, and with this proof, in the next day's discourse, he refuted the objection of his adversary, shewing, that, in this text, the word *is* necessarily means *signifies*. The elder Spanheim could not but believe, from the occasion, the matter, and the use, that this vision was θεοπεμπτον, sent from God; and the excellent Witsius inclines to the

same opinion, confirming it by the modest and sober manner in which Zuinglius himself relates the story. See WITSII *Miscell. Sacr. Lib.* 1. *c.* 24.

About this time, Zuinglius wrote several books in defence of his doctrine. The first was a large explication of the propositions which he had delivered in the first conference. The second was a discourse dedicated to all the cantons of Switzerland; exhorting them not to impede the progress of his doctrine, nor to be dissatisfied with the marriages of priests. The third was an answer to the advice, which the bishop of Constance had given to the senate of Zurick, to oppose innovations. He also wrote a book about the certainty and evidence of the word of God: Two treatises against the canon of the mass: A letter concerning the grace of Jesus Christ: And an answer to a book written by Jerom Emser.

The bishop of Constance, in 1524, published a book in vindication of images and the mass. This was presented to the senate of Zurick; and Zuinglius answered it in their name.

Zuinglius, Leo Judæ, Engelhardus, Megander, and Myconius, on the eleventh of April, 1525, petitioned the senate of Zurick to abolish mass, and the adoration of the elements in the sacraments; in consequence of which, the senate made a decree, whereby the mass was abolished for ever, and the sacrament was ordered to be received after another manner.

The form of celebrating the Lord's Supper prescribed by Zuinglius, differed more from the church of Rome, than the form prescribed by Luther. He ordered, "that the "table should be covered with a white cloth; on which "were to be set the patin full of leavened bread, and "vessels filled with wine: That the minister and dea-"cons should stand by the table, where they were to "exhort the people to approach with reverence; after "which, one of the deacons should read the institution "of the Lord's Supper, taken out of the epistle to the "Corinthians; and another should repeat a part of the "sixth chapter of St John: That the minister should "then read the creed, and exhort all the communicants "to examine their own consciences, that they might not "be guilty of the body and blood of the Lord by re-"ceiving them unworthily: That the minister and peo-"ple should then kneel, and say the Lord's Prayer; "after which, the minister should take the bread in his "hands, and deliver the words of the institution of the "Lord's

" Lord's Supper with an audible voice; then give the " bread and wine to the deacons, who should distribute " them to the people, while the minister should read the " discourse which our Saviour had with his disciples be- " fore his passion, as related in the gospel of St John." This was the form of administering the sacrament, which Zuinglius appointed to be used. He maintained, in his doctrine concerning the sacrament, that these words of Jesus Christ, " *This is my body, this is my blood*, are to be " understood thus: *This signifies my body and blood; this* " *bread and this wine are a figure of my body and blood;* " *this is a testimony and pledge, that my body shall be deli-* " *vered up, and broken for you upon the cross, and my blood* " *shall be shed for you.*" From whence it follows, that not only the bread and wine exist after consecration; but also, that the body and blood of Jesus Christ are not present in the Eucharist; and that the bread and wine are only a figure of the body and blood of Jesus Christ, communicated in a spiritual manner by faith.

In 1525, he published his book *De vera et falsa Religione*, which was dedicated, and presented to Francis I. of France.

Luther declared against the doctrine of Zuinglius, which Oecolampadius embraced. Zuinglius was less concerned at the writings of the catholics than of Luther, who published a sermon at Wittenberg about the body and blood of Jesus Christ, which he made against the giddy-headed spirits, *contra spiritus vertiginosos*, as he called the Zuinglians. A confutation of this sermon was wrote by Zuinglius, who sent letters to Nuremberg upon that subject. He also answered the letters which Pelicanus, and Urbanus Regius, wrote against him: And he composed a work, entitled, The Lord's Supper. In 1527, he drew up an apology against a book written by Jacobus Straussius, wherein he explained the Lord's Supper at large, dedicated to Luther, and answered his sermon at Wittenberg against the Sacramentarians.

Bucer wrote several tracts in defence of the Zuinglians, and assisted Oecolampadius in confuting the large confession of Luther. The papists found, that the Zuinglians were more to be feared than the Lutherans, and exerted their utmost endeavours to prevent the spreading of that sect in the popish cantons of Switzerland.

The Reformation gained ground, notwithstanding the remonstrances of the emperor, the bishops of Constance, Basil, Lausanne, and Sion, and eight of the cantons.

Another general assembly was convened at Bern by Zuinglius, on the seventh of January 1528, when the doctrines of the church of Rome were condemned. The opinions of Zuinglius were then introduced all over Bern, which example was imitated by the cantons of Basil and Schaffhausen. This occasioned ill blood: But the imprudence of the inhabitants of Underwald, who protected the revolters from Bern, conduced most to the embroiling the cantons. The Zurickese armed themselves, and were on the point of attacking the five cantons of Lucern, Uri, Switz, Zug, and Underwald: But, by an agreement made at Cassel, it was determined, 'that there should be 'liberty of conscience throughout Switzerland: And that 'the five cantons should renounce their alliance with 'the emperor Ferdinand.' Henry VIII. of England employed Grynæus to try what Zuinglius, Oecolampadius, and Bucer, thought of his marriage with his queen Catharine. Zuinglius and Oecolampadius were of opinion, that the issue by a marriage *de facto*, grounded upon a received mistake, ought not to be illegitimated.

There was great altercation between the Lutherans and Zuinglians, before the citizens of Bern abolished popery. Constance, Geneva, Basil, and Strasburg, also threw off the yoke, and pulled down the altars and images in all places. But Bucer was embarrassed between the Lutherans and Zuinglians, and endeavoured to procure a good understanding between them in vain.

It must however be observed, that the only principal ground of difference was upon the subject of the sacrament; and that, in this respect also, both parties were far enough from the Romish opinion. In the other material points, both Lutherans and Zuinglians were sufficiently agreed, as appears by the acts of the synod held at Marpurg, under the auspices of the landgrave of Hesse, in the year 1529, where both Luther and Zuinglius were present, and formed an agreement upon the following articles: *viz.* 1. On the Unity and Trinity of the Godhead. 2. On the incarnation of the Word. 3. On the passion and resurrection of Christ. 4. On the article of original sin. 5. On the article of faith in Christ. 6. That this faith doth not spring from human merit, but only from the gift of God. 7. That, through this faith, believers have righteousness. On several other articles, respecting the baptism of infants, on confession, on good works, on the civil power, on traditions, &c. And, lastly, concerning the Lord's Supper, they mutually agreed, that it ought to be administered

administered in both kinds; that the mass is no such work or sacrifice, as to obtain grace either for quick or dead; that the sacrament is a true sacrament of the body and blood of Christ; that the spiritual manducation of his body and blood is the true receiving of this sacrament and necessary for all believers; and that the Spirit of God confers grace in the faithful use of it. In fine, as Martin Bucer observed, there was a greater difference in charity between both parties, than in the true state of the doctrine. There were, indeed, warm men on both sides, who, however sincerely pious and meaning what was right, could not yield up their own formulary, though undeniably essential to the peace of the church and the spreading interest of the protestant religion.

The diet of Augsburg was held in 1530, to consult about matters of religion, and the war against the Turks. The protestant princes publicly read their confession of faith; and the catholic divines drew up a confutation of it. The protestants presented an 'apology for their 'confession to the emperor, who would not receive it, 'though it was drawn up by Melancthon, with his usual 'moderation.'

The Zuinglians also presented their confession of faith to the emperor, in the name of the cities of Strasburg, Constance, Memmingen, and Landau. It was drawn up by Bucer and Capito; but contained nothing about the Trinity, or Incarnation, that was contrary to the doctrine of the Romish church. They held, 'That men are justified 'only by the merits of Jesus Christ, and faith: That 'good works are necessary; and so is obedience to ma-'gistrates: They commended fasting and prayer; but 'condemned the worship and intercession of saints, vows, 'and the monastic state: They allowed of such tradi-'tions as are not contrary to the word of God; and de-'fined the church to be a congregation of true believers. 'They allowed of only two sacraments; baptism, and 'the Lord's Supper; and that God unites Christians in 'an outward communion by those sacred symbols; not 'only because they are visible signs of invisible grace, but 'also because they are testimonies of our faith. They 'disapproved of private masses, and confession: And 'concluded with a long invective against the court of 'Rome.'

This confession of faith was more unacceptable than that of the Lutherans; and the emperor ordered Faber and Eckius to draw up an answer to it, which was read in

a full diet; and the emperor commanded the Zuinglians to renounce their doctrine. Zuinglius soon after wrote a letter to the protestant princes in defence of his opinions against Eckius, and particularly concerning the sacrament of the Eucharist, wherein he expressly denied the real presence, concerning which the Lutherans had not been so explicit; for Bucer drew up this article of the Supper in such ambiguous terms, that the Lutherans might not be condemned. Melancthon and Brentius published a treatise, to shew, that the doctrine of the Zuinglians was entirely different from the Lutherans, whatever ambiguity there was in their words.

Zuinglius also sent to the diet a particular confession of faith, comprized in twelve articles, relating to the Trinity and incarnation; the fall of man, and necessity of grace; original sin; baptism of infants; the church; the sacraments; ceremonies; the ministry of the gospel; the authority of magistrates; and purgatory.

The emperor published the decree of the diet against the protestants and sacramentarians, which neither obeyed: But the protestant princes, and the reformed cantons of Switzerland, entered into a confederacy to defend themselves and their religion, against the emperor and the Roman catholic powers. This was the league of Smalkald, concluded in 1531, upon the success of which the protestant religion depended.

The same year a civil war began in Switzerland, between the five catholic cantons, and those of Zurick and Bern. The Zurickese were defeated in their own territories, with the loss of four hundred men. Zuinglius, who accompanied them, was killed in this action, in the forty-fourth year of his age. Great cruelty was shewn to his corpse, and it was attempted to be burnt.

Much has been said by the enemies of Zuinglius, respecting his appearance on the field of battle; but it may be observed, what Oecolampadius and Sleidan have urged in his defence, that it was the custom of the Zurickese, from time immemorial, when they engaged in war, to have the chief minister of their church attendant upon them, both to preach to the people and to pray for a blessing upon their arms. And, it must be owned in this view, it could be no more improper for him, than for the chaplains who are now appointed to accompany regiments in their campaigns, or to sail in ships of war. Perhaps, no order of men require instruction in religious duties more than soldiers, who have always, in actual service, the prospect

prospect of death before them, and who certainly cannot be the worse, either in morality or courage, for being prepared for it. It may be added, that Zuinglius went not forth of his own accord: He was absolutely enforced and commanded by the senate, in point of duty. He did not go forth 'as a captain or commander of the army, 'but as a good citizen and faithful pastor, who would 'not forsake his friends in their greatest peril; nay, he 'went (says Melchior Adam) as a persuader to peace. About 'three hundred and eighty of his friends fell with him.' The action was on the 11th of October, in the year 1531.

'The compilers of the Biographical Dictionary (says a 'late able writer) in translating some of Zuinglius's dying 'words, have been guilty of an over-sight, which does 'no more honour to their precision, than justice to the 'Christian heroism of that great man. Upon receiving 'his death's wound, say they, and falling, he was heard 'to utter these words, *What a misfortune is this?* &c. 'Rather, what a *misfortune* is it, when fine sentiments 'are murdered in the relating!—The fact was this. 'During the hurry of the fight, Zuinglius, overwhelmed 'by the press of the rushing enemy, was thrice thrown 'down, and recovered his feet as often. At last, a wea-'pon, doomed to extinguish one of the most valuable 'lives that ever added lustre to religion and learning, 'entering under his chin, transfixed his throat. The 'holy man, falling first on his knees, and then sinking 'to the ground, uttered these noble sentences: *Ecquid 'hoc infortunii?* CAN THIS BE CONSIDERED AS A CALA-'MITY? *Age, corpus quidem occidere possunt; animam non 'possunt;* WELL! THEY ARE ABLE, INDEED, TO SLAY 'THE BODY: BUT THEY ARE NOT ABLE TO KILL THE 'SOUL. Could any thing be more truly Christian, more 'divinely triumphant, more sublimely philosophic? His 'body being found by the papists, among the slain, they 'burned it to ashes: Which occasioned these elegant 'verses, consecrated to his memory by Beza.'

ZUINGLIUS *arderet gemino quam sanctus amore,*
Nempe DEI *imprimis, deinde etiam* PATRIÆ;
Dicitur in solidum se devovisse duobus:
Nempe DEO *imprimis, deinde etiam* PATRIÆ.
Quàm benè persolvit simul istis vota duobus!
Pro patriâ exanimis, pro pietate cinis!

After this battle, matters were accommodated: And it was agreed, that the two parties, for the future, should

not molest each other on a religious account; and that the papists should renounce their league with the emperor, and the Zuinglians the same with the Landgrave of Hesse. Their contentions were renewed in 1577, which ended in acknowledging Geneva to be a free state by the duke of Savoy: And, by the treaty of Westphalia, in 1648, the emperors of Germany lost all authority in Switzerland. The abbot of St Gall renewed the dispute in 1712. which was ended, after the battle of Wilmerguen, by the treaty of Roschau in 1714.

Peace was settled in Germany by the treaty of Nuremberg, in 1532: But these religious disputes broke out again in 1612. The protestants were assisted by Gustavus Adolphus king of Sweden, who lost his life at Lutzen in 1632: and the protestant interest was very much strengthened by the treaties of Westphalia and Osnaburg in 1648.

Zuinglius was succeeded by Henry Bullinger; and his doctrine was vindicated against Luther by Bucer. The long disputes between the Lutherans and Zuinglians were concluded in 1538, by a pretended treaty of accord: But this was a work of disguise and dissimulation, and as little durable as it was sincere. The Switzers continued in the opinion of Zuinglius: But the cities of Strasburg, Augsburg, Memmingen, and Landau, became Lutherans, by keeping literally to the expressions of the articles of agreement.

The works of Zuinglius, and an apology for his doctrine, were published by Rodolphus Gualterus. The Switzers paid the utmost gratitude to his memory; and his remains were interred with all the pomp of a Grecian funeral, for a man who had devoted his life to the service of his country.

Zuinglius and Oecolampadius were more esteemed by the learned men of their time, than any other of the Reformers; because they had more moderation. Zuinglius was successful against the enthusiasts, called Anabaptists: And some have confidently affirmed, that he was for putting them to death; and said, "Let him who dippeth "again, be dipped; that is, drowned:" But it is a very improbable story, since Minius Celser himself, namely, Sebastian Castalio, whose testimony in points of this kind ought to be credited, having publicly defended his position, 'That heretics ought not to be put to death;' appeals to the authority of Zuinglius, and affirms, that the Anabaptists at that time never suffered on account of their opinions,

opinions, as heretics, but of their evil actions, as perjured and seditious rebels.

The first Anabaptists shewed a surprising mixture of folly, stupidity, wickedness, and religious frenzy. An immortal fanatic is of all animals the most dangerous to the church and state; and the history of these Anabaptists is an everlasting monument of the mischief, which such people can perpetrate.

Pellicanus threatened Erasmus with an attack from Zuinglius; and Erasmus declared that he feared not ten Zuinglius's. Yet he did not care to engage in combat with this one Zuinglius about the eucharist; and, from the manner in which he had spoken of the performance of Oecolampadius, it appears, that he thought it not so easy a matter to refute these divines. Very true it is, that the struggles of the Reformers drew a terrible persecution upon them and their successors: But it was through the fault of that church, to which Erasmus wanted to remain united, and which would hear of no amendments. Nor is it to be forgotten, that Erasmus could easily have embraced the sentiments of Zuinglius and Oecolampadius, if his mother the church would have given him leave.

Zuinglius had skill in music, and a love for it. He always studied standing, and was always a great student. He received a most courteous letter from pope Adrian VI. and might have had any favours, if he had declared himself a friend to the see of Rome.

He wrote four volumes in folio: viz. TOME the first, containing, 1. A work of articles. 2. An exhortation to the whole state of Switzerland. 3. A supplication to the bishop of CONSTANCE. 4. Of the certainty and purity of GOD's word. 5. An answer to VALENTINE of the authority of the fathers. 6. Institutions for youth. 7. A good shepherd. 8. Of justice, divine and human. 9. Of providence.

TOME the second, 1. Of baptism. 2. Of original sin. 3. Of true and false religion. 4. An epistle to the princes of GERMANY. 5. Of the Lord's Supper. 6. Of Christian faith, written to the FRENCH king.

TOME the third, 1. Commentaries on GENESIS. 2. EXODUS. 3. ISAIAH. 4. JEREMIAH. 5. The PSALTER out of Hebrew into Latin.

TOME the fourth, 1. Annotations on the four EVANGELISTS. 2. History of our Saviour's passion. 3. Annotations on ROMANS. 4. CORINTHIANS. 5. PHILIPPIANS. 6. COLOSSIANS. 7. THESSALONIANS. 8. HEBREWS. 9. JAMES. 10. The first epistle of JOHN.

THOMAS

THOMAS BILNEY.

THOMAS BILNEY, an Englishman, was brought up at the university of Cambridge from a youth, where he became so great a proficient in all the liberal sciences, that in a short time he commenced batchelor in both laws. But being enlightened by the Spirit of Christ, and his heart endued with the knowledge of better things, he left the study of man's laws, and devoted himself wholly to the study of divinity. Mr Bilney, in a Latin letter to Cuthbert Tonstal, bishop of London, gives the following account of his conversion: Comparing the priests and friars to the physicians, upon whom the woman, vexed twelve years with a bloody issue, spent all that she had, and found no help, but was still worse and worse; till at last she came to Christ, and was healed by Him :— "O (said he) the mighty power of the Most High! which "I also, a miserable sinner, have often tasted and felt; "whereas before, I spent all I had upon those ignorant "physicians, insomuch that I had little strength left in "me. But, at last, I heard of JESUS; and that was "when the New Testament was translated by Erasmus; "for at that time I knew not what it meant. But looking into the New Testament by God's special providence, I met with those words of the apostle St Paul, "*This is a true saying, and worthy of all acceptation, that "Jesus Christ came into the world to save sinners, whereof "I am chief.* O most sweet and comfortable sentence "to my soul! This one sentence, through God's instruction and inward working, did so exhilarate my "heart, which before was wounded with the guilt of my "sins, and almost in despair, that immediately I found "wonderful comfort and quietness in my soul; so that "my bruised bones leaped for joy.

"After this, the scriptures became sweeter to me than "the honey and the honey-comb: For by them I learned, "that all my travels, fastings, watchings, redemption of "masses, and pardons, without faith in Christ, were but, "as St Augustine calls them, A hasty running out of the "right way; and as fig-leaves, which could not cover

"Adam's

" Adam's nakedness.—For as Adam could find no rest to " his guilty soul, till he believed in the promise of God, " That Christ, the seed of the woman, should tread upon " the serpent's head; so neither could I find deliverance " from the sharp stings and bitings of my sins, till I was " taught of God that lesson which Christ spake of in the " third chapter of John: *As Moses lifted up the serpent in " the wilderness, even so must the Son of Man be lifted up; " That whosoever believeth in him, should not perish, but have " everlasting life.*

" As soon as, by the grace of God, I began to taste " the sweets of this heavenly lesson, which no man can " teach, but God alone, who revealed it to Peter; I beg- " ged of the Lord to increase my faith: And at last I " desired nothing more, than that I, being so comforted " by him, might be strengthened by his Holy Spirit and " grace, that I might teach sinners his ways, which are " mercy and truth, and that the wicked might be con- " verted unto him by me, who also was once myself a " sinner indeed. And it is my only comfort in these my " afflictions, that this is what I laboured at before the " cardinal, &c. when Christ was blasphemed in me, whom " with my whole power I do teach and set forth, to be " *made of God* the Father *unto us wisdom, righteousness, " sanctification, and redemption,* and finally our satisfaction. " *—Who was made sin for us,* (that is to say, a sacrifice for " sin) *that we through him should be made the righteousness " of God.—Who became accursed for us, to redeem us from " the curse of the law.*—Who also *came not to call the righ- " teous, but sinners to repentance.* The righteous, I say, " who falsely think themselves so to be, *for* ALL *have sin- " ned, and come short of the glory of God,* all mankind was " grievously wounded in him who fell among thieves " between Jerusalem and Jericho; therefore we *are justi- " fied freely by God's grace, through the redemption that is in " Jesus Christ.*

" And therefore with all my power I teach, that all " men should first acknowledge their sins, and condemn " them; and that they should then hunger and thirst after " that righteousness, of which St Paul speaks; *the righ- " teousness of God by faith of Jesus Christ is unto all, and " upon all them that believe; for there is no difference: For " all have sinned, and come short of the glory of God;* and " *are justified freely by his grace, through the redemption that " is in Jesus Christ.* For which whosoever doth hunger

" and

" and thirst, without doubt, they shall be so satisfied that " they shall not hunger and thirst for ever.

" But as this hunger and thirst used to be quenched " with the fulness of man's righteousness, which is " wrought through the faith of our own elect and chosen " works, as pilgrimages, buying of pardons, offering of " candles, elect and chosen fasts, and often superstitious, " and indeed all kind of voluntary devotions (as they call " them) against the express word of God, (Deut. iv. 2.) " which says, *Ye shall not add unto the word which I com-* " *mand you, neither shall you diminish ought from it.* There- " fore, I say, often have I spoke of these works; not " condemning them (as God is my witness) but reprov- " ing their abuse; shewing, even unto children, how far " they might be used lawfully; but exhorting all men " not so to use them as to be satisfied in them, lest they " should loath or grow weary of Christ, as many do."

In another letter to the same bishop, he thus writes, " What shall we then say of that learning, which hath " now so long time reigned and triumphed, so that no " man hath once opened his mouth against it? Shall we " think it sound doctrine? Truly iniquity did never " more abound, nor charity was never so cold. And " what shall we say is the cause? Has it been for want " of preaching against the vices of men, and exhorting " to charity? That cannot be, for many learned and " great clerks sufficiently can witness to the contrary. " And yet, notwithstanding, we see the life and manners " of men do greatly degenerate from true Christianity, " and seem indeed to proclaim, that it is fulfilled in us, " which God in times past threatened by his prophet " Amos, saying, *Behold, the days come, saith the Lord GOD,* " *that I will send a famine in the land, not a famine of bread,* " *nor a thirst for water, but of hearing the words of the* " LORD. *And they shall wander from sea to sea, and from* " *the north even to the east, they shall run to and fro to seek* " *the word of the LORD, and shall not find it. In that day* " *shall the fair virgins and young men faint for thirst, &c.* " But now to pass over many things, on account of " which I am afraid the word of God hath not been " purely preached, one (and that not the least) is, that " they who come and are sent, and labour to preach " Christ truly, are evil spoken of for his name, who is " the rock of offence, and stumbling block unto them " which stumble upon his word, and do not believe on " him on whom they [say they] are built.

" But

" But you will ask, Who are those men, and what is " their doctrine? Truly I say, whosoever entereth in by " the door into the sheepfold, which all shall do, who " seek nothing but the glory of God, and the salvation " of souls; and it may be truly said of all such, as the " Lord sends, that they speak the WORD of GOD. And " why so? Because he representeth the angel of the " church of Philadelphia, unto whom St John writeth, " saying; *This*, saith he, *who is holy and true, who hath* " *the keys of David, who openeth and no man shutteth, shut-* " *teth and no man openeth. Behold*, saith he, speaking in " the name of Christ, (who is the Door and Door-keeper) " *I have set before thee an open Door;* that is to say, of " the scriptures; opening thy understanding, that thou " shouldest understand the scriptures, and that because " thou hast entered in by Me who am the Door: *I am* " *the Door: By Me if any man enter in, he shall be saved,* " *and shall go in and out and find pasture:* For the Door- " keeper openeth the Door unto him, and the sheep hear " his voice. But on the other hand, they who have " not entered in by the Door, but have climbed in some " other way, by ambition, avarice, or desire of rule, they " shall, even in a moment, go down into hell, except they " repent. And in them is verified the saying of Jere- " miah, *All beauty is gone away from the daughter of Zion,* " *because her princes are become like rams, not finding pasture.* " And why so? Because, like thieves and robbers, they " have climbed up another way, not being called nor " sent.

" And what wonder is it, if they do not preach, when " they are not sent, but run for lucre, seeking their own " glory, and not the glory of God and the salvation of " souls? And this is the root of all mischief in the " church, that they are not sent inwardly of God. For " without this inward calling of God, it helpeth no- " thing to be a hundred times consecrated by a thousand " bulls, either of pope, king, or emperor. God be- " holdeth the heart, whose judgments are according to " truth, howsoever we deceive the judgment of men for " a time; who also at last shall see their abomination. " This, I say, is the original of all mischief in the church, " that we thrust in ourselves into the charge of souls, " whose salvation and the glory of God (which is to " enter in by the Door) we do not thirst nor seek for, but " altogether our own lucre and profit."

Bilney now counted godliness his greatest gain; and as his own heart was enflamed with a sincere love to Christ and his gospel, so his great desire was to bring others to embrace the same: Nor were his labours in vain, for he was instrumental in the conversion of many of the gownsmen, among whom was the afterwards celebrated Mr Hugh Latimer, at that time cross-keeper in Cambridge, (whose office it was to bring it forth on procession-days) and who afterwards (as will be shewn in his life) sealed the truth of Christ with his blood. Bilney was not satisfied with a narrow limit, but extended his labours beyond the university, and went to several parts of the country preaching the gospel wherever he came; sharply reproving the pride and pomp of the clergy, and striving to overthrow the authority of the bishop of Rome. He had for an associate, Mr Thomas Arthur, a fellow collegian, whom he had been instrumental in converting from popery. Cardinal Wolsey, at that time high in power, apprehensive of the most fatal consequences to the see of Rome and his own grandeur, if once the light of the gospel should shine openly, caused Bilney to be apprehended. Accordingly, on the 25th day of November, in 1527, Mr Bilney was brought before the said cardinal and many others, both bishops and lawyers, sitting in the chapter-house of Westminster, and there examined; 'Whether he had not publicly and privately taught the opinions of Luther, or of 'any other, condemned by the church?' To which Mr Bilney answered, "That wittingly he had not preached "or taught any of Luther's opinions, or any other, con-"trary to the Catholic church." After many interrogatories and answers, the cardinal caused him to swear, that he would answer plainly to the articles and errors preached and set forth by him in different places, against a certain time; and then delivered him over to the bishop of London for further examination.

On the third of December following, the bishop of London, and other bishops his assistants, assembled again in the same place, and, after some examination, repeatedly exhorted Bilney to abjure and recant. But he answered, That he would stand to his conscience; saying, "*Fiat* "*justitia & judicium in nomine Domini.*" i. e. Let justice and judgment be done in the name of the Lord. Then the bishop, putting off his cap, said, '*In nomine Patris &* '*Filii & Spiritus sancti*, Amen. *Exurgat Deus & dissipentur* '*inimici ejus.*' [i. e. in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, Amen. Let God arise, and let

let his enemies be scattered]. And making a cross on his forehead and breast, he then, by the council of the other bishops, read part of the sentence against Mr Bilney, withholding the rest till the next day, to see if he would recant; but he then likewise refused for some time to abjure: But at the last, after four several appearances before his judges, through infirmity and the persuasion of his friends, rather than from conviction, he recanted on the seventh day of December, in 1529. By way of penance for his heretical lapse (as it was termed) he was remanded to prison, there to remain till cardinal Wolsey should be pleased to release him, and that he should lead the procession, on the next day, bareheaded to St Paul's, with a faggot upon his shoulder, and stand before the preacher at St Paul's-Cross [the then famous place for public preaching] during the sermon.

After this abjuration, Bilney went to Cambridge, but had such conflicts within himself upon the consideration of what he had done, that he was overwhelmed with sorrow, and brought to the very brink of despair. Latimer, in a sermon preached at Lincolnshire, says, 'When Mr Bilney 'came again to Cambridge, for a whole year after, he was 'in such an anguish and agony, that nothing did him 'good, neither eating nor drinking, nor any other com-'munication of God's word; for he thought that all the 'whole scriptures were against him, and sounded to his 'condemnation. So that I many a time communed with 'him, (for I was familiarly acquainted with him) but all 'things, whatsoever any man could alledge to his com-'fort, seemed to him to make against him. Yet, for all 'that, afterward he came again; God indued him with 'such strength and perfectness of faith, that he not only 'confessed his faith in the gospel of our Saviour Jesus 'Christ, but also suffered his body to be burned for that 'same gospel's sake, which we now preach in England.'

Again; Latimer in his first sermon before the duchess of Suffolk, speaking of Bilney, says, 'Here I have occa-'sion to tell you a story which happened at Cambridge. 'Master Bilney, or rather St Bilney, who suffered death 'for God's word's sake, the same Bilney was the instru-'ment by whom God called me to his knowledge. For I 'may thank him, next to God, for that knowledge that 'I have in the word of God: For I was as obstinate a 'papist as any was in England; insomuch that when I 'should be made bachelor of divinity, my whole oration 'was against Philip Melancthon, and against his opinions.

'Bilney.

'Bilney heard me at that time, and perceived that I was 'zealous without knowledge, and came to me afterward 'in my study, and desired me for God's sake to hear his 'confession. I did so: And (to say the truth) by his 'confession I learned more than afore in many years. So 'from that time forward I began to taste the word of 'God, and forsake the school-doctors and such fooleries, '&c.' Being by the grace of God, and conferences with good men, again restored to peace in his conscience, after almost two years, [from 1529 to 1531] deep sorrow and remorse, Bilney resolved to give up his life in the service and defence of that truth which before he had renounced, rather than renounce it again. Accordingly, he took his leave, one evening, of his friends at Trinity-hall, saying, "That he would go up to Jerusalem, and so should see "them no more;" alluding to Christ's going up to Jerusalem before his passion. He went immediately into Norfolk, and there preached, first privately in houses, strengthening the faithful, and afterwards openly in the fields; bewailing his former subscription, and begging of all men to take warning by him, and never to trust to the counsel of friends, so called, when their purpose is to draw them from the true religion. Soon after his arrival at Norwich, upon his giving away a New Testament of Tindal's translation, and The Obedience of a Christian Man, he was apprehended and put in prison, and Dr Call, and Dr Stokes, and many others, were sent both to persuade him to recant, and to dispute with him; the former of these, by Bilney's doctrine and conduct, was in a great measure drawn over to side with the gospel. After many tedious disputes, seeing they could by no means draw Mr Bilney from the truth, they condemned him to be burned.

The night before he suffered, he was visited by many of his friends, who rejoiced to see him very cheerful and to eat his food with a glad heart, seeing he was shortly to suffer such painful torments. "O," said he, "I "imitate those, who, having a ruinous house to dwell in, "hold it up by props as long as they can." In the course of their conversation, one of them observed to him, 'That 'though the fire, which he was to suffer the next day, 'would be of great heat to his body, yet it would be but 'for a moment, and that the Spirit of God would refresh 'and cool his soul with everlasting comfort: Bilney instantly put his finger into the flame of a candle, as he had often done before, and answered,—"I feel, by experi-"ence, that the fire is hot; yet I am persuaded by God's

"holy

" holy word, and by the experience of some spoken of " in it, that in the flame they felt no heat, and in the " fire no consumption: And I believe, that though the " stubble of my body shall be wasted, yet my soul shall " thereby be purged; and that, after short pain, joy un- " speakable will follow." At the same time having turned to Isaiah xliii. 1, 2. he descanted so powerfully, and with so much of comfort and edification, both with respect to his own case, and to that of his friends, that, it is said, many of his friends retained a comfortable remembrance of it to their dying-day.

As he was led forth to the place of execution, one of his friends spake to him, praying to God to strengthen him, and to enable him patiently to endure his torments: To whom Mr Bilney answered, with a quiet and pleasant countenance; " When the mariner undertakes a voyage, " he is tossed on the billows of the troubled seas, yet, in " the midst of all, he beareth up his spirits with this " consideration, that ere long he shall come into his quiet " harbour; so (added he) I am now sailing upon the " troubled sea, but ere long my ship shall be in a quiet " harbour; and I doubt not, but, through the grace of " God, I shall endure the storm; only I would entreat " you to help me with your prayers."

As he went along the streets of Norwich, he gave his money in alms to the poor, by the hands of one of his friends. Being come to the stake, erected in a place called the Lollard's-Pit, a little way out of the Bishops-Gate, he there openly made a long confession of his faith, in a most excellent manner; and gave many sweet exhortations to the people: And then earnestly called upon God by prayer, and ended with rehearsing the 143d Psalm. When he had ended his devotions, he addressed himself to the officers, and asked them, if they were ready. Upon being answered in the affirmative, he put off his jacket and doublet, (the layman's principal apparel of that time, for the ecclesiastics had degraded him) and in his hose and shirt, went to the stake, and stood upon a ledge that was prepared for him, that, as he was but a little man, he might be seen of all the people. His friend, Dr Warner, who had accompanied him in prison and to the stake, now came to take his last leave of his beloved friend; but was so much affected at this awful parting, that he could say but little for his tears. Bilney accosted him with a heavenly smile, thanked him kindly for all his friendly attentions, and, inclining his body towards him, with a low

voice concluded his farewell in the following words, of which it is hard to say, whether they convey more of love to his friend or faithfulness to his Master: "*Pasce* (says "he) *gregem tuum, pasce gregem tuum; ut cum venerit Do-* "*minus, inveniat te sic facientem:*" i. e. Feed your flock, feed your flock; that the Lord, when he cometh, may find you so doing. "Farewell, dear doctor, farewell; and "pray for me." His afflicted friend could make no answer, but went away overwhelmed with tears and sorrow.

Immediately afterwards, some mendicant friars, who had been present at his condemnation and degradation, and were therefore accused of promoting his death, desired him to assure the people to the contrary, 'As (said these 'pious beggars) they will otherwise withdraw their cha-'ritable alms from us all.' Bilney instantly complied with their request, and assured the people of their innocence in that behalf.

The officers then placed the faggots about him, and set fire to the reeds, which presently flamed up very high; the holy martyr, all the while, lifting up his hands towards heaven, sometimes calling upon Jesus, and sometimes saying "*Credo*," i. e. I believe. The wind being high, and blowing away the flame, he suffered a lingering death. At last, one of the officers beat out the staple, to which the chain was fastened that supported his body, and so let it fall into the fire, where it was presently consumed. He suffered in the year 1531, in the time of king Henry the eighth.

The papists, and the famous Sir Thomas More, at their head, who was lord chancellor, spread reports that Bilney again recanted, which aspersions Mr Fox, by the testimony of bishop Latimer his most intimate friend, and of Mr Parker (afterwards archbishop Parker) and several others, who were present at his suffering, has abundantly refuted. The Lord *kept the feet of this saint*, till He lifted up his soul, though in a fiery chariot, to his kingdom of glory.

Bilney appears to have been a man of learning, as well as piety; and is spoken of, by all his contemporary Reformers, with every demonstration of respect and regard.

JOHN

JOHN FRITH.

JOHN FRITH, a holy martyr, and learned preacher, was born at Sevenoak in Kent, and was the first in England that professedly wrote against Christ's corporal presence in the sacrament, in which doctrine he closely followed Zuinglius. He was educated at King's-College in Cambridge, and took a batchelor of arts degree there; but afterwards went to Oxford, and for his bright talents was chosen one of the junior canons of cardinal Wolsey's new college, now called Christ-Church. Some time before the year 1525, he became acquainted with the famous William Tindale, who, conferring with him about the abuses of religion, was made the happy instrument under God of sowing the pure seed of the gospel in his heart. Frith, shortly after, professing the true religion, was seized and examined by the commissary of the university, and then imprisoned within the limits of his own college, with several others, some of whom died with the severe usage they received. Being released in 1528, he went beyond sea; where being greatly confirmed in the faith, he returned to England about two years after, leaving his wife and children behind him. It is supposed he had in view an exhibition of the prior of Reading in Berkshire, and to have had the prior over with him; but coming to Reading, he was taken up for a vagabond, and set in the stocks: Where after sitting a long time, and ready to die with hunger, he at last desired that the school-master of the town might come to him, who at that time was Mr Leonard Cox, a learned man. Cox, discovering his merit and great abilities, by discoursing with him on the Latin and Greek classics, procured his release, and supplied him with victuals and money. Afterwards Frith went to London; where, though he often changed both his clothes and place, he dwelt not long in safety, for so great a persecutor was Sir Thomas More, then lord chancellor, that he had his spies at every port and on the roads leading to them, and offered great rewards to any one that would give information of this excellent man.

It is probable, that Sir Thomas More was the more hastily led to this persecution, in consequence of a book, which Frith had written against him. The case was this, *The supplication of the beggars*, a book, published by a Mr Fish of Gray's-Inn, inveighing against the imposing arts of the *begging friars*, [an order, which professed poverty] and taxing the pope with extortion and cruelty, as he granted his indulgences and remissions from purgatory to none but those who could pay for them; was received with great attention by the public, and even approved by king Henry the eighth himself, whose quarrel with the pope it highly favoured. More answered this publication by another, entitled, *The supplication of the souls in purgatory*, expressing their miseries and the relief they received by the masses, which were said for them; and therefore they called upon their friends to support the religious orders, which were now beset with so many inveterate enemies. Though Sir Thomas had exerted his usual wit and elegance in this composition; whether it proceeded from the badness of his cause, or the great insight which the world at large had then obtained in these matters, his apology did not meet with any encouraging reception.

However, Frith answered this book of More's in a very grave manner, and shewed that the doctrine of purgatory was not founded on scripture, that it was inconsistent with the merits of Christ, and his pardon of sin, and that it directly opposed the great plan of his salvation. He also asserted, that the fire which was spoken of by the apostle, as that which would consume the *wood*, *hay*, and *stubble*, could only be meant of the fire of persecution. He urged, that the primitive church held no such doctrine; and that, as it was not in the scripture, so neither was it in Ambrose, Jerom, and Augustine, those great fathers of the church. He insisted, that it was introduced by the monks, with innumerable fables, on purpose to delude the world, and amass great riches by it. In short, this book provoked the Romish clergy to the highest degree; and they resolved, as they could not convince with other reasoning, to use the irresistible argument of fire and faggot upon those, who thus condemned the pope's authority, lowered their own consequence, and endangered their revenues.

Mr Frith not long afterwards, conversing with a familiar friend upon the nature of the body and blood of Christ in the sacrament, was desired by his friend to commit the substance of his arguments to writing, for the help

help of his memory. Mr Frith at first was unwilling, knowing what great danger he was in; but at length he complied, and wrote down the four following arguments:

"First, That the manner of the sacrament is no necessary article of faith under pain of damnation.

"Secondly, That forasmuch as Christ's natural body in like condition hath all properties of our body, sin only excepted; it cannot be, neither is it agreeable unto reason, that he should be in two places or more at once, contrary to the nature of our body.

"Thirdly, That we should not in this place (Matth. xxvi. 26, 27, 28.) understand Christ's words according to the literal sense, but rather according to the order and phrase of speech, comparing phrase with phrase, according to the analogy of scripture.

"Lastly, That it ought to be received according to the true and right institution of Christ, notwithstanding that the order which at this time is crept into the church, and is used now a days by the priests, do never so much differ from it."

At this time one William Holt, a taylor, professed great friendship towards the religious party, and by that means had an opportunity, like another Judas, to betray them, which he did, by desiring to see Mr Frith's arguments, and carrying them immediately to Sir Thomas More, who by his means found out and seized Mr Frith, and sent him prisoner to the tower. He had several conferences there with Sir Thomas and others. At length, being taken to Lambeth, before the archbishop, and afterwards to Croydon, before the bishop of Winchester, he was at length (on the 20th of June, 1533) examined before an assembly of bishops sitting in St Paul's cathedral; who, after interrogating him respecting the sacrament and purgatory, urged him to recant; but Mr Frith fully confuted all their arguments, and instead of recanting, subscribed his answers, with his own hand, in the following manner: "*Ego* FRITHUS *ita sentio, & quemadmodum sentio, ita* "*dixi, scripsi, asserui, & affirmavi.*" That is, I Frith thus do think, and as I think, so I have said, written, taught, and affirmed, and in my books have published. From the works of Mr Frith, Mr Fox assures us, that the great archbishop Cranmer collected many of his arguments in his famous book of the sacrament, and that he gave more credit to Frith as an author, than to any other writer. However, Frith was, upon the score of his writings and verbal answers to the bishops, deemed incorrigible,

and condemned to be burnt; and accordingly was carried to Smithfield, with a young man, named Andrew Hewet, a martyr in the same glorious cause, upon the 4th of July, 1533. When Mr Frith was tied to the stake, he shewed amazing constancy and courage; and, embracing the faggots and fire when put around him, evidenced how chearfully he suffered death for the sake of Christ and his blessed truths. One Dr Cook, a priest, standing by, loudly admonished the people not to pray for them, any more than if they were dogs. At which Mr Frith, smiling, prayed the Lord to forgive him. The wind blew away the flames to his fellow martyr, Hewit, which occasioned to Frith a very lingering and painful death; but his mind seemed so established, and his patience to have so much of its perfect work, that it was observed, he seemed more to rejoice for his fellow-sufferer, than to be careful about himself; and at last chearfully committed his soul into the hands of God. He suffered in the prime of his life: But it is never too early to follow the will of God, or to enter into heaven.

There is a circumstance respecting this constant martyr, John Frith, that may be thought not unworthy the reading. It was as follows: The archbishop of Canterbury sent two of his servants to bring Mr Frith safe to Croydon, to be examined there; but in the way, they were so convinced by his judicious and pious conversation, his humble and amiable deportment, that they concerted a plan between themselves, how to let him escape. And then one of them thus addressed him; 'Mr Frith, the 'journey I have taken in hand to bring you to Croydon, 'as a sheep to the slaughter, so grieveth me, that I am 'overwhelmed with care and sorrow; nor do I regard 'what hazard I undergo, so that I may but deliver you 'out of the lion's mouth.' And then made known to him how they had contrived to facilitate his escape. To all this Mr Frith answered with a smiling countenance; "Do you think that I am afraid to deliver my "opinion before the bishops of England, being a mani-"fest truth?" The gentleman replied, 'I wonder that 'you was so willing to quit the kingdom before you was 'taken, and now so unwilling to save yourself.' Mr Frith answered, "Before I was seized, I would fain have "enjoyed my liberty for the benefit of the church of "God; but now being taken by the higher power, and "by the providence of God, delivered into the hands of "the bishops, to give testimony to that religion and doc-

"trine

" trine, which under pain of damnation I am bound to " maintain and defend; if, therefore, I should now start " aside and run away, I should run away from my God, " and from the testimony of his word, and should be " worthy of a thousand hells; therefore, added he, I be- " seech you to bring me to the place appointed for me to " be brought, or else I will go thither alone."—Perhaps, in this instance, he is more to be admired than justified. GOD's people are no where commanded to give themselves up to their persecutors, but to avoid them, as far as is consistent with a faithful conscience. Mr Frith imitated, in this particular, many of the primitive Christians, who rather coveted than shunned the crown of martyrdom; which seems the more extraordinary in him, as he was eminently of a meek and quiet spirit, and not of that lion-hearted temper, which appeared in Luther and some other of the Reformers.

Frith's great opponents were Fisher, bishop of Rochester, Sir Thomas More, and Rastal, More's son-in-law. These he solidly confuted in his writings, and, for the vigour of that confutation, most probably became a particular object of their resentment. So much learning, in conjunction with so much grace, were certainly an overmatch for mere human nature, invested only with its natural attainments. 'He was (says bishop Bale) a polished scho- 'lar, as well as master of the learned languages.' And he applied all his faculties to the illustration and glory of that truth, which the goodness of God had imparted to him.

His works are these: 1. Treatise of purgatory. 2. Antithesis between Christ and the pope. 3. Letter to the faithful followers of Christ's gospel, written in the tower, 1532. 4. The mirror, or glass to know thyself, written in the tower, 1532. 5. Mirror, or looking-glass, wherein you may behold the sacrament of baptism. 6. Articles [for which he died] written in Newgate, 23d of June, 1533. 7. Answer to Sir Thomas More's dialogues concerning heresies. 8. Answer to John Fisher, bishop of Rochester, &c. All these treatises were reprinted at London in 1573, in folio.

WILLIAM

WILLIAM TINDALE.

WILLIAM TINDALE, a learned and zealous English Reformer, and memorable for having made the first version of the bible in modern English, was born on the border of Wales, sometime before the year 1500. He was of Magdalen-hall in Oxford, where he distinguished himself, not only by his literary abilities, but also by imbibing early the doctrines of the Reformation, which were begun to be spread in many parts of England. He applied himself with great diligence to the study of the scriptures, which he did not peruse as a mere scholar or self-sufficient speculatist, but in the way, which divine grace alone induces and makes profitable, namely, with a meek and humble spirit; craving for heavenly wisdom in a sense of the want of it, and not bringing human wit or reason in order to measure the divine. Nor was he satisfied to *hide his candle under a bushel*, and to keep what he learned by grace to himself. He took great pains, privately, to read divinity to several students and fellows of the Hall, and to instruct them in the knowledge and truth of the scriptures: on account of which, and his upright life and conversation, he was held in the highest estimation.

Having taken his degrees, he afterwards removed to Cambridge, and from thence, after some time, he went to live with a gentleman (Mr Welch) in Gloucestershire, in the capacity of tutor to his children. While he continued there, he had frequent disputes with abbots and doctors, who visited the family, both about learned men, divinity, and the scriptures. One day, Mr and Mrs Welch went to return a visit, where several of those dignitaries conversed with all freedom, Mr Tindale not being present: And in the evening, they returned full of arguments against Mr Tindale, all which he answered by scripture, maintaining the truth and reproving their false opinions.

opinions. Upon which Mrs Welch (who was, says Tindale, a sensible woman) brake out in the following exclamation; 'Well, there was doctor ****, who can spend a hundred 'pounds; there was doctor ****, who can spend two 'hundred pounds; and doctor ****, who can spend three 'hundred pounds; and what, is it reason, think you, 'that we should believe you before them?' Mr Tindale made no reply, and in future spake less of those matters.

At this time he was translating a book of Erasmus, entitled *Enchiridion militis Christiani*, which, when finished, he gave to Mr and Mrs Welch, who carefully perused it; and, it seems, were so far convinced of the truth, in opposition to the popish doctrines of the abbots and priests, that these gentlemen afterwards met with a very cool reception at their house, and soon declined their visits altogether. This, as it was natural to suppose, brought upon Mr Tindale the wrath of all the popish clergy in the neighbourhood, who soon had him accused of many heresies to the bishop's chancellor, before whom he had been cited to appear; but nothing being proved, after railing at him and abusing him, they dismissed him. In his way home he called upon a certain doctor, who had been an old chancellor to a bishop, and his very good friend; to him he opened his heart, and consulted him upon many passages of scripture. Before they parted, the doctor said to him, 'Do you not know, that the pope is very anti-'christ, whom the scripture speaketh of? But beware 'what you say; for if it should be known you are of 'that opinion, it will cost you your life:' And added, 'I have been an officer of his; but I have given it up, 'and defy him and all his works.'

Not long after this affair, Mr Tindale fell in company with a certain divine, remarkable for his learning, with whom he disputed, and drave him so close, that at length the divine blasphemously cried out; 'We had better be 'without God's laws than the pope's.' Tindale, fired at this expression, and filled with zeal, replied, "I defy the "pope and all his laws;" and added, "That if God "spared his life, ere many years, he would cause a boy "that drives the plough to know more of the scriptures "than he did." After this, the hatred of the priests was so great, that he was obliged to leave the country, which he did, with the consent and hearty wishes of Mr Welch for his welfare. Mr Tindale, remembering the high commendations Erasmus had given of Tonstal's learning, then bishop of London, hoped he should find favour and

protection with him; but as this, was not the way God in his providence had marked out for him, the bishop excused himself, saying, 'That his house was 'full, that he had already more than he could accommo-'date, but that he advised him to seek about in London, 'where he could not fail to obtain employment.'

Mr Tindale remained in London about a year, when being desirous to translate the New Testament into English, as the most effectual means (in his own opinion and in that of his dear friend John Frith) to remedy the great darkness and ignorance of the land, but judging it could not safely be done in England; he by the kind assistance of Mr Humphry Monmouth and others, went into Germany, where he laboured upon the work, and finished it in the year 1527. In a letter to Frith, he says of it; "I call GOD to recorde agaynst the daye we shall ap-"peare before our Lord Jesus, to geve a reckenyng of "our doynges, that I never altered one syllable of God's "word agaynst my conscience, nor would this daye, if "all that is in the earth, whether it be pleasure, honour, "or riches, might be geven me." It was the first translation of the scripture into modern English. He then began with the Old Testament, and finished the five books of Moses, prefixing excellent discourses to each book, as he had done to those of the New Testament. Cranmer's Bible, or (as it was called) the GREAT BIBLE, was no other than Tindale's revised and corrected, omitting the prologues and tables, and adding scripture references and a summary of contents. At his first going over into Germany, he went into Saxony, and had much conference with Luther and other learned men; and then returning to the Netherlands, made his abode at Antwerp, at that time a very populous and flourishing city.

About the time he had finished his translation of the book of Deuteronomy, he had also prepared for the press a work concerning *the nature of the sacrament*, or (as it was then called) *the altar*; but wisely considering, that the people were not yet fully convinced of the absurdity of many superstitious ceremonies and gross idolatries, and that the mass was every where held in the same estimation, as the great goddess Diana had been amongst the Ephesians, which they thought came down from heaven; he therefore judged it might be more seasonable, and would answer the end more fully, at some future period. And he also wrote a very valuable tract upon *the obedience of a Christian man*, and likewise his *expositions of scripture*, &c.

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He set sail in the mean time to Hamburgh, with a view to print his last finished translation of the scriptures; but being shipwrecked on the coast of Holland, he lost all his books and papers. However, going in another ship to Hamburgh, he met with Mr Coverdale, who assisted him in translating again the five books of Moses, both of them being entertained in the house of a widow gentlewoman, Mrs Margaret Van Emerson. This was in the year 1529, when the sweating-sickness very much prevailed in that place.

Having finished the printing of these books, he returned again to Antwerp; and his translation of the scriptures, being in the mean time sent to England, made a great noise there as well as in Germany; and, in the opinion of the bishops and clergy, did so much mischief (as they were pleased to call it) that they railed against, and condemned them for containing a thousand heresies, and urged—that it was impossible for the scriptures to be translated into English—and that it was neither lawful nor expedient for the laity to have the scriptures in their mother-tongue. Nor could they rest, till, by their interest, they had procured a royal proclamation to be issued out, prohibiting the buying or reading such translation or translations. This proclamation was published in 1527, soon after the publication of Tindale's New Testament, which gave the loudest alarm; and in the same edict, as well as by the public prohibitions of the bishops, several other treatises were cried down, written by Luther, and other Reformers. But all this only served, as is usual in such cases, to increase the public curiosity, and to occasion a more careful reading of what was deemed so extremely obnoxious. One step taken by the bishop of London afforded some merriment to the protestants, His lordship thought, that the best way to prevent these English New Testaments from circulation, would be to buy up the whole impression, and therefore employed a Mr Packington, who secretly favoured the Reformation, then at Antwerp, for this purpose, assuring him at the same time, that cost what they would, he would have them, and burn them at Paul's Cross. Upon this, Packington applied himself to Tindale, and, upon agreement, the bishop had the books, Packington great thanks, and Tindale all the money. This enabled our Reformer instantly to publish a new and more correct edition, so 'that they came 'over (says Mr Fox) thick and threefold into England.' This occasioned extreme rage in the disappointed bishop

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and his popish friends. One Constantine being soon after apprehended by Sir Thomas More, and being asked how Tindale and others subsisted abroad, readily answered, That it was the bishop of London who had been their chief supporter, for he bestowed a great deal of money upon them in the purchase of New Testaments to burn them, and that upon that cash they had subsisted, till the sale of the second edition was received.

However, Tindale's persecutors, concerned for all that was dear to them, namely, their *purse* and their *belly*, did not rest here; for, as they perceived him to be a very able man, and if suffered to live capable of doing immense harm to their craft; they sent over to Antwerp one Philips, who insinuated himself into his company, and under the pretext of friendship betrayed him into custody. He was sent prisoner to the castle of Filford, about eighteen miles from Antwerp; and though the English merchants at Antwerp did what they could to procure his release, and letters were sent from lord Cromwell and others out of England, yet Philips bestirred himself so heartily, that Tindale was tried and condemned to die. He was brought to the place of execution, and while he was tying to the stake he cried with a fervent and loud voice, "Lord, open "the king of England's eyes." He was first strangled by the hands of the common hangman, and then burned near Filford-castle, in the year 1536. And thus he, whom Fox, with the utmost propriety, styles 'England's Apostle,' rested from his labours and troubles, and entered into the joy of his Lord.

He was a person of seraphic piety, indefatigable study, and extraordinary learning. His modesty, zeal, and disinterestedness, were so great, that he declared, before he went to Germany, that he should be content "to live in any county of England, on an allowance "of ten pounds *per annum*, and bind himself to receive "no more, if he might only have authority to in-"struct children, and preach the gospel." His uncommon abilities and learning, which, joined to great warmth and firmness of nature, and to true faith and gospel-zeal, qualified him exceedingly well for the office of a Reformer. Such was GOD's blessing upon his true and faithful preaching, that, during the time of his imprisonment (which lasted a year and a half) he converted his gaoler, his daughter, and many of his household. Nay, the procurer general, or emperor's attorney, publicly said of him, that he was *homo doctus, pius, et bonus*, a learned,

learned, pious, and good man. The good bishop Bale also says of him, that for knowledge, purity of doctrine, and holiness of life, he ought to be esteemed the next English Reformer after Wickliffe, and that he was born for the conversion and edification of many souls. His picture represents him with a bible in his hand, and this distich;

Hâc ut luce tuas dispergam, Roma, tenebras,
Sponte extorris ero, sponte sacrificium.

That light o'er all thy darkness, Rome,
With triumph might arise;
An exile freely I become,
Freely a sacrifice.

The works which he wrote, besides the translation of the scriptures, are the following; which were published in one general volume:

1. A Christian's obedience. 2. The unrighteous mammon. 3. The practice of the papists. 4. Commentaries on the seventh chapter of St Matthew. 5. A discourse of the last will and testament of Tracii. 6. An answer to Sir Thomas More's dialogues. 7. The doctrine of the Lord's Supper against More. 8. Of the sacrament of the altar. 9. Of the sacramental signs. 10. A footpath leading to the scriptures. 11. Three letters to John Frith.

The remains of such men, when they are but few, are the more desirable and precious. We will, therefore, insert (as they discover the spirit and temper of this good man) the three letters above-mentioned, preserved by Mr Fox; and especially as his voluminous writings are not in the possession, or within the purchase, of many serious persons.

I.

"THE grace and peace of God our Father, and of Jesus Christ our Lord, be with you, *Amen*.
"Dearly beloved brother John, I have heard say, how
"the hypocrites, now that they have overcome that great
"business which letted them, or at the least way have
"brought it to a stay, return to their old nature again.
"The will of God be fulfilled, and that which he hath
"ordained to be ere the world was made, that come,
"and his glory reign over all.

"Dearly beloved, however the matter be, commit your-
"self wholly and only unto your most loving Father, and
"most kind Lord; fear not men that threat, nor trust
"men that speak fair: But trust him that is true of pro-
"mise,

" mise, and able to make his word good. Your cause is " Christ's gospel, a light that must be fed with the blood " of faith. The lamp must be dressed and snuffed daily, " and that oil poured in every evening and morning, " that the light go not out. Though we be sinners, yet " is the cause right. If when we be buffeted for well " doing, we suffer patiently and endure, that is accepta- " ble with God. For to that end we are called For " Christ also suffered for us, leaving us an example that " we should follow his steps, who did no sin. Hereby " have we perceived love, that he laid down his life for " us; therefore we ought also to lay down our lives for " the brethren. Rejoice and be glad, for great is your " reward in heaven. For we suffer with him, that we " may also be glorified with him: Who shall change " our vile body, that it may be fashioned like unto his " glorious body, according to the working whereby he " is able even to subdue all things unto himself.

" Dearly beloved, be of good courage, and comfort " your soul with the hope of this high reward, and bear " the image of Christ in your mortal body, that it may at " his coming be made like to his immortal body; and fol- " low the example of all your other dear brethren, which " chose to suffer in hope of a better resurrection. Keep " your conscience pure and undefiled, and say against " that nothing. Stick at necessary things, and re- " member the blasphemies of the enemies of Christ, " saying, they find none but who will abjure rather than " suffer the extremity. Moreover, the death of them " that come again after they have once denied, though " it be accepted with God, and all that believe, yet it is " not glorious: For the hypocrites say, he must needs " die, denying helpeth not. But might it have holpen, " they would have denied five hundred times, but seeing " it would not help them, therefore of pure pride and " mere malice together, they spake with their mouths " what their conscience knoweth false. If you give your- " self, cast yourself, yield yourself, commit yourself " wholly and only to your loving Father, then shall his " power be in you and make you strong, and that so " strong, that you shall feel no pain, which should be to " another present death: And his Spirit shall speak in you, " and teach you what to answer, according to his pro- " mise: he shall set out his truth by you wonderfully, and " work for you above all that your heart can imagine; " yea, and you are not yet dead, though the hypocrites " all,

" all, with all that they can make, have sworn your " death. *Una salus, victis nullam sperare salutem;* To " look for no man's help, bringeth the help of God to " them that seem to be overcome in the eyes of the hy- " pocrites: Yea, it shall make God to carry you thorow " thick and thin for his truth's sake, in spite of all the " enemies of his truth. There falleth not a hair till his " hour be come; and when his hour is come, necessity " carrieth us hence, though we be not willing. But if " we be willing, then have we a reward and thank.

" Fear not the threatening therefore, neither be over- " come of sweet words; with which twain the hypocrites " shall assail you. Neither let the persuasions of worldly " wisdom bear rule in your heart, no, though they be " your friends that counsel you. Let Bilney be a warn- " ing to you, let not their vizor beguile your eyes. Let " not your body faint. He that endureth to the end " shall be saved. If the pain be above your strength, " remember, *Whatsoever ye shall ask in my name, I will* " *give it you.* And pray to your Father in that name, " and he shall cease your pain, or shorten it. The Lord " of peace, of hope, and of faith, be with you. *Amen.*

" WILLIAM TINDALE."

II.

" TWO have suffered in Antwerp, *in die sanctæ crucis,* " unto the great glory of the gospel; four at " Rysels in Flanders; and at Luke hath there one at " least suffered, and all the same day. At Roan in France " they persecute. And at Paris are five doctors taken " for the gospel. See, you are not alone; be chearful " and remember that among the hard-hearted in England, " there is a number reserved by grace: For whose sakes, " if need be, you must be ready to suffer. Sir, if you " may write, how short soever it be, forget it not, that " we may know how it goeth with you, for our heart's " ease. The Lord be yet again with you, with all his " plenteousness, and fill you that you flow over. *Amen.*

" If when you have read this, you can send it to " Adrian; do, I pray you, that he may know how that " our heart is with you.

" George Joy at Candlemas, being at Barrow, printed " two leaves of Genesis in a great form, and sent one " copy to the king, and another to the new queen, with a " letter to *N.* to deliver them; and to purchase license,

" that

" that he might so go through all the bible. Out of " this is sprung the noise of the new bible; and out of " that is the great seeking for English books at all printers " and book-binders in Antwerp, and for an English priest " that should print.

" This chanced the ninth day of May.

" Sir, your wife is well content with the will of God, " and would not for her sake have the glory of God " hindered.

" WILLIAM TINDALE."

III.

" The grace of our Saviour Jesus, his patience, meek- " ness, humbleness, circumspection, and wisdom, be " with your heart, *Amen*.

" DEARLY beloved brother, mine heart's desire " in our Saviour Jesus, is, that you arm your- " self with patience, and be cool, sober, wise, and cir- " cumspect, and that you keep you a low by the ground, " avoiding high questions, that pass the common capa- " city. But expound the law truly, and open the vail " of Moses, to condemn all flesh, and prove all men sin- " ners, and all deeds under the law, before mercy have " taken away the condemnation thereof, to be sin and " damnable, and then, as a faithful minister, set a broach " the mercy of our Lord Jesus, and let the wounded " consciences drink of the water of Him. And then shall " your preaching be with power, and not as the doctrine " of the hypocrites; and the Spirit of God shall work " with you, and all consciences shall bear record unto " you, and feel that it is so. And all doctrine that " casteth a mist on those two, to shadow and hide them, " I mean the law of God, and mercy of Christ, that resist " you with all your power. Sacraments without signi- " fication refuse. If they put significations to them, " receive them, if you see it may help, though it be not " necessary.

" Of the presence of Christ's body in the sacrament, " meddle as little as you can, that there appear no di- " vision among us. Barnes will be hot against you. " The Saxons be sore on the affirmative; whether con- " stant or obstinate, I remit it to God. Philip Melanc- " thon is said to be with the French king. There be " in Antwerp that say, they saw him come into Paris " with an hundred and fifty horses, and that they spake

" with

" with him. If the French men receive the word of " God, he will plant the affirmative in them. George " Joy would have put forth a treatise of that matter, but " I have stopt him as yet: What he will do if he get " money, I wot not. I believe he would make many " reasons little serving to that purpose: My mind is, " that nothing be put forth till we hear how you shall " have sped. I would have the right use preached, and " the presence to be an indifferent thing, till the matter " might be reasoned in peace at leizure of both parties. " If you be required, shew the phrases of the scripture, " and let them talk what they will. For as to believe " that God is every where, hurteth no man that worship- " peth him no where but within the heart, in spirit and " verity: Even so to believe, that the body of Christ is " every where (though it cannot be proved) hurteth no " man, that worshippeth him no where, save in the faith " of his gospel. You perceive my mind: Howbeit, if " God shew you otherwise, it is free for you to do as he " moveth you.

" I guessed long ago, that God would send a dazing " into the head of the spirituality, to catch themselves in " their own subtilty, and trust it is come to pass. And " now me thinketh I smell a counsel to be taken, little " for their profits in time to come. But you must un- " derstand, that it is not of a pure heart and for love of " the truth, but to avenge themselves, and to eat the " whore's flesh, and to suck the marrow of her bones. " Wherefore cleave fast to the rock of the help of God, " and commit the end of all things unto him: And if " God shall call you, that you may then use the wisdom " of the worldly, as far as you perceive the glory of God " may come thereof, refuse it not; and ever among " thrust in, that the scripture may be in the mother- " tongue, and learning set up in the universities. But " if ought be required contrary to the glory of God, and " his Christ, then stand fast, and commit yourself to " God, and be not overcome of men's persuasions; " which haply shall say, We see no other way to bring " in the truth.

" Brother, beloved in my heart, there liveth not in " whom I have so good hope and trust, and in whom " my heart rejoiceth, and my soul comforteth herself, as " in you; not the thousand part so much for your learn- " ing, and what other gifts else you have, as because you " will creep alow by the ground, and walk in those

" things that the conscience may feel, and not in the " imaginations of the brain: In fear, and not in bold- " ness: In open necessary things, and not to pronounce " or define of hid secrets, or things that neither help nor " hinder, whether it be so or no; in unity, and not in " seditious opinions: Insomuch, that if you be sure you " know, yet in things that may abide leizure you will " defer, or say, (till other agree with you) Methinks " the text requireth the sense or understanding. Yea, " and if you be sure that your part be good, and another " hold the contrary, yet if it be a thing that maketh no " matter, you will laugh and let it pass, and refer the " thing to other men, and stick you stiffly and stubbornly " in earnest and necessary things. And I trust you be " persuaded even so of me: For I call God to record " against the day we shall appear before our Lord Jesus, " to give a reckoning of our doings, that I never altered " one syllable of God's word against my conscience, nor " would this day, if all that is in the earth, whether it " be pleasure, honour, or riches, might be given me. " Moreover, I take God to record to my conscience, " that I desire of God to myself in this world, no more " than that without which I cannot keep his laws.

" Finally, if there were in me any gift that could help " at hand, and aid you if need required, I promise you " I would not be far off, and commit the end to God. " My soul is not faint, though my body be weary. But " God hath made me evil favoured in this world, and " without grace in the sight of men, speechless and rude, " dull and slow witted; your part shall be to supply " what lacketh in me: Remembering, that as lowliness " of heart shall make you high with God, even so meek- " ness of words shall make you sink into the hearts of " men. Nature giveth age authority, but meekness is " the glory of youth, and giveth them honour. Abun- " dance of love maketh me exceed in babling.

" Sir, as concerning purgatory and many other things, " if you be demanded, you may say, if you err, the " spirituality hath so led you, and that they have taught " you to believe as you do. For they preached you all " such things out of God's word, and alledged a thou- " sand texts, by reason of which texts you believed as " they taught you, but now you find them liars, and " that the texts mean no such things, and therefore you " can believe them no longer, but are as ye were before " they taught you, and believe no such thing: Howbeit

" you

" you are ready to believe, if they have any other way " to prove it; for without proof you cannot believe them, " when you have found them with so many lies, &c. " If you perceive wherein we may help, either in being " still or doing somewhat, let us have word, and I will do " mine uttermost.

" My lord of London hath a servant called John Tisen, " with a red beard, and a black-reddish head, and was " once my scholar; he was seen in Antwerp, but came " not among the Englishmen: Whether he is gone am- " bassador secret, I wot not.

" The mighty God of Jacob be with you, to supplant " his enemies, and give you the favour of Joseph, and " the wisdom and the spirit of Stephen; be with your " heart, and with your mouth, and teach your lips what " they shall say, and how to answer to all things. He " is our God, if we despair in ourselves, and trust in " him: And his is the glory. *Amen.*

" *January*, 1533. WILLIAM TINDALE."

JOHN LAMBERT.

THE true name of this admirable man was Nicholson; but, in order to avoid the dangers which threatened him in the latter part of his life on a religious account, he assumed the sirname of Lambert. It does not appear when he was born, though it may be presumed to have been about the end of the fifteenth, or beginning of the sixteenth century, as he suffered for the cause of truth in the year 1538. We have not likewise the precise place of his birth: Only it is affirmed, that he was born and brought up, for the most part, in the county of Norfolk. His academical education he received at Cambridge, where he acquired the learned languages, and (what was better than them) his conversion to GOD from popish superstition and the love of this evil world. The blessed instrument of this happy change was the memorable and blessed

blessed Bilney, who was likewise the instrument of converting many others to the knowledge of GOD and their own hearts.

The fury of king Henry the Eighth against Lutheranism (or Protestantism, as it was afterwards more justly called) compelled poor Lambert, who began to be distinguished for his learning and piety, to such a refuge upon the continent. Accordingly, he repaired to Antwerp, then the residence of Tindale and Frith, who appear to have been his chosen friends, and officiated as preacher and chaplain to the English factory in that city, (which at that time had great correspondence with England on account of the woollen manufacture) for the greater part of two years. But the tenor of his preaching was of such a kind, as rendered it by no means surprising, that he should procure himself enemies among the sons of Rome. One Barlow, glad, no doubt, of shewing his zeal, accused him to Sir Thomas More, then lord chancellor of England, by whose means he was brought from Antwerp to London, as an innocent lamb to satiate the cruelty of the Romish wolves, who thirsted for his blood. This event occurred in the year 1532. He was first examined at Lambeth by Warham, then archbishop of Canterbury, and afterwards at the bishop's house at Oxford, before a multitude of his adversaries. He was questioned upon forty-five articles, to all of which he gave a very long, full, and learned answer, which does him and the cause he professed exceeding great honour. A more solid and comprehensive apology for Protestantism is rarely to be found; and we should be happy to lay it before our readers, did not its very great length exceed the limits of our plan. The curious Reader may see it at large in Fox's Acts and Monuments, for the reign of Henry the Eighth. We will, however, subjoin an extract or two at the end of his life, as a specimen of his faith and doctrine.

Lambert continued in custody at Oxford till the next year, 1533, in which archbishop Warham died, and was succeeded by Cranmer, who was (at the time of Warham's death) in Germany, debating the affair of the king's divorce. The death of the archbishop, and the rise of queen Anne of Boleyn, seem to have been the immediate causes of Lambert's release, which he had no sooner obtained than he repaired to London, and engaged himself in teaching the Greek and Latin tongues. He preferred this secular business to the priesthood, as times went; and as he meant to marry and settle, he purposed to take up the freedom

freedom of the city in the grocer's company. But GOD, who appoints and disappoints the inclinations and purposes of men after his own will and wisdom, called this blessed man to a higher vocation, and to give up his life as a martyr for the testimony of Jesus.

Sometime in the year 1538, Lambert was present at a sermon, preached by a Dr Taylor, who, it seems was then rather a friend to the gospel, and was afterwards made bishop of Lincoln in the reign of king Edward, and finally deprived by queen Mary. Lambert, whether he was dissatisfied with the sermon, or had a good opinion of the preacher, desired to have a friendly conference with him, and proposed, in the course of conversation, several theological points, on which he desired to be satisfied, the chief of which was the question concerning the corporeal presence of Christ in the sacrament. Taylor, pressed perhaps too close, desired Lambert to excuse him for the present, on account of other business, and to write his mind upon the matter, which they would talk over again at their leisure.

Lambert accordingly proposed ten arguments in writing for support of his opinion, which are mostly lost, except the first, which was founded upon these words; *This cup is the New Testament*, &c. "Now, says he, if these words "do neither change the cup nor the wine therein sub- "stantially into the New Testament, which nobody as- "serts; then, by parity of reason, the words spoken of "the bread, do not turn the bread corporally into the "person of Christ." The other reasons are said to have been equally acute, and supported by the scriptures and by testimonies from the primitive fathers.

Taylor, out of a real wish to satisfy Lambert, and feeling himself unable to answer him, applied among others to Dr Barnes, a good man, but as yet (like many good men at the dawning of the Reformation) not sufficiently clear in the matter of the sacrament. Barnes advised Taylor to lay the matter before Cranmer, the archbishop, who then was an advocate for transubstantiation; and Lambert was obliged to defend his doctrine in open court before him and some other bishops. This published Lambert and his opinions to the whole court and city.

Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, glad of every opportunity of insinuating himself into the king's good graces, suggested to his majesty, That now an opportunity occurred to shew to all the world, that though he had renounced the supreme authority of the bishop of Rome, he had

had not renounced the catholic faith (which the king had professed not to do), and that therefore he would prosecute and punish all heretics and others, who should presume to set forth doctrines contrary to it: That this Lambert might be made a proper example, and that by his punishment he might quiet the apprehensions of the people, with respect to farther innovations.

The king eagerly caught the bait, and immediately issued a general ordinance, commanding all the nobility and bishops of the realm forthwith to repair to London, in order to assist the king against heretics and heresies, as he purposed to sit *personally* in judgment upon them.

Vast was the concourse of people assembled to see this solemn business; and the apparatus for the trial was no less extraordinary. The king himself came as judge, with a great guard, and sat upon the throne prepared for him, arrayed in white: On his right hand were the bishops, and behind him the judges and crown lawyers, clothed all in purple; and, on his left, the peers of the realm and other officers of the crown, according to precedency. Such an appearance, with the king's severe looks, words, and manner, would have sufficed to daunt any man, who could not rely upon the promise, That GOD's people should *speak* in his cause *before kings, and not be ashamed.*

It would be long to enter upon the cruel and unfair proceedings of this memorable day. The imperious frowns and threats of the king, and the meek and humble deportment of Lambert, can only be paralleled by the history of Caiaphas the high-priest, or Pontius Pilate, and Lambert's Saviour. Cranmer, it is to be regretted, opposed a cause on that day, for which Cranmer himself not many years afterwards suffered and bled. Lambert defended himself with the firmness of a man, the learning of a scholar, and the humility of a Christian. The issue was predetermined in the king's mind; and all the eloquence and truth in the world would have been of no avail. The king commanded Cromwell (the famous Lord Cromwell, who so much supported the Reformation) to read the doleful sentence of condemnation. It was Lambert's peculiar case, not only to be a martyr, but to suffer by those, who, in their turn, and for the same identical cause, were not long afterwards, martyrs themselves.

It appears, that, upon this judgment, he was confined to lord Cromwell's house, and that Cromwell besought his forgiveness for what he had been compelled to do (it is said, by Gardiner's particular management,) against him.

Upon

Upon the day of his death, he breakfasted with great chearfulness among Cromwell's gentlemen, saluted them with great ease and respect upon his departure, and was led out as a lamb for a burnt-sacrifice.

No man was used at the stake with more cruelty than this holy martyr. They burned him with a slow fire by inches; for if it kindled higher and stronger than they chose, they removed it away. When his legs were burnt off, and his thighs were mere stumps in the fire, they pitched his poor body upon pikes, and lacerated his broiling flesh with their halberts. But GOD was with him in the midst of the flame, and supported him in all the anguish of nature. Just before he expired, he lifted up such hands as he had, all flaming with fire, and cried out to the people with his dying voice in these glorious words, NONE BUT CHRIST; NONE BUT CHRIST. Spoken in this manner, and at such a time, there was more energy in them than could have been expressed in a volume He was at last beat down into the fire, and flew in a chariot of flame to heaven.

During his confinement he wrote a long treatise to the king, in which he apologised for his faith and doctrine; a part of which treatise is preserved by Fox, in his Acts and Monuments, to which we must refer the reader.

We promised just to extract a few words from his first examination, that the Reader may see something of the evangelical doctrines of this good man. In the course of his defence before archbishop Warham, he was asked, 'Dost thou believe, that whatsoever is done of man, whether 'it be good or ill, cometh of NECESSITY?' Mr Lambert easily perceived, that his being so closely questioned on the article of *predestination*, was no other than a trap laid for his life. His reply did equal honour to his prudence and faithfulness: "Unto the *first* part of your riddle, I "neither can nor will give any definitive answer.—Concerning the *second* part, *Whether man hath free-will or no, "to deserve joy or pain?* As for our *deserving* of *joy*, in "particular, I think it very little or none; even when "we do the very commandments and law of God. *When "ye have done all that are commanded you*, saith our Saviour, "*say that ye be unprofitable servants.* When we have done "his bidding, we ought not so to magnify neither our "*self*, nor our own *free-will:* But laud HIM, with a meek "heart, through whose benefit we have done (if at any "time we do it) his liking and pleasure. Hence *Austin* "prayeth, *Domine, da quod jubes, et jube quod vis:*" Lord, give what thou commandest, and command what thou wilt.

"Concerning

" Concerning FREE-WILL, I mean altogether as doth St " Austin: That, of ourselves, we have NO *liberty* nor *abi-* " *lity* to do the will of God; but are *shut up* and *sold* " *under sin*, as both Isaiah and Paul bear witness: But " by the GRACE of God we are rid and set at liberty, " according to the portion which every man" [i. e. every *regenerate* man] " hath received of the same; some more, " some less."

Lambert was also asked, ' *Whether faith alone, without* ' *good works, may suffice to the salvation and justification of* ' *a man, who has fallen into sin after baptism?*' The martyr answered, in the words of St Austin, " *Opera bona* " *non faciunt justum, sed justificatus facit bona opera:* The " PERFORMANCE of GOOD WORKS does not *justify* a " man, but the man who IS JUSTIFIED *performs* GOOD " WORKS."

URBANUS REGIUS.

URBANUS REGIUS was born at Arga Longa, in the territories of the counts De Montfort. His family name was *Rex*, or *king*, which was changed by the family, as it was often applied in ridicule. Having given early proofs of his genius, he received a liberal education, first at the school of Lindau, and afterwards at Friburg, where he lived with Zasius, an excellent civilian, who had the greatest regard for him on account of his diligence and industry. Indeed, his application was very extraordinary; for he buried himself in the library of his learned friend, and frequently sat up whole nights in reading authors and transcribing the remarks, which Zasius and other scholars had made upon them, insomuch that his kind host jocularly told him, ' that he certainly meant to rob him of ' his profession and knowledge.' 'Tis said, that Zasius loved him as a son, both for his delight in learning, and sweetness of manners: And Urban did not fail to answer all the expectations which had been conceived of him.

From

From Friburg he went to Basil for further improvement; and from Basil to Ingolstadt, which university was under the direction of the famous John Eckius. Here, after a while, he read privately to several noblemen's sons, whose parents desired him to furnish their children with books and other necessaries, for which they would take care to remit him the money quarterly; but neglecting to fulfil their promise, he was obliged to give up his books and furniture to be divided amongst his creditors, and in despair went to a captain, who was recruiting for the war against the Turks, and listed himself for a soldier. It soon happened, that his friend Eckius, walking abroad to see the soldiers, spied poor Urban amongst them. Eckius with astonishment enquired the cause of this sudden change. Urban presently told him the behaviour of those noblemen, whose children he had tutored: And Eckius soon took the means of procuring his discharge from the captain, as well as the money due to him from the noblemen.

Urban then returned to his studies, and growing famous for his great erudition and ingenuity, the emperor Maximilian, passing through Ingolstadt, made him his poet-laureat and orator: Afterwards, he was made professor of poetry and oratory in that university. He then applied himself closely to the study of divinity; and, a while after, the controversy growing hot between Luther and Eckius; Urban favouring Luther's doctrine, yet unwilling to offend Eckius, who had been his very good friend in many instances, he left Ingolstadt and went to Ausburgh; where, at the importunity of the magistrates and citizens, he undertook the government of the church. As he began to see more and more of the purity of the gospel, he could not but be offended at the gross idolatry and corruptions of the papists, and soon joined with Luther in preaching against them. He also wrote to Zuinglius to know his judgment about the sacrament and original-sin, from whom he received so much satisfaction, that he agreed with him entirely in these particulars. 'Wherefore (says 'Melchior Adam) he saw the truth, he openly embraced, 'and boldly confessed it.' At that time, the enthusiastic Anabaptists (who followed John of Leyden, David George, and the other ranting cut-throats) crept into Augsburgh, and held private conventicles to the disturbance of the public peace; but the magistrates imprisoning the chief of them, and punishing the incorrigible, put an end to their disturbance in that city.

He

He went on preaching against purgatory, indulgences, and the other corruptions, till the papists were so enraged, that they drove him out of the city: But, after a while, through the entreaties of some principal citizens, he was called back again to his charge. He then married a citizen's daughter, by whom he had thirteen children. His friend Eckius wrote to him, on his return, a severe letter, dated March 21st, 1527, which Urban answered with equal meekness and faithfulness, recapitulating his great obligations to him on the account of his learning and friendship, and assuring him that nothing but the truth had led him to his present profession, which by no means tended to promote his worldly interest or glory. Eckius could not rest here, but endeavoured by all means, though in vain, to turn him away from the truth; and sent Faber and Cochlæus with flatteries and large promises, who prevailed as little as himself.

There was a diet held at Augsburgh, in the year 1530, for quieting the controversies about religion, at which was present the duke of Brunswick, who much importuned, and at last prevailed with Urban to go to Lunenburg in his dominions, to take care of the church there. Urban in his way thither, visited Luther at Coburg, and spent a whole day with him in familiar conferences about the principal doctrines; and in his writings mentions this as one of the most comfortable days of his life. "Such and so great "a divine is Luther (says he) that I think no age has seen "his equal. I always thought him a great man; but he "now appears to me the greatest of all. I saw him and "heard him, the manner of which cannot be described by "the pen." Ernest, duke of Brunswick loved him dearly, and esteemed him as a father; and when the city of Augsburgh sent to the duke in the year 1531, desiring him to permit Urban's return to them; the duke gave for answer, 'That he would as soon part with his eyes as 'with him; and presently after made him chief pastor of all the churches in his dominions, with an ample salary for his support.

Here he spent the rest of his most useful life, in preaching, writing, and religious conferences; confuting gainsayers, and confirming the faithful. Some years afterwards, going with his prince to Haguenau, he fell sick by the way, and in a few days, with much chearfulness, yielded up his soul into the hands of God on the 23d of May, in 1541. He often desired of the Lord, if it were his will, that he might die a sudden and easy death; which

which request the Lord was pleased to grant him. He was a man of an excellent understanding, of uncommon learning, holy and upright in his life and conversation, and most indefatigable in the labours of his sacred function.

Sleidan mentions his writings against the Anabaptists, in conjunction or at the same time with Melancthon and Justus Menius. His son Ernest collected and published his works, after his decease, by the desire of his affectionate patron the duke of Brunswick. His common-places of the fathers, &c. were printed afterwards in a separate volume by John Freder. Our excellent martyrologist, Mr Fox, is said to have translated one of Regius's treatises, upon faith and hope (if not more) from the original Latin into English.

WOLFGANG FABR. CAPITO.

WOLFGANG FABRICIUS CAPITO was born at Haguenau in Alsace, in the year 1478. His father was of the senatorian rank, who gave him a good education, and sent him to Basil; where he studied physic till he had taken his doctor's degree, and likewise attained a very great proficiency in the other liberal sciences. At his father's death in 1504, he studied divinity, and entered into the logic of those times, with all the idle subtilties and metaphysical jargon of the schools. After this course of study, he read the civil law under Zasius, an eminent civilian, for four years, and finally took his doctor's degree in that line. He was a great admirer and supporter of godly ministers. At Heidelberg he became acquainted with Oecolampadius; with whom there ever afterwards subsisted the strongest tie of friendship and mutual communication. He studied Hebrew with his friend Oecolampadius under the tuition of one Matthew Adrian, a converted Jew, and then became a preacher, first in Spire, and afterwards at Basil, where he continued for some years.

From thence he was sent for by the Elector Palatine, who made him his counsellor, and sent him on several embassies;

sies: And Charles the fifth conferred upon him the order of knighthood. From Mentz he followed Bucer to Strasburgh, where he astonished the world by preaching the reformed religion, at St Thomas's church in that city, beginning his ministry by expounding St Paul's epistle to the Colossians. The fame of Capito and Bucer spread so wide, that James Faber and Gerard Rufus were sent privately from France to hear him, by Margaret queen of Navarre, sister to the French king; and thus the protestant doctrine was introduced into France. Capito was a very prudent and eloquent man, a great critic in the Hebrew tongue, and master of the whole circle of human knowledge. This, with the endowment of the highest wisdom—the knowledge of God and his truth, furnished him in the most eminent manner for the sacred function: And God blessed him accordingly. Next to his love of the purity of the gospel, he was very earnest that the gospel should be received in mutual love and peace among its professors.

His opinion (following that of Oecolampadius) concerning the sacrament was, *Mittendas esse contentiones, & cogitandum de usu ipsius cœnæ: Viz. fidem nostram pane, & vino Domini, per memoriam carnis, & sanguinis illius, pascendam.* i. e. Disputes about the Lord's Supper, should, as much as possible be avoided; and the chief point to be desired was its use and benefit; namely, that our faith may be strengthened and nourished by the Lord's bread and wine, in memory of his flesh and blood.

In the year 1525, he received a call to return to his own country, where he preached the gospel in purity, and administered the Lord's Supper, according to Christ's institution, to his fellow citizens, and baptized without the popish ceremonies. He frequently made excursions into the neighbouring parts of Switzerland, and confirmed the souls of the faithful by his doctrine. He was also present and disputed at Bern, in 1528, against the popish mass, &c He was, with several others, chosen by the protestants to go to the diet at Ratisbon, in the year 1541, for the settling of religion, and was much distinguished in that controversy. Returning home, in a great and general infection, he died of the plague, about the end of the year 1541, in the sixty-third year of his age.

Capito was a very great scholar himself, and a great promoter of learning in others. He was convinced, that true knowledge and true grace conjoined would give the severest shock to the devil's kingdom And for the honour of the protestant religion it may be said, that it not only introduced

introduced the revival of science throughout Europe, but has cherished it ever since in the most remarkable manner.

Capito was ever importunate with Erasmus, to throw off his Nicodemean disguise, and to embrace the protestant religion openly; but Erasmus had neither the grace nor the zeal of Capito. Oecolampadius was his principal and dearest friend, though he corresponded with all the other great divines of his time.

He married the widow of his friend Oecolampadius, and by her he had several children. He had before married another lady, a literary woman, who lived but a short time, as it seems, with him before her death.

Among other works, he left behind him; two books upon the Jewish œconomy; expositions upon the prophets Habakkuk and Hosea; the life of John Oecolampadius; a tract upon the best mode of education for a divine, &c. &c.

SIMON GRYNÆUS.

SIMON GRYNÆUS, a most able and learned man, was the son of a peasant of Swabia, and born at Veringen, in the county of Hokenzollern, in the year 1493. He pursued his studies in Pfortsheim at the same time with Melancthon, which gave rise to a friendship between them of long continuance. He pursued them at Vienna, and there taking the degree of master in philosophy, was appointed Greek professor. Having embraced the protestant religion, he was thereby exposed to many dangers; and particularly in Baden, where he was some years rector of the school. He was thrown into prison at the instigation of the monks; but, at the solicitation of the nobles of Hungary, he was set at liberty, and retired to Wittenberg, where he had a conference with Luther and Melancthon. Being returned to his native country, he was invited to Heidelberg, to be Greek professor in that city in 1523. He exercised this employment till the year 1529, when he was invited to Basil to teach publicly

in

in that city. In 1531, he took a journey into England, and carried with him a recommendatory letter from Erasmus to William Montjoy, dated Friburg, March the 18th, 1531. After desiring Montjoy to assist Grynæus as much as he could, in shewing him libraries, and introducing him to learned men, Erasmus adds: ‘ *Est homo Latinè Græ-* ‘ *cèque ad unguem doctus, in philosophia et mathematicis* ‘ *disciplinis diligenter versatus, nullo supercilio, pudore penè* ‘ *immodico. Pertraxit hominem isthuc Brittanniæ visendæ* ‘ *cupiditas, sed præcipuè Bibliothecarum vestrarum amor.* ‘ *Rediturus est ad nos,*’ &c. That is, He is a man perfectly skilled in the Latin and Greek tongues, a good philosopher, and mathematician, without the least affectation; and modest almost to excess. The desire of seeing England, and especially the love of your libraries, has drawn him over. But he must return to us again, *&c.* Bibliander also called him ‘ an incomparable man, in whom ‘ every Christian grace and virtue, with all learning and ‘ politeness, seemed to have taken up their habitation.’ Erasmus recommended him also to the lord chancellor Sir Thomas More, from whom he received great civilities. This appears by an epistle of Grynæus, prefixed to his Greek edition of Plato, in 1534. In the year 1534, he was employed, in conjunction with other persons, to reform the church and school of Tubingen. He returned to Basil in 1536, and in 1540 was appointed to go to the conferences at Worms with Melancthon, Capito, Bucer, Calvin, *&c.* He died of the plague at Basil on the first of August in 1541.

He did great service to the republic of letters, and the learned are obliged to him for the editions of several ancient authors. He was the first who published the Almagest of Ptolemy in Greek, which he did at Basil in 1538, and added a preface concerning the use of that author’s doctrine. He published a Greek Euclid, with a preface, in 1533, and Plato’s works, with some commentaries of Proclus in 1534. He corrected in some places Marsilius Ficinus’s Latin version of Plato: Yet it should seem, as if he did not excel as a translator, for Huetius calls him ‘ verbose, and more like a paraphrast.’ He wrote a treatise upon the use of history; and a disputation upon comets. His edition of Plato was addressed to John More, the chancellor’s son, as a testimony of gratitude for favours received from the father; and as the following passage in the dedication shews Sir Thomas, as well as Grynæus, in a very amiable light, we think it not amiss

to

to insert it here. Our Readers will remember, that it is in a *dedication*, in which, we are sorry to say, that good men too often render truth itself hyperbolical, and sometimes fancy that men *are*, what indeed they *ought to be*. We do not mean, by this remark, to detract from the personal worth of Sir Thomas More, which was certainly very great; though we confess it not a little extraordinary, that this great man should persecute, or at least approve the persecution of, some protestants to death only for their religion, while he could at the same time pass over this terrible fault in others, merely for a literary recommendation. As to Grynæus, we value him as a scholar, and promoter of science, which indeed is a secondary promotion of true religion; but we give him a place here chiefly because he was a good man, a lover of the Reformation, and confidentially employed by the Reformers.

"It is, you know (says Grynæus) three years since my "arriving in England, and being recommended most "auspiciously by my friend Erasmus to your house, the "sacred seat of the muses; I was there received with "great kindness, was entertained with greater, was dis-"missed with the greatest of all. For that great and "excellent man your father, so eminent for his high rank "and noble talents, not only allowed to me, a private "and obscure person, (such was his love of literature) the "honour of conversing with him in the midst of many "public and private affairs, but gave me a place at his table, "though he was the greatest man in England, took me "with him when he went to court or returned from it, "and had me ever by his side, but also with the utmost "gentleness and candour enquired, in what particulars my "religious principles were different from his; and though "he found them to vary greatly, yet he was so kind as to "assist me in every respect, and even to defray all my ex-"pences. He likewise sent me to Oxford with one Mr "Harris, a learned young gentleman, and recommended "me so powerfully to the university, that, at the sight of "his letters, all the libraries were open to me, and I was "admitted to the most intimate familiarity with the stu-"dents."

He had a son, Samuel Grynæus, born at Basil in 1539; who was made professor of oratory there at the age of twenty-five, and afterwards of civil law; and who died there in April 1599. He was uncle to Thomas Grynæus, the account of whose life will follow in its place.

LEO

LEO JUDÆ.

THIS great and good divine was born in Alsace, in 1482, was brought up in the school of Slestadt, and from thence was sent to Basil, about the year 1502, where he joined in study with the famous Zuinglius under the tuition of Dr Wittenbash, a very learned man, by whom he received the first principles of the evangelical doctrine concerning Christ's satisfaction for sin and the leading truths of the gospel. In this university he made a great proficiency in letters, and in the year 1512 took his degree of master of arts and professed philosophy. There also he was made a deacon; and from this ministration was called into Switzerland, where he devoted himself to the study of the oriental languages, and to the reading of the fathers, particularly of Jerom and Augustine: He likewise diligently read the books of Luther, Erasmus, and Reuchlin the famous Hebræan.

By the writings of these excellent men he more plainly discovered, and afterwards utterly abhorred the idolatrous superstitions of the church of Rome. At length, being called to a pastoral charge at Zurich, he openly opposed the popish doctrine, both from the pulpit and press; and became distinguished among the great and burning lights of the Reformation. At Zurich he continued eighteen years, and spent much of that time in expounding the Old Testament out of the Hebrew, in the knowledge of which having made uncommon progress, he was solicited by his brethren in the ministry, to undertake the translation of the Old Testament; with which request he complied, and was assisted by other learned men. He diligently collated all the Hebrew copies, which he could command, for the interpretation of the most difficult places, and made great use of the Greek and Latin translations, without entirely depending upon them. But he prosecuted this work with such intenseness of application, that he destroyed his health, and died with all the debility of extreme age at sixty, on the 9th of June, in the year 1542;

1542; leaving unfinished Job, the forty last Psalms, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Canticles, and the eight last chapters of Ezekiel, which he commended to Theodore Bibliander to finish, who accordingly did it: And he left all to Conrade Pellican to peruse, and put to the press, which he carefully performed. This translation Robert Stephens afterwards in a great measure pirated, without once making mention of the names of these worthies, by whose learning and labour it had been accomplished.

Four days before his death, he sent for the pastors and professors of Zurich, before whom he made a confession of his faith concerning GOD, the scriptures, the person and offices of CHRIST, and the sufficiency of his salvation; concluding with these words; "To this, my Lord "and Saviour Jesus Christ, my hope, and my salvation, "I wholly offer up my soul and body. I cast myself "wholly upon His mercy and grace. Utterly abandoning all that is in myself, I entirely cast myself upon "his promises for eternal life; and in this confidence I "fear not to die, firmly trusting, that I shall enjoy that "most blessed Saviour, whom I have now so long preached "to others, and whose face I have so long desired to see, "in that state, where is the fulness of joy for ever and "ever."

Having said this, he most devoutly gave thanks to God for all the mercies he had received, desired his blessing upon the church and people of the country where he had lived, and finally commended his dear wife now about to become a widow, with his orphan children, to the tender mercies of his heavenly Father.

Besides the translation abovementioned, Leo Judæ wrote annotations upon Genesis and Exodus, in which he was assisted by Zuinglius; likewise upon the four gospels, and upon the epistles to the Romans, Corinthians, Philippians, Colossians, Thessalonians, and of James. He also composed a larger and smaller catechism, and translated some of Zuinglius's works into Latin.

Our Dr More, in his *Exercitationis de Scripturâ sacrâ*, says of Leo, that he was extremely learned in the Hebrew tongue; and remarks likewise, that his bible was printed at Paris by Robert Stephens, with the notes of Vatablus and others, under another name.

PETER BRULIUS.

ABOUT the year 1538, a college or school, was opened at Strasburg, a free imperial city upon the Rhine, chiefly by the endeavours and procurement of the celebrated James Sturmius, one of the principal citizens and a senator. By the care and attention of this learned and worthy man, and by the learning and abilities of the masters appointed through his recommendation, this seminary quickly arrived to the first degree of eminence, and became famous all over Germany and the neighbouring countries. Protestantism and true knowledge at that time flourished together. Invited by this and other favourable circumstances, great numbers of French and Flemings, driven from their native country upon the account of religion, settled at Strasburg, where the senate of the city assigned them a church for public worship, and allowed them the privilege of incorporating themselves into a distinct body. One of these was the famous John Sleidan, author of the history of the Reformation, who died there on the 31st of October, 1556. Of this church Calvin was pastor for some years, and was succeeded by Brulius, very much to the comfort and satisfaction of the people.

Throughout all the provinces, belonging to the emperor, in the Netherlands, there prevailed at this period among the people the most earnest desire to be instructed in the reformed religion; so that in places where the truth was not, or dared not to be preached; private invitations were sent to the ministers, who resided in towns, where the pure gospel was preached openly. Some people in Tournay, accordingly, invited Brulius from Strasburg. Ready to every good word and work, this excellent man complied with their request; and arrived at Tournay in the month of September, 1544, and was most joyfully received by those who had invited him. After staying some time, he made an excursion to Lisle in Flanders, upon the

the same account, and returned to Tournay about the end of October following. But, by some means, his business and profession were divulged to the papistical governors of the city, who ordered strict search to be made for him, and the gates to be shut for the purpose. In this imminent danger, as there was no possibility of concealing him longer, his friends, on the second of November, in the night, let him down over the wall by a rope. When he had reached the ground, he sat down to take a little rest; but one of those, who assisted in the escape, leaning as far as he could over the wall, that he might softly bid him farewell, forced out a loose stone with his foot, which fell upon Brulius's leg and broke it. The pain occasioned by this wound, and the severe cold of the night, extorted such loud groans from the good man, as alarmed the watch, and soon seized their prey and committed him to prison. The afflicting news was not long in reaching Germany, nor was the senate of Strasburg slow in interceding for his release by the most pressing letters. The deputies of the protestants, then assembled at Worms, also sued in his behalf, though unhappily too late; for before the letters, which were sent in the name of the duke of Saxony, and the Landgrave of Hesse, were delivered, he was on the 19th of February, 1545, put to death, to the great grief of all good men.

The manner of his execution was severe, his body being burnt by a slow fire, for his greater torment. But nothing could triumph over his faith; for he stood to the truth of GOD to his last breath, and exhorted, by his letters, many of his friends to do so, who were imprisoned for the sake of the gospel. When he was examined in prison, the monks, in presence of the magistrates, asked him the question; 'What he thought 'of the sacrament of the altar, of the mass, consecration, 'adoration of the host, of purgatory, of the worshipping 'of saints, free-will, good works, justification, images, 'vows, confession, and the like.' To these he made answer; "That the body and blood of Christ were re-"ceived, not by the mouth, but spiritually by faith; "and that the substance of the bread and wine was not "changed: That, when according to Christ's institu-"tion, the Lord's Supper is given to the church in the "vulgar tongue, so that all may understand the use and "benefit of it, that then the elements are duly conse-"crated, and that by the words of Christ; whereas the "whispers and mutterings, used by the mass-priests over "the bread and wine, better became conjurers and jug-

" giers, than Christian ministers: That the popish mass " had nothing to do with the Lord's Supper, but was a " worship invented by man, to the disparagement of the " institution of Christ: That the adoration of the wafer " was idolatry, because a creature was there worshipped " instead of the Creator. That he neither knew, nor " cared for any other purgatory, than the blood of Christ; " which alone remits both the guilt and punishment of " our sins: That, therefore, masses and prayers for the " dead, were not only useless, but impious, as having no " warrant from the word of GOD: That saints cannot " be more truly respected, than by imitating their faith " and virtues, and that, if more be done, it is impious, " and what they themselves, were they in the world, " would tremble at and abhor: That, therefore, they are " not to be invoked as intercessors, which would be giv- " ing them a glory which belongs to Christ alone: That " by the fall of Adam, the nature of man is wholly cor- " rupted, and the freedom of his will is forfeited; so that " he can do no good, without the grace of GOD; but " that a regenerated man, moved by GOD, like a good " tree brings forth good fruits: That nothing deserves " the name of faith, but what bringeth us salvation, " namely, when we believe the divine promises, and cer- " tainly conclude, that through Christ Jesus our sins are " forgiven us: That traditions, by which the minds of " men are enslaved, are not to be received: That it was " very dangerous to have statues and images in churches, " for fear of idolatry: That baptism is the outward sign " of GOD's covenant, whereby he testifies that he will " pardon our sins, and likewise a sign of perpetual mor- " tification and a new life, which ought to accompany " baptism: That this sacrament is to be received by all, " and children not to be barred from it, seeing they also " are partakers of the divine promises: That no vow is " to be made, which either the word of God doth not " allow, or that cannot be performed by man: That " every one ought to confess his sins to GOD, and im- " plore his mercy and forgiveness: That, if the conscience " be disquieted, counsel is to be taken of a minister of the " church, for advice and comfort; but that auricular " confession, and a particular enumeration of sins to a " priest, has no warrant in scripture, nor can be of any " possible use."

Some days before he was brought to a trial, he wrote of all these things to his wife and to his other friends, who

who had earnestly requested an account of his treatentm from him. His sister, who appears to have visited him constantly in his confinement, found means privately to convey this correspondence to the parties. The last letter this excellent man wrote must have been a most afflicting one indeed. It was written to his wife the day before he suffered. He gave her an account of the kind of death he was to endure on the ensuing day, and filled his letter with pious exhortations and consolations to her, concluding that she ought not to be grieved for his sake but to rejoice, since this whole dispensation was an honour that his heavenly Father conferred upon him; that Jesus Christ had suffered infinitely more for him; and that, however, "The servant's condition ought not to be better than his "Lord's."—What a proof is here, among a multitude of others, of the omnipotent efficacy of divine grace, which can make the nature of man, always shrinking from pain, defy the power of torment, and which can give the human heart, when it is stripped of all worldly comfort, such a flood of joy, as to bear it up over death, and all the other evils which wicked men or wicked spirits can inflict upon it!

From this time for many years afterwards, the history of pious men and women, professing the protestant doctrine, who suffered in Germany, France, Flanders, and indeed all over Europe, would be too voluminous in itself, and beyond the bounds we have prescribed ourselves in this work, to be detailed. The ministers alone who preached or suffered for the truths of the gospel cannot be specified by us, without exceeding the purpose of our plan. We wish to give the Reader the most remarkable of these for life, learning, and doctrine; though it is hard to determine sometimes, not whom to insert (for blessed be GOD, their number is abundantly large) but whom, on account of their excellency, to omit, without seeming to slight those excellent endowments, which God had vouchsafed them. If the martyrs themselves make up a noble army, what will the other eminent servants of Christ compose, who only had the honour of preaching his gospel! And if martyrs and preachers would form so immense an assembly; we may well say, in the words of the scripture, of the rest of GOD's people, that they are *a great multitude, which no man can number, of all nations, and kindreds, and people, and tongues. Even so, Amen: Hallelujah!*

MARTIN LUTHER,

THE GREAT REFORMER.

IN the order of time, we come now to treat of a most wonderful man, whom God raised up in these last ages of the world, to break the chain of superstition and spiritual slavery, with which the bishops of Rome and their dependents had, for many centuries, cast over the consciences of all men. He was an instrument truly prepared for this great work; and yet but a mean and obscure monk; to shew us, that He, who ruleth all things, effected himself the important design, in which the greatest prince upon earth would have undoubtedly failed.

The conduct of the dignified clergy throughout all Europe, had long given scandal to the world. The bishops were grossly ignorant: They seldom resided in their dioceses, except to riot at high festivals: And all the effect their residence could have, was to corrupt others, by their ill example. Nay, some of them could not so much as write, but employed some person, or chaplain, who had attained that accomplishment, to subscribe their names for them. They followed the courts of princes, and aspired to the greatest offices. The abbots and monks were wholly given up to luxury and idleness; and it appeared, by the unmarried state both of the seculars and regulars, that the restraining them from having wives of their own, made them conclude they had a right to all other men's. The inferior clergy were no better; and, not having places of retreat to conceal their vices in, as the monks had, they became more public. In sum; all ranks of churchmen were so universally despised and hated, that the world was very apt to be possessed with prejudice against their doctrines, for the sake of the men whose interest it was to support them: And the worship of God

was



From an original Painting presented by Count Rumnef. a Bohemian Nobleman, to the Lutheran Chapel in the Tower.

was so defiled with gross superstition, that, without great enquiries, all men were easily convinced, that the church stood in great need of a Reformation. This was much increased when the books of the fathers began to be read, in which the difference between the former and later ages of the church very evidently appeared. They found, that a blind superstition came first in the room of true piety; and when, by its means, the wealth and interest of the clergy were highly advanced, the popes had upon that established their tyranny; under which, not only the meaner people, but even the crowned heads, had long groaned. All these things concurred to make way for the advancement of the Reformation.

Wickliffe, Huss, Jerom of Prague, and others, had laid the seeds of the Reformation, which Luther nourished with great warmth. The scandalous extolling of indulgences gave the first occasion to all the contradiction that followed between Luther and the church of Rome; in which, if the corruptions and cruelty of the clergy had not been so visible and scandalous, so small a matter could not have produced such a revolution: But any crisis will put ill humours into a ferment.

As Protestants, we are certainly much obliged to Erasmus; yet we are far more obliged, under God, to those great instruments of the Reformation, viz. Luther, Zuinglius, Oecolampadius, Bucer, Melancthon, Cranmer, and others. The great enemies of Luther cannot deny, but that he had eminent qualities; and history affords nothing more surprising than what he had done: For a simple monk to be able to give popery so rude a shock, that there needed but such another entirely to overthrow the Romish church, is what we cannot sufficiently admire, and marks the hand of providence conducting the whole. It was said, with reason, that Erasmus, by his railleries, prepared the way for Luther; and Simon Fontaine the popish historian, complained, that Erasmus occasionally had done more mischief than Luther; because Luther only opened the door wider, after Erasmus had picked the lock, and half opened it. Notwithstanding all this, says Bayle, there must have been eminent gifts in Luther to produce such a Revolution as he has done.

Martin Luther was born at Isleben, a town in the county of Mansfield, in the circle of Upper Saxony, on the tenth of November, 1483, at nine o'clock at night, being St Martin's eve, which made his parents name him Martin. His father was called John Luther, or Luder, because he

was a refiner of metals; for Luder, in the German language, has that signification: It is agreed that his business was about the mines; and that he was the chief magistrate of the city of Mansfield. His mother's name was Margaret Lindeman, who was remarkable for her piety.

Among the falsehoods which have been published concerning Martin Luther, no regard has been had to probability, or to the rules of the art of slandering. The authors of them have assumed all the confidence of those who fully believe that the public will blindly adopt all their stories, however absurd. They have dared to publish, that an Incubus begat him; and have even falsified the day of his birth, to frame a scheme of nativity to his disadvantage Father Maimbourg has been so equitable as to reject this ridiculous story: But Gauricus has made himself contemptible for his astrology.

When Martin Luther was fourteen years of age, he was sent to the public school of Magdeburg, where he continued one year, and was then removed to that of Eysenach, where he studied four years. The circumstances of his parents were at that time so very low, and so insufficient to maintain him, that he was forced, as Melchior Adam relates, *mendicato vivere pane*, to live by begging his bread. When he had finished his grammar studies, he was sent to the famous school at Eysenach in Thuringia, for the sake of being among his mother's relations, where he applied himself very diligently to his books for four years, and began to discover all that force and strength of parts, that acuteness and penetration, that warm and rapid eloquence, which afterwards were attended with such amazing success. In the year 1501, he was entered at the university of Erford or Erfurt, in Thuringia, where he went through a course of philosophy, and was admitted master of arts, in 1503, being then twenty years old. He was soon after made professor of physic, and ethics: But he chiefly applied himself to the study of the civil law, and intended to advance himself to the bar, from which he was diverted by this uncommon accident. As he was walking in the fields with a friend, he was struck by a thunderbolt, which threw him to the ground, and killed his companion: Whereupon Luther resolved to withdraw from the world, and enter into the order of the hermits of St Augustine. He made his profession in the monastry of Erfurt, where he took priest's orders, and celebrated his first mass in the year 1507.

It

It is reported, that there was an old man in this monastery, with whom Luther had several conferences upon many theological subjects, particularly, concerning the article of remission of sins. This article was explained by the old monk to Luther, 'That it was the express 'commandment of God, that every man should believe 'his sins to be forgiven him in Christ.' Luther found this interpretation was confirmed by the testimony of St Bernard, who says, 'That man is freely justified by 'faith.' He then perceived the meaning of St Paul, when he repeats, 'We are justified by faith.' He consulted the expositions of many writers upon that apostle, and saw through the vanity of those interpretations, which he had read before of the schoolmen. He compared the sayings and examples of the prophets, and apostles: He also studied the works of St Augustine: But still consulted the sententiaries, as Gabriel and Camarencis. He likewise read the books of Occam, whose subtilty he preferred before Thomas Aquinas and Scotus.

In 1508, the university of Wittenberg, in the duchy of Saxony, was established under the direction of Staupitius, whose good opinion of Luther occasioned him to send for him from Erfurt to Wittenberg, where he taught philosophy; and his lectures were attended by Mellarstad, and many other wise and learned men. He expounded the logic and philosophy of Aristotle, in the schools; and began to examine the old theology in the churches.

Mellarstad usually said, that Luther was of such a wonderful spirit, and of such ingenious parts, as to give apparent signification, that he would introduce a more compendious, easy, and familiar manner of teaching; as also alter and abolish the order that was then used.

In the year 1512, he was sent to Rome, to take up some controversies which happened among his order; and he conducted himself so well as to obtain the character of a prudent man. This is represented to have happened before he came to Wittenberg; which is a mistake: For it was three years after he was at that university. The occasion was this: Seven convents of the Augustines quarrelled with their vicar-general, and Luther was chosen by the monks to maintain their cause at Rome. He was of an active spirit; a bold declaimer, was endued with a most firm and steady temper, and had a prodigious share of natural courage, which nothing could break or daunt. In short, he succeeded in his business, for which he was made doctor and professor of divinity, upon his return

return to Wittenberg. At Rome he saw the pope and the court, and had an opportunity also of observing the manners of the clergy, whose hasty, superficial, and impious way of celebrating mass, he has severely noted. "I "performed mass, says he, at Rome; I saw it also per- "formed by others, but in such a manner, that I never "think of it without the utmost horror." He often spoke afterwards of his journey to Rome, and used to say, that "He would not but have made it for a thousand "florins." A monkish poet himself, upon the view of the barefaced iniquity of the pope's pretended holy city, could not help singing:

Vivere qui cupitis sanctè, discedite Româ:
Omnia eàm liceant, non licet esse bonum.'

'If you would live righteously, keep clear of Rome:
'For though her priests can license every thing else,
'they allow of nothing good.'

The degree of doctor was forced upon him, against his will, by Staupitius, who said to him, 'That God had 'many things to bring to pass in his church by him.' These words were carelessly spoken; yet they proved true, like many other predictions before a great change. Luther was graduated doctor at the expence of Frederic elector of Saxony, who 'had heard him preach, well 'understood the quietness of his spirit, diligently con- 'sidered the vehemency of his words, and had in singular 'admiration those profound matters which in his ser- 'mons he ripely and exactly explained.'

After this, he began to expound the epistle to the Romans, and the Psalms; where he shewed the difference between the law and the gospel. He refuted the error that was then predominant in schools and sermons; that men may merit remission of sins by their own proper works. As John Baptist demonstrated the Lamb of God which took away the sins of the world: So Luther, shining in the church as a bright star after an obscure sky, expressly shewed, that sins are freely remitted for the love of the Son of God, and that we ought faithfully to embrace this bountiful gift.

His life was correspondent to his profession; and these happy beginnings of such important matters procured him great authority. However, he attempted no alteration in the ceremonies of religion, and interfered in no doubtful opinions: But contented himself with opening and declaring the doctrine of repentance, of remission of sins,

sins, of faith, and of true comfort in times of adversity. His doctrine was generally approved by the learned, who conceived high pleasure to behold Jesus Christ, the prophets, and apostles, to emerge into the light out of darkness, whereby they began to understand the difference between the law and the gospel, between spiritual righteousness and civil things; which certainly could not have been found in Aquinas, Scotus, and other schoolmen. Erasmus revived learning while Luther was teaching divinity at Wittenberg. The former brought the monk's barbarous and sophistical doctrine into contempt by his elegant work: Which induced Luther to study the Greek and Hebrew languages, that, by drawing the doctrine from the very fountains, he might pass his judgment with more authority.

We come now to turbulent and tempestuous times between the Reformed and the Romanists. The monks loudly complained of Erasmus, whose bold and free censures of their pious grimaces and superstitious devotions, had opened the way for Luther. Erasmus, as they used to say, 'Laid the egg, and Luther hatched it.' The ridiculous Maimbourg tells us, that the catholic church enjoyed a sweet peace in the sixteenth century, and held the popes in profound veneration, till Luther raised commotions: A story which was only fit to be told to boys and girls at Paris. It is hard to name two persons, who were more generally, and more deservedly abhorred, than Alexander VI. and Julius II: And as to Leo X. all the world knows, that he sat very loose to religion and morality.

The year 1517, was the 356th from the Reformation of religion in France by the Waldenses: The 146th from the first confutation of popish errors in England by John Wickliffe: The 116th from the ministry of John Huss, who opposed the errors of popery in Bohemia: And the 36th year from the condemnation of John de Wesaliâ, who taught at Worms.

The papal power was re-established, and carried farther than ever: All the western world, except the Waldenses * in France, and a few Hussites in Bohemia, having embraced

* The rise of the Waldenses was from Waldus or Valdo, a man of eminence and property at Lyons in France, about the year 1260. He was brought to seriousness by the sudden death of one of his friends; and, having some learning, he read the scriptures, probably in the vulgate translation, which he rendered into French, and expounded to others.

embraced the communion, and submitted to the authority of Rome: When all of a sudden, and from a most inconsiderable accident, as it might seem, a strange discontent arose, which ended in the revolt of a great part of Europe; and the pope, who might, just before, have been considered in all the meridian of his glory, was in danger of losing all. The divine providence delights to accomplish the greatest purposes by the smallest means, that the hand of God might appear rather than the hand of man, and the great Governor of the universe have all the glory.

Leo X. succeeded Julius II. in 1513. He was of the rich and powerful family of the Medici of Florence, naturally proud and lofty. But it is also said, that he was of a courteous disposition, very generous to men of learning and integrity: And would, if he had been tolerably well skilled in divinity, or shewn any regard to piety, although but feigned, have passed for a very good pope. The magnificent church of St Peter was begun by Julius II. and required very large sums to finish: But Leo was desirous of having it completed, notwithstanding he had contracted many debts before his pontificate, and the treasure of the apostolic chamber was exhausted. To bear the great expence of finishing that superb edifice, Leo found himself obliged to have recourse to some extraordinary

others. This alarmed the clergy, who threatened him with excommunication if he perſiſted; but he, perſuaded of the truth and utility of what he had done, regarded not men, but God. He was, therefore, driven out of the city, with his friends and followers, who were ſtripped of their property, for which reaſon they were called not only Waldenſes, but the *poor of Lyons*, having nothing but the ſcanty ſubſiſtence which they could pick up on the mountains of Saxony, where they remained for ſeveral ages. They were joined by ſome men of learning, who hated the clergy, and maintained, that the biſhop of Rome, and the prieſts, had corrupted the holy ſcriptures by their tenets and gloſſes. They paid no tithes, made no offerings, obſerved no feſtivals, and celebrated no faſts: They believed, that prayers for the dead were uſeleſs and ſuperſtitious; they denied the authority of prieſts, and deſpiſed confeſſion. They led pure and holy lives, and aſſerted, that they only were the true church; and that the church of Rome was a proſtitute, which taught an infinite number of errors. The Romiſh prieſts called the Waldenſes heretics; and their prieſts, who were called *Barbes*, were perſecuted: But their poſterity now inhabit the vallies of Piedmont, called the Vaudois. Peter Gilles, miniſter of the reformed church of La Tour in the vale of Lucerne, compoſed by order of his ſuperiors, an eccleſiaſtical hiſtory of the churches of the Vaudois, and publiſhed it at Geneva, in 1644: And Claudius Seyſſelius, archbiſhop of Turin, wrote a treatiſe againſt the Vaudois, with the hopes of converting them to popery.

dinary means for raising money; which he was advised, by cardinal Pucci, to do by selling indulgences; as the court of Rome, upon several occasions, had formerly experienced to her advantage in raising troops and money against the Turks. Leo, therefore, in 1517, published general indulgences throughout all Europe, in favour of those who would contribute any sum to the building of St Peter's.

Some say, that these indulgences were published under the pretence of making war upon the Turks; and that the pope sent a Jubilee, with his pardons, through all Christian realms, whereby he collected an immense treasure.

Several persons were sent into different countries, to preach up these indulgences, and to receive money for them. The collectors persuaded the people, that those who gave to the value of about ten shillings sterling, should at their pleasure deliver one soul from the pains of purgatory: But, if the sum was less, they preached, that it would profit them nothing.

The pope employed the Dominicans in this dirty work in Germany, at which the Augustines were irritated, and pretended that the office of retailing indulgences belonged to them. As all the money, raised this way in Saxony and thereabouts, was granted to Magdalen, sister to the pope, she, to make the most of it, appointed Archimbald, a bishop, by habit and title, but as well versed in the tricking part of trade as a Genoese, to manage for her. But we are told, that Albert of Brandenburg, archbishop of Mentz and Magdeburg, who was soon after made a cardinal, had a commission for Germany: That, instead of employing the Augustine friars, who had laboured above all the religious orders to make them pass, he gave his commission to John Tetzelius, a Dominican, and to other friars of the same order; because he had lately collected great sums for the knights of the Teutonic order, who were at war against the Muscovites, by preaching up the like indulgences, which the pope had granted to these knights. Tetzelius, or Iccelius as he is called by some, boasted that 'He had so ample a 'commission from the pope, that though a man should 'have deflowered the virgin Mary, for a proper sum of 'money he could pardon him;' and assured the people, that 'He did not only give pardon for sins past, but also 'for sins to come.'

John Staupitius was the vicar-general of the Augustines in Saxony; and he was greatly esteemed by the elector, who

who was one of the most opulent and potent princes in Germany. Staupitius informed the elector of the pernicious consequences of these indulgences. On this occasion, Luther, who was of the Augustine order, and professor of divinity at Wittenberg, began to examine the doctrine of indulgences, which the Dominicans sold in the most open, and in the most infamous manner; and having found it full of errors, he refuted it publicly in 1517. It is said, he was naturally passionate, and zealous for the interest of his order, which made him declaim against the abuses of indulgences, and maintain doctrinal theses about them contrary to the common notions of divines. But it seems not to have been any spleen against the Dominicans that set Luther to work: It was only his dislike to such practices. Some say that Leo X. whose sordid traffic, to which he reduced the distribution of indulgences, gave birth to Luther's Reformation, spoke honourably of this Reformer in the beginning. Silvester Prierio, master of the sacred place, shewed Leo the doctrine which Luther had vented in his book concerning indulgences: But pope Leo answered, that friar Martin had a fine genius, and that these surmises were monkish jealousies.

Tetzelius, or Tecellius, impudently sold the pope's indulgences about the country. Luther was greatly exasperated at the blasphemous sermons of this shameless Dominican: 'And having his heart earnestly bent with 'ardent desire to maintain true religion, published cer-'tain propositions concerning indulgences, which are to 'be read in the first tome of his works, and set them 'openly on the temple that joineth to the castle of Wit-'tenberg, the morrow after the feast of All-saints, in '1517.' He challenged any one to oppose them, either by writing or disputation.

John Hilten, a German franciscan, of Eysenach, pretended to ground some predictions upon the book of Daniel in 1485. Melancthon, who had seen the original of that work, says, the author foretold, that, in 1516, the power of the pope should begin to decay. We are informed, that Hilten was put into prison, for having reproved some monastical abuses; and that being very sick, he sent for the guardian, and told him, 'I have spoke no great 'matter against the monkery; but there shall come one, 'in 1516, who shall overturn it.' Du Plessis adds, that Luther began to preach that year; in which he was mistaken, for the æra of Lutheranism began not till 1517.

The

The first thesis published by Luther contained ninety-five propositions, in which he plainly declared his opinion about indulgences. He maintained, "that the pope "could release no punishments, but what he inflicted; "and so indulgences could be only a relaxation of eccle- "siastical penalties: That Christians are to be instruct- "ed; that the purchase of a pardon is not to be com- "pared to works of mercy; and that it is better to give "to the poor, than to buy pardons: That no confidence "should be placed in indulgences, which cannot remit "the least venial sin in respect of the guilt: That those "who believe they shall be saved by indulgences only, "shall be damned with their masters, and that it is a "matter of indifference whether men buy or not buy any "indulgences." He also condemned several propositions which he attributed to his adversaries; and reproved several abuses, of which he declared them guilty. He pronounced an anathema upon those who spoke against the truth of apostolic indulgences; but hoped for all blessing upon those, who should be vigilant in stopping the licence and zeal of the preachers up of papal indulgences.

Luther vindicated his thesis in a letter to the archbishop of Mentz, who promoted the sale of these indulgences, and told him, "he could not keep silence, when he saw "the souls entrusted to the care of such an illustrious "person so ill instructed, and for which he must one day "give an account;" assuring him at the same time, that what he did in opposing this monstrous traffic, was entirely from a principle of conscience and duty, and with a faithful and submissive temper of mind.

Tetzelius assembled the monks and sophistical divines of his convent, whom he commanded to write something against Luther; while he cried out from the pulpit, that Luther was a heretic, and worthy to be prosecuted with fire. In a public dispute at Francfort upon the Oder, he laid down a thesis, in which he opposed that of Luther; and he also published a piece in German against a sermon which Luther had preached on indulgences. This preaching friar, who was an inquisitor in Germany, maintained, 'that the ministers of the church may im- 'pose a punishment to be suffered after death; and that 'it is better to send a penitent, with a small penance 'into purgatory, than to send him into hell by refusing 'absolution: That heretics, schismatics, and wicked 'men are excommunicated after death; and the dead 'are subject to the laws of the church; That the pope,

'by

'by granting plenary indulgences, intends to remit all 'punishments in general: And that indulgences remit 'punishment more readily than works of charity.'

Tetzelius also composed fifty other propositions about the authority of the pope, which he said was supreme, and above the universal church, and a council: That there are many catholic truths, which are not in the holy scriptures; that the truths defined by the pope are catholic; and that his judgment in matters of faith is infallible.

These famous positions of Luther and Tetzelius were like the challenge and defence of the dispute set on foot by both parties. Luther wrote with great moderation in the beginning of this important dispute: But Tetzelius treated him as an heresiarch. The former trusted to the goodness of his cause, which he defended by his parts and knowledge: The latter was so ignorant, that he could not write his own answer, which was drawn up for him by Conradus Wimpina, the divinity-professor at Francfort. Luther was protected by the elector of Saxony: But Tetzelius had more authority by his office of commissioner and inquisitor; though he was a man of such very profligate morals, that he had been condemned to die for adultery at Inspruck, and was pardoned at the intercession of the elector of Saxony.

The emperor Maximilian, being at Inspruck, was so offended at the wickedness and impudence of Tetzelius, who had been convicted of adultery, that he intended to have him seized upon, put in a bag, and flung into the river; and would have done it, if he had not been hindered by the solicitations of Frederic elector of Saxony. Tetzel, or Tetzelius, was a person too mean and worthless to be compared on any account with Luther: And Seckendorf tells a pleasant tale of a gentleman of Leipsic, who bought an indulgence of Tetzelius, only by way of absolution for robbing and cudgelling him afterwards.

Tetzelius caused the propositions of Luther to be burnt; which inforced Luther to treat more amply of the cause, and to maintain his matter. Thus arose this controversy, 'wherein Luther, (says Fox) neither suspecting, nor 'dreaming of any change that might happen in the cere-'monies, did not utterly reject the indulgences, but 'required a moderation in them; And, therefore, they 'falsely accuse him, which blaze that he began with 'plausible matter, whereby he might get praise, to the 'end, that he might change the state of the common-

'weal,

'weal, and purchase authority either for himself or 'others.'

At it was not expected, and perhaps Luther did not think at first of falling off from the pope; many divines, some cardinals, and George duke of Saxony, pleased with the justice of his cause, and his manner of defending it, sided with him; and the emperor Maximilian said, that he ought to be protected. Nor had Luther any enemies, while he confined himself to writing against the abuse of indulgences, except the monks and their agents, whose interest was at stake. These, indeed, raised a great clamour against him. But their malice, without argument, increased, instead of lessening his party.

John Eckius, professor and vice-chancellor, of the university of Ingoldstadt, also opposed Luther; in which he was joined by Silvester Prierias, professor in the university of Padua, vicar-general of the Dominicans, and master of the sacred palace under pope Leo X. Luther opposed the indulgences by reasons: But Eckius and Prierias, not finding themselves sufficiently strong to answer him, had recourse to common places, and laid down for a foundation, the authority of the pope, and consent of the schoolmen; concluding, that indulgences ought to be received as an article of faith, since they proceeded from the pope, who had approved the doctrine of the schoolmen, and was infallible in matters of faith. Eckius wrote his obelisks against Luther's thesis, without intending to publish it; and Luther published it together with his own refutation. As for Prierias, nothing can make us better understand the success of his writings, than to know, that he was commanded by the pope to write no more on matters of controversy. Luther answered Eckius in another thesis, about repentance; and asserted, "that the just man lives, not by the work of the "law, but by faith." He also answered, Prierias, who had treated him with threats, and imperious reflections. He had a fourth adversary in Jacobus Hogostratus, a friar-preacher, who wrote against some of his propositions, and advised the pope to condemn Luther, and burn him, if he would not retract. Luther made a kind of manifesto against this author, in which he reproached him with cruelty and ignorance.

The Christian world, at that time, was overwhelmed with ceremonies. Divinity was mere chicanery, or sophistry: New and absurd notions were every day advanced in the schools; And the clergy of all orders, by lording

it over men's consciences, rendered themselves hated and despised. The turbulent humour, infidelity, and ambition of the two last popes were not forgotten: Bishops, in general, were without integrity or capacity; and the inferior clergy, besides being grossly ignorant, and notoriously immoral, were become intolerable, on account of their insatiable avarice. The clergy, for a long time, had been vicious and illiterate: But these things were taken notice of, now learning began to revive in Europe. Priests and monks, whose actions would not bear the light, were highly incensed against the restorers of literature; and scrupled not to accuse them of heresy, when they found they had no share with them in argument. On this account, they commenced a dispute with John Reuchlin, commonly called Capnio, the great Hebræan; because he opposed the destruction of the Talmuds, the Targums, and the writings of the Rabbins, which some wished to annihilate because opposite to Christianity. Reuchlin shewed, that these weapons might be turned against the Jews, and that it would look but ill, if, instead of answering, we should burn the arguments of our adversaries. There ignoramuses maintained their cause so very poorly, that it was no wonder it ended in their confusion, and gave the learned Ulric Van Hutten a fine handle to expose them, in a book called, *Epistolæ obscurorum Virorum.* Erasmus also espoused the cause of Luther; though he afterwards, in a treatise *de libero arbitrio*, started some objections to his opinions. It was obvious, that this was done rather at the solicitation of others, than of his own inclination: But the main point was not affected by them, and they were sufficiently refuted by Luther.

As Luther opposed the scandalous sale of pardons and indulgences; so in the countries where the Reformation had got an entrance, or in the neighbourhood of them, this was no more heard of; and it has been taken for granted, that such an infamous traffic was no longer practised.

Seckendorf, in his history of Lutheranism, hath confuted the falsehoods and calumnies of Varillas, Maimbourg, Palavicini, Bossuet, and others of the same stamp. But we will now select a few things, from various authors, which characterise Luther.

It is said, he was rough in controversy; and that his reply to Henry VIII. was disrespectful: But he had a very unfavourable opinion of sovereign princes; which is

is evident from the smart remark that he made on Charles V. snatching up spiritual livings, as a dog did meat from the shambles. He used to say, that the pope and his partizans were such incorrigible reprobates, that they ought to be treated in the severest manner; and that Erasmus spoiled all, by shewing them too much courtesy and respect. As he thus lashed the papists, so he did not greatly spare his own brethren of the Reformation, if they departed from his sentiments. He accounted matrimony to be not only lawful, but a duty incumbent upon all who were capable of entering into that state.

Bellarmin, and the abbè Richard, have accused Luther of Arianism. Their accusation hath no better foundation than this, that Luther declared his dislike of the word *consubstantial*; and said, that the Arians, though otherwise in the wrong, were in the right to reject unscriptural terms, introduced by men, who thought they could speak better upon the subject, than the Spirit of God: But it appears, from Luther's works, that he was not at all in the sentiments of the Arians.

Luther was an enemy to the allegorical and mystical way of expounding the scriptures, as being precarious, and dangerous, tending to fanaticism, and exposing religion to the scoffs of infidels. He also blamed those, who pretended to interpret the Apocalypse to the people. He abhorred the schoolmen, and called them sophistical locusts, caterpillars, frogs, and lice. He declared himself against persecution, compulsion, and violence, in matters of religion.

Luther said, "When my first positions concerning indulgences were brought before the pope, he said a drunken German wrote them; when he hath slept out his sleep, and is sober again, he will be of another mind." But Luther often apologized for his roughness. "I am accused, says he, of rudeness and immodesty, particularly by adversaries, who have not a grain of candour or good manners. If, as they say, I am saucy and impudent, I am however simple, open, and sincere; without any of their guile, dissimulation, or treachery."

The pope, and the emperor, were equally concerned, that Luther was allowed to propagate his opinions in Saxony, where the great number of his followers, and the resolution with which he defended his opinions, made it evident, that it would become troublesome both to the church and empire, if a stop was not put to his proceed-

ings. Luther defended his propositions by reason and scripture against Tetzelius, who had recourse to the authority of the pope and church. This made it necessary for Luther to examine upon what foundation one was founded, and in what state the other remained. In the course of this inquiry, monstrous errors and abuses were discovered; the cheats and scandalous lives of monks and priests were brought to light; and Luther, for securing to himself the assistance of temporal princes, took care to explain the nature and extensiveness of civil power.

Temporal government is founded on the highest reason, as well as on divine institution; for, without it, men would be constantly exposed to rapine and confusion: But it has never yet been proved, that a spiritual monarchy is either necessary or serviceable to Christianity. It is an artificial fabric which must be supported by arts; and the views of popes will be always different from those of temporal princes. If the pope's partizans say, his authority is founded upon the positive command of God: That should be proved clearly from scripture. If they say, it is derived from St Peter, it ought to be proved, that not only such an authority was invested in him, but that he was bishop of Rome, exercised it there, conveyed it down to his successors, and that succession has not been interrupted. Instead of proving these things, the popish doctors declined meddling with them, and filled the heads of their people with things foreign at the main point. They talked of a long succession of popes; of the great antiquity and universality of the church; and laid great stress upon the promise, that 'the 'gates of hell shall never prevail against it.' Fathers, councils, and miracles, were also appealed to: And if any one was still dissatisfied, he was branded with the name of heretic, without so much as hearing his reasons; and he had good luck if he escaped burning.

The papal constitution was admirably contrived upon the foundation of a singular kind of monarchy. Princes have formally strengthened their authority, by giving out that they were descended from the gods, or that their government was founded by their express command; and if success attended them, which was looked upon as a mark of divine favour, they were after death reckoned among the deities. But the pope calls himself the lieutenant of Jesus Christ, arrogates to himself while living, all power in heaven and earth; and would have it believed, that such as refuse to acknowledge his authority cannot be saved. If these points

points are well settled, the whole business is done: For what is more proper to draw the veneration of men, than the notion that the Majesty of God resides in him? Or, what stronger motive can there be, to the most absolute submission, than the fear of damnation?

The pope does not, like other sovereigns, bind himself to any terms, on his entering upon the government: And, indeed, it would be absurd for him, who is said to be guided by the Holy Ghost, to be laid under any restrictions. The subjects of this monarchy may be divided into clergy and laity. The first, which comprehends all ecclesiastics, may be considered as his standing army. The second, which takes in all else of the Roman communion, are no better than slaves on whom large contributions are raised for the support of the others. The clergy are not allowed to marry, under a pretence that worldly cares would prevent a faithful discharge of their duty: But the true reason is, that they may be free from the ties of paternal or conjugal affection; and be ready, on all occasions, to promote the interest of the church.

Pope Paul IV. boasted of having 288,000 parishes, and 44,000 monasteries, under his jurisdiction. What a prodigious number of ecclesiastics were then under the papal power! As a blind submission of the laity to the clergy was absolutely necessary for supporting this spiritual tyranny, they were forbid to read the scriptures: For if these had been well understood, it would have been obvious, that no one was authorised to lord it over the conscience of another; and, by keeping these among the clergy, they had an opportunity of mixing something with every doctrine they taught, that might promote the interest or power of the pope and themselves. In order to make way for tradition, the holy scripture was represented as imperfect; and whatever could serve the cause of Rome, was imposed upon the poor deluded people under that name.

As the first decay and ruin of the church began through ignorance, and want of knowledge in teachers: So, to restore the church again by doctrine and learning, it pleased God to open to man the art of printing, shortly after the burning of John Huss and Jerom. The art of printing being found, the grace of God immediately followed, which stirred up men of better parts to receive the light of knowledge and of judgment; whereby darkness began to be espied, and ignorance to be detected; truth to be discerned from error, and religion from superstition.

stition. The first push and assault against the Romish church, about this period at least, was given by Picus Mirandulla, Valla, Petrarch, Wesalia, Revelinus, Grocin, Colet, Rhenanus, and Erasmus, whose learned writings, opened a window of light to the world, and made a way more ready for others to come after. Immediately, according to God's gracious appointment, followed Martin Luther, with others after him; by whose ministry it pleased the Lord to work a more full Reformation of his church. The Lord ordained and appointed Luther to be the principal organ and minister under him, to reform religion, and subvert the popish see.

Tetzelius stirred up the archbishop of Magdeburg and others against Luther, who boldly answered all their writings. The emperor Maximilian, on the fifth of August, 1518, wrote to Pope Leo X. and required him to stop these dangerous disputes by his authority; assuring him, that he would execute in the empire whatever his holiness should appoint. The pope ordered Hieronymus de Genutiis, bishop of Ascoli, and auditor of the apostolic chamber, to cite Luther to appear at Rome within sixty days, that he might give an account of his doctrine to the auditor, and Prierius, master of the palace, to whom he had committed the judgment of the cause. The Pope, on the twenty-third of August, wrote a letter to the elector of Saxony, desiring him to give Luther no protection but to put him into the hands of Cardinal Cajetan, his legate in Germany; assuring him, that if Luther was innocent, he would send him back absolved; and if guilty, he would pardon him upon his repentance. At the same time, the pope likewise sent a brief to cardinal Cajetan, in which he ordered him to bring Luther before him as soon as possible; and to hinder the princes from being any impediment to the execution of this order, he denounced the ordinary punishments of excommunication, interdiction, and privation of goods against those that should receive Luther, and give him protection; and promised a plenary indulgence to those who should assist in delivering him up.

The elector of Saxony was unwilling that Luther should appear personally at Rome; and the university of Wittenberg interceded with the pope, who consented that the matter should be tried before cardinal Cajetan in Germany. This prelate was a Dominican; yet Luther met him at Augsburg in October. Cajetan asserted the authority of the pope, and said he was above a council. Luther

denied

denied it, and alledged the authority of the university of Paris. Luther delivered Cajetan a formal protestation, in the presence of four imperial counsellors and a notary, wherein he declared, "that he had only sought after "truth, and would not retract, without being convinced "he was wrong: That he was satisfied, he had ad- "vanced nothing contrary to the holy scripture, the "doctrine of the fathers, decretals of the popes, and "right reason: That he had advanced nothing but "what was sound, true, and catholic: And that he "would submit himself to the lawful determination of "the church."

The legate threatened Luther with the censures of the church, if he would not retract, and bring his recantation. Luther knew that Cajetan had orders to seize him, if he would not submit: And, therefore, on the sixteenth of October, he made an act of appeal, before a notary, wherein he vindicated himself, and declared, that he was oppressed and injured, and obliged to appeal from the pope; for which purpose, he demanded letters of mission; and protested he would pursue his appeal. Luther told the legate, that as he had not deserved his censures, so he disregarded them; and then returned to Wittenberg, where he was safe under the protection of the elector of Saxony. Luther was powerfully supported by the university of Wittenberg, where he continued to teach the same doctrines, and sent a challenge to all the inquisitors to dispute with him there, under the sanction of a safe conduct from his prince, and the most respectable hospitality from the university.

The cardinal, mortified at Luther's escape, wrote to the elector on the twenty-fifth of October, 1518, desiring him to give him up, to send him to Rome, or to banish him from his dominions. To this letter the elector answered, on the eighteenth of December following, and told the cardinal, that 'he hoped he would have dealt 'with Luther in another manner, and not have insisted 'upon his recanting, before his cause was heard and 'judged; that there were several able men in his own, 'and in other universies, who did not think Luther's 'doctrine either impious or heretical; that, if he had 'believed it such, there would have been no need of 'admonishing him not to tolerate it; that Luther not 'being convicted of heresy, he could not banish him 'from his states, nor send him to Rome; and that, since 'Luther offered to submit himself to the judgment of

'several universities, he thought they ought to hear him, 'or, at least, shew him the errors which he taught in his 'writings.'

While these things passed in Germany, pope Leo attempted to put an end to these disputes about indulgences, by a decision of his own; and for that purpose, upon the ninth of November, published a brief, directed to cardinal Cajetan, in which he declared, that 'the 'pope, the successor of St Peter, and vicar of Jesus 'Christ upon earth, hath power to pardon, by virtue of 'the keys, the guilt and punishment of sin, the guilt by 'the sacrament of penance, and the temporal punish-'ments due for actual sins by indulgences; that these 'indulgences are taken from the overplus of the merits 'of Jesus Christ and his saints, a treasure at the pope's 'own disposal, as well by way of absolution as suffrage; 'and that the dead and the living, who properly and 'truly obtain these indulgences, are immediately freed 'from the punishment due to their actual sins, according 'to the divine justice, which allows these indulgences to 'be granted and obtained.' This brief ordains, 'that 'all the world shall hold and preach this doctrine, under 'the pain of excommunication reserved to the pope; and 'enjoins cardinal Cajetan to send it to all the archbishops 'and bishops of Germany, and cause it to be put in exe-'cution by them.' Luther knew very well, that after this judgment by the pope, he could not possibly escape being proceeded against, and condemned at Rome; and therefore, upon the twenty-eighth of the same month, published a new appeal from the pope to a general council, in which he asserts the superior authority of the latter over the former. The pope foreseeing, that he should not easily manage Luther, so long as the elector of Saxony continued to support and protect him, sent the elector a golden rose, such an one, as he used to bless every year, and send to several princes, as marks of his particular favour to them. Miltitius, his chamberlain, whom we have before observed to have been a German, was instrusted with this commission) by whom the pope sent also letters dated the beginning of January, 1519, to the elector's counsellor and secretary, in which he prayed those ministers to use all possible interest with their master, that he would stop the progress of Luther's errors, and imitate therein the piety and religion of his ancestors. It appears by Seckendorf's account of Miltitius's negociation, that Frederick had long solicited for this

this bauble from the pope; and that three or four years before, when his electoral highness was a bigot to the church of Rome, it had probably been a most welcome present. But, *post est occasio calva:* It was now too late: Luther's contests with the see of Rome had opened the elector's eyes, and enlarged his mind; and, therefore, when Miltitius delivered his letters, and discharged his commission, he was received but coldly by the elector, who valued not the consecrated rose, nor would receive it publicly and in form, but only privately and by his proctor.

As to Luther, Miltitius had orders to require the elector to oblige him to retract, or to deny him his protection: But things were not now to be carried with so high a hand, Luther's credit being too firmly established. Besides, the emperor Maximilian departed this life upon the twelfth of this month, whose death greatly altered the face of affairs, and made the elector more able to determine Luther's fate. Miltitius thought it best therefore to try, what could be done by fair and gentle means, and to that end came to a conference with Luther. He poured forth many commendations upon him, and earnestly entreated him, that he would himself appease that tempest, which could not but be destructive to the church. He blamed, at the same time, the behaviour and conduct of Tetzelius, and reproved him with so much sharpness, that he died of melancholy a short time after. Luther, amazed at all this civil treatment, which he had never experienced before, commended Miltitius highly, and owned, that if they had behaved to him so at first, all the troubles, occasioned by these disputes, had been avoided; and did not forget to cast the blame upon Albert archbishop of Mentz, who had increased these troubles by his severity. Miltitius also made some concessions; as, that the people had been seduced by false opinions about indulgences; that Tetzelius had given the occasion; that the archbishop had set on Tetzelius to get money; that Tetzelius had exceeded the bounds of his commission, &c. This mildness and seemingly candour, on the part of Miltitius, gained so wonderfully upon Luther, that he wrote a most submissive letter to the pope, dated the thirteenth of March, in 1519. Miltitius, however taking for granted, that they would not be contented at Rome with this letter of Luther's, written, as it were, in general terms only, proposed to refer the matter to some other judgment; and it was agreed between them, that the elector of Triers should

should be the judge, and Coblentz the place of conference: But this came to nothing; for Luther afterwards gave some reasons for not going to Coblentz, and the pope would not refer the matter to the elector of Triers.

During all these treaties, the doctrine of Luther spread, and prevailed greatly; and he himself received great encouragement at home and abroad. The Bohemians about this time sent him a book of the celebrated John Huss, who had fallen a martyr in the work of Reformation; and also letters, in which they exhorted him to constancy and perseverance, owning, that the divinity, which he taught, was the pure, the sound, and orthodox divinity. Many great and learned men had joined themselves to him; among the rest Philip Melancthon, whom Frederic had invited to the university of Wittenberg in August 1518, and Andrew Carolostadius archdeacon of that town, who was a great linguist. They desired, if possible, to draw over Erasmus to their party; and to that end we find Melancthon thus expressing himself in a letter to that great man, dated Leipsic, January the fifth, in 1519: 'Martin 'Luther, who has a very great esteem for you, wishes of 'all things, that you would thoroughly approve of him.' Luther also himself wrote to Erasmus, in very respectful, and even flattering terms: "*Itaque, mi Erasme, vir "amabilis, si ita tibi visum fuerit, agnosce & hunc fratercu-"lum in* CHRISTO; *tui certè studiosissimum & amantissimum, cæterum pro inscitiâ suâ nihil meritum, quàm ut "in angulo sepultus esset.*" The elector of Saxony was desirous also to know Erasmus's opinion of Luther, and might probably think, that as Erasmus had most of the monks for his enemies, and some of those, who were warmest against Luther, he might easily be prevailed on to come over to their party. And indeed they would have done something, if they could have gained this point; for the reputation of Erasmus was so great, that if he had once declared for Luther, almost all Germany would have declared along with him.

But Erasmus, whatever he might think of Luther's opinions, had neither his impetuosity, nor his courage. He contented himself therefore with acting and speaking in his usual strain of moderation, and wrote a letter to the elector Frederic, in which he declared 'His dislike of 'the arts, which were employed to make Luther odious; 'that he did not know Luther, and so could neither ap-'prove nor condemn his writings, because indeed he had 'not read them; that however he condemned the railing

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'at him with so much violence, because he had submitted himself to the judgment of those whose office 'it was to determine, and no man had endeavoured to 'convince him of his error; that his antagonists seemed 'rather to seek his death, than his salvation; that they 'mistook the matter in supposing, that all error is heresy; that there are errors in all the writings of both 'ancients and moderns; that divines are of different opinions; that it is more prudent to use moderate, than 'violent means; that the elector ought to protect innocency, and that this was the intent of Leo X.'

Erasmus wrote also a friendly letter in answer to Luther's, and tells him, that 'His books had raised such 'an uproar at Louvain, as it was not possible for him to 'describe; that he could not have believed divines could 'have been such madmen, if he had not been present, 'and seen them with his eyes; that, by defending him, 'he had rendered himself suspected; that many abused 'him as the leader of this faction, so they call it; that 'there were many in England, and some at Louvain, no 'inconsiderable persons, who highly approved his opinions; that for his own part he endeavoured to carry 'himself as evenly as he could with all parties, that he 'might more effectually serve the interests of learning 'and religion: that, however, he thought more might 'be done by civil and modest means, than by intemperate heat and passion; that it would be better to inveigh 'against those who abuse the pope's authority, than 'against the popes themselves; that new opinions should 'rather be promoted in the way of proposing doubts and 'difficulties, than by affirming and deciding peremptorily; that nothing should be delivered with faction and 'arrogance; but that the mind, in these cases, should be 'kept entirely free from anger, hatred, and vain-glory. 'I say not this,' says Erasmus, with that great address, of which he was master, 'as if you wanted any admo'nitions of this kind, but only that you may not want 'them hereafter, any more than you do at present. *Hæc 'non admoneo ut facias, sed ut quod facis perpetuò facias.*' When this letter was wrote, Erasmus and Luther had never seen each other: It is dated, Louvain, May the thirtieth, in 1519, and it is hardly possible to read it without suspecting, that Erasmus was intirely of Luther's sentiments, if he had had but the courage to have declared it. Only observe how he concludes it: 'I have dipped 'into your commentaries upon the Psalms; they please me 'prodigiously,

'prodigiously, and I hope will be read with great advan-
'tage. There is a prior of the monastry of Antwerp,
'who says he was your pupil, and loves you most affec-
'tionately. He is a truly Christian man, and almost the
'only one of his society who preaches Christ, the rest
'being attentive either to the fabulous traditions of men,
'or to their own profit. I have written to Melancthon.
'The Lord Jesus pour upon you his Spirit, that you may
'abound more and more, every day, to his glory, and the
'service of the church. Farewell.'

Frederic elector of Saxony was the patron and protector of Luther: But George, a prince of the same house, opposed Luther to the utmost of his power. The former desired Erasmus to give him his opinion concerning Luther; and Erasmus gave it jocosely: But gravely told the archbishop of Mentz, that the monks condemned many things in the books of Luther as heretical, which were esteemed as orthodox in Bernard and Austin. Erasmus wrote also to cardinal Wolsey, that the life and conversation of Luther were universally commended; and it was no small prejudice in his favour, that his morals were unblameable, and that no reproach could be fastened upon him by calumny itself. 'If I had really been at 'leisure, says Erasmus, to peruse his writings, I am not 'so conceited of my own abilities, as to pass a judg-'ment upon the performance of so considerable a divine: 'Though even children, in this knowing age, will 'boldly pronounce, that this is erroneous, and that is he-'retical.'

Claude has spoken judiciously of Luther, when he wishes he had been more temperate in his way of writing; and that, with his great and invincible courage, with his ardent zeal for the truth, with that unshaken constancy he ever manifested, he could have shewed a greater reserve and moderation. But the divine providence had a great work to effect by Luther, in which strength, and even roughness of spirit were requisite to encounter every kind of difficulty and to bear up against the rage, in a manner, of the whole world. When men would fell a wood, they employ a heavy rough axe, and not a smooth, and polished razor. Melancthon said very justly of him, upon seeing his picture in this *extempore* line:

'*Fulmina erant linguæ singula verba tuæ.*'

Thy single words were piercing thunderbolts.

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The monks took upon them to rail most violently, and even seditiously, in their sermons, against the Reformers. 'Whence, says Erasmus, came this new race 'of deities? They call every one an heretic whom they 'dislike, and stir heaven and earth when they are called 'calumniators.' He owns, that Luther had given them good advice on many points; and that it would be an impiety to leave him undefended, where he had the truth on his side; for then who would ever dare to stand up for the truth? Hitherto, adds Erasmus, Luther has certainly been useful to the world: He hath set men upon studying the fathers, some to satisfy their own minds, and others to plague him by hunting out arguments and objections against him.

If Erasmus had not the same impetuous acrimony in his style, which predominated in the writings of Luther, yet the monks were equally offended at him; because the abuses which he attacked were the source of their best revenues.

Erasmus, in 1519, wrote to Melancthon, that all the world agreed in commending the moral character of Luther; and wished that God might grant him success equal to the liberty which he had taken. Melancthon was always mild and moderate, and had a sincere affection for Luther; but sometimes could not refrain from complaining of his bold and impetuous temper. However, Erasmus entertained hopes, that the attempts of Luther, and the great notice which had been taken of them, might be serviceable to true Christianity. In this he was not mistaken, as the event proved; for, from this period, Luther's writings and the cause of Reformation spread all over the Christian world, and brought into full blaze the glimmering light, which had before been introduced by Wickliffe, Huss, and other learned and good men.

Frederic of Saxony, one of the most virtuous and illustrious princes of that century, was a friend both to Luther, and to the Reformation; and the protestants have great reason to reverence and bless his memory. When he might have been chosen emperor, he declined it, and gave the crown to Charles V. Erasmus wrote a letter to him, which was very favourable to Luther. Andrew Bodestine, from his native place called Carolostadius, defended the writings of Luther. Bucer was present, when Luther maintained his doctrine before the Augustine friars

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at Heidelberg, and told Rhenanus, 'That his sweetness 'in answering was admirable, and his patience in hearing incomparable: That the acuteness of St Paul, in 'resolving doubts, might have been seen in Luther; so 'that he brought them all into admiration of him, by his 'concise and nervous answers, taken out of the store-'house of the holy scriptures.'

Luther was honourably entertained at Hiedelberg, by Wolfgang the count palatine: And Erich duke of Calemberg espoused his cause. Erich shared in the danger and glory of all the undertakings of the emperor Maximilian, and was a great ornament to the house of Brunswick Lunenberg. He saved the life of that emperor in 1504, who perpetuated the memory of his valour, by adding a bright star to his coat of arms, on the very field of battle, with this explanation: 'That as the morning star ex-'ceeds all the others in lustre; so duke Erich was as 'much superior to all other princes of his time.' This star has ever since continued in the coat of arms of the house of Brunswick, and is placed upon the helmet in the middle of the peacock's train. Ernest duke of Lunenburg was educated under the inspection of his uncle Frederic, sirnamed the *wise*, elector of Saxony, who sent him early to the university of Wittenberg, where he made a great progress in learning, and had an opportunity to converse with Luther, when he began to discover his sentiments about the hierarchy, and the doctrines of the see of Rome. Ernest boldly embraced the doctrine of Luther: And his example was followed by his brothers Otho and Francis; as also by Philip of the line of Grubenhagen. These princes made the necessary preparations to introduce the Reformation into the circle of Lower Saxony; as the elector their uncle was doing in that of the Upper Saxony. Ernest was determined to pursue the glorious scheme he had formed, gradually to abolish the errors and abuses that had crept into the church. His concern was so great for extending the knowledge of the pure faith, that he generously sent learned men to the county of Hoya, East-Frieseland, and other parts of Germany, to preach the gospel in its native simplicity. Such was his zeal in the cause of the Reformation; so many were the difficulties and oppositions he met with on that account, that he justly merited the sirname which was given him of *confessor*. It should be observed, that the emperor Otho IV. one of the most illustrious ancestors of the house of Brunswick, so early as in the beginning of the

the thirteenth century, notwithstanding the ignorance and bigotry of those times, endeavoured with uncommon resolution to lay open the abuses of the see of Rome, even in defiance of its excommunications. His endeavours were not attended with the success they deserved; yet they have rendered his name sacred to posterity, as he was the first prince who ventured to oppose the encroachments of the papacy, whereby others were afterwards incited thoroughly to examine the title, which the popes pretended they had, to impose arbitrary laws on Christendom.

Eckius had wrote some notes upon the first thesis of Luther, which were answered by Carolostadius; and a conference was agreed on at Leipsic, by the consent of prince George of Saxony, uncle to the elector Frederic, Eckius appeared; and was met by Luther, who was accompanied by Melancthon and Carolostadius. Both parties were well received by the prince, the senate, and university, who appointed a great hall in the castle for the place of the conference, which was solemnly opened on the twenty-seventh of June, 1519. The first disputation was concerning free-will, which Eckius undertook to prove by a passage in Ecclesiasticus; and was opposed by Carolostadius, who denied that free-will had a distinct operation from grace. This dispute continued a whole week, in which time, Luther preached a sermon, in the chapel of the castle, upon the feast of St Peter and St Paul, wherein he declaimed against the authority of the pope. The dispute was then carried on between Luther and Eckius, upon thirteen propositions extracted by the latter out of the writings of the former; the last, and principal of which, was against the supremacy of the pope. Luther alledged, against it, the canon of the council of Afric, which ordained, that the bishop of the first see should not be called the prince of bishops, or supreme bishop: And he maintained, that Wickliffe and Huss ought not to have been condemned, as many of their articles were orthodox; and that he could oppose the tradition and usage of the Greek church for 1400 years, to the condemnation of the Bohemians. Eckius attempted to prove the doctrine of indulgences, by the authority of the general councils of Vienna, Lateran, and Constance: He said, that St Gregory had published them 900 years before; that they were approved by the consent of the universal church; and that all the Christian world had acknowledged them by receiving the jubilees.

Luther

Luther replied, that he preferred works of charity before indulgences; and supported his opinion by the authority of St Paul and St Augustine, who say we can do no good without charity and grace. Eckius seemed to make this question a matter of nothing: But Luther had the advantage of the argument. He knew, 'That the Christian princes had been tired of making expeditions to the Holy Land, which were only specious pretences, invented by the popes, to drain them of their blood and treasure: And that another scheme was then set on foot, to allure them and their subjects to part with their money: That frequent jubilees were kept at Rome; though, according to their first institution, they were to take place but once in a century: That the popes perceived the advantages which arose from bringing people together to their market from all parts of the Christian world, and shortened the times by ordering a jubilee to be kept every fifty years: And afterwards appointed one to be celebrated every thirty years: That immense sums were brought into the pope's coffers by these jubilees at Rome, where all that resorted received absolution of their sins for a particular sum: And that indulgences being found so beneficial, they were sold all over Europe, and no more confined to certain times and jubilees.'

The conference at Leipsic continued fourteen days; and the dispute was left to the decision of the universities of Paris and Erfurt: But Luther opened the whole to the world, by publishing a tract entitled, "Resolutions of "the propositions disputed at Leipsic," and addressed to Spalatinus; in which he said, that Eckius had no cause to boast of the dispute, and had acknowledged that no trust ought to be put in indulgences. Melancthon wrote with great moderation upon these conferences: And Eckius told Hogostratus, that the Lutherans had great advantages over him, because they were many against a single man. Jerom Emser owned, that the dispute at Leipsic was rather sharp than edifying: But the two universities never gave their judgments about the contests in these conferences.

Zuinglius began, about this time, to write against pardons and indulgences. Luther wrote a book "Of Chris-"tian liberty," which he dedicated to the pope. He also addressed another book to the nobility of Germany, wherein he shook the three principal bulwarks of popery, by opposing the doctrine, 'That temporal magistrates were

'were subject to the spirituality; that the pope is the 'only judge of the scripture; and that he only can call 'a council.' Luther shewed what things should be handled in councils; and asserted, that the pope yearly drained Germany of three millions of florins. He pointed out the necessity of reforming schools and universities; declared that heretics should be convinced by scripture, and not awed by fire; imputed the misfortunes of the emperor Sigismund to his breach of faith with Huss and Jerom; and exposed the inconveniences, resulting from the council of Constance.

What the divines of Paris and Erfurt neglected, those of Louvain and Cologne attempted. The former consulted with the cardinal de Tortosa, afterwards Pope Adrian VI. and condemned twenty-two propositions extracted from Luther as heretical, or approaching to heresy, and declared that his writings ought to be burnt. Those of Cologne concurred; and agreed, that Luther ought to be obliged to make a public recantation. Luther declared, he disregarded the censure of these two universities; and that Occam, Stapulensis, Huss, and other eminent men, were unjustly condemned after the same manner. He accused the universities of rashness, of want of charity, and contempt of justice; after which, he sharply confuted their censures, without any respect to their persons.

The emperor Maximilian was so far from suffering himself to be persuaded to proceed against Luther, that he used to say, 'If the clergy would lead pious lives, 'Luther would have no room for a Reformation.' But his successor was of a different disposition; and gave occasion to the violent measures that were taken, to nip the Reformation in its very bud. Luther wrote a letter to the new emperor, on the fifteenth of January, 1520, before his arrival in Germany, to vindicate his conduct, and intreat his protection from the power of his numerous adversaries, who had persecuted him for three years, and were resolved that he should perish with the gospel. He told the emperor, he would not desire his protection, if he was convicted of impiety or heresy: But desired, he would not let him be condemned without hearing; and declared, he would either be silent, or refer himself to the judgment of any impartial universities, before which he was ready to appear.

It was a great mistake in Leo X. to decide in favour of the indulgence-merchants, by his bull in 1518, since thereby all hopes of an accommodation were cut off: For

it would have been much more political in him to have enjoined silence to both parties, and to have contrived some way to satisfy Luther, who offered Cajetan to drop the controversy, if his adversaries would do the same: But they would be satisfied with nothing less than a recantation The elector of Saxony was again solicited to give up Luther, who was compelled to fall upon the pope, to vindicate himself, by appealing to a general council; the calling whereof was delayed upon various pretences, whereby the cause of Rome became more and more suspected. About the same time, the pope's quarrel with Henry VIII. made way for the introduction of the Reformation in England: And the house of Navarre, in revenge for the pope's siding with Ferdinand the catholic, encouraged the protestant religion to the utmost of their power in France. Besides all this, many sensible honest men, even among the Roman-catholics, were quite unconcerned at the rough treatment which Luther shewed the papal see, because they knew it deserved his resentment.

Luther also wrote to the elector of Mentz, who answered him, and commended his disposition: But desired him to treat of religious matters with moderation and respect; for he observed with grief, that the professors disputed upon frivolous opinions, and questions of little consequence, with intolerable pride.

While Luther was vindicating himself to the emperor, and the bishops of Germany, judgment was passed upon his writings at Rome, where Eckius and Ubricus went on purpose to solicit his condemnation, which was resolved upon, notwithstanding he had obediently reverenced the person of the pope. Luther, at the request of the Augustines, wrote a long epistle to his holiness, full of submission and respect, wherein he told him, "That the "court of Rome was visibly more corrupt than either "Babylon or Sodom; but that his holiness was a lamb in "the midst of wolves, a Daniel among lions, and an "Ezekiel among scorpions: That there were not above "three or four cardinals, who had any learning or piety; "and that it was against these disorders of the court of "Rome, that he was obliged to appear."

The writings of Luther were examined in a congregation of cardinals, who distinguished his doctrine, writings, and person. They condemned forty-one propositions taken out of his works; ordered him to appear in person; and agreed that his writings should be burnt. In consequence of this resolution, the bull was drawn up by the

the cardinal of Ancona, and published by the pope, who invoked the aid of Jesus Christ, the apostles, and all the saints, against the new errors and heresies; and to preserve the faith, peace, and unity of the church. This bull was dated the fifteenth of June, 1520, and condemned the forty-one articles, extracted from the writings of Luther, as heretical, false, and scandalous. Indulgences, the papal supremacy, free-will, purgatory, and the begging friars, were the principal things vindicated in this bull; and all Christians were forbid, under the pain of excommunication, to defend any of the propositions that were thus condemned: Luther was admonished to revoke his errors by some public act, and cause his books to be burnt within sixty days; otherwise he, and his adherents, should incur the punishments due to heretics.

Luther, now perceiving that all hopes of an accommodation were at an end, threw off all reserve, and answered this bull, which he called "The execrable bull of "antichrist," by publishing a book called "The cap-"tivity of Babylon;" in which he absolutely rejected indulgences; and asserted, that the papacy was the kingdom of Babylon. He denied there were seven sacraments; and said, there was properly only one, in three sacramental signs, the Lord's supper, baptism, and penance. He affirmed, that the sacrament of the altar is the testament of Jesus Christ, which he left when he died, to be given to all those who should believe in him: That this testament is a promise of forgiveness of our sins, confirmed by the death of the Son of God; that it is only faith in this promise which justifies, and the mass is entirely useless without that faith. He declared, that the effect of baptism depended alone upon faith in the promise of Jesus Christ, of which the outward baptism is only a sign, supplied in infants by the faith of the church. He maintained, that the remission of sins, which is the effect of penance, depends upon faith in the promise of Jesus Christ; and allowed no effect to the other parts of penance. He wondered, that confirmation, and ordination, should be sacraments, when they were no more than ecclesiastical ceremonies: Neither would he allow marriage to be a sacrament, because there is no promise annexed to it, and the marriage of infidels is as binding as that of Christians: And he rejected the usage of the extreme unction, built upon the authority of the epistle of St James, because he thought there was not any promise of grace annexed to that unction.

Luther was fully persuaded of the necessity of "Justi-" fication by faith alone:" Which he looked upon as the basis of the whole Christian religion. When he first preached against indulgences, he intended no separation from the church of Rome: But the violence of his opponents, and the heat of the controversy, drew him so far into the dispute, that he carried it on with unparalleled spirit, and came at last to fix upon that scheme, which has since been adhered to by the Lutheran churches, with little variation.

As the pope had condemned Luther at Rome; Luther degraded the pope in Germany. He compiled a history of the wars raised by the popes against the emperors; and maintained, that the German princes had the same power over the clergy as over the laity. He advised the Germans to shake off the yoke of popery; and proposed a Reformation, that should subject the pope and bishops to the power of the emperor, and take away from the pope the authority of interpreting scripture, or calling a general council. He declaimed against the manners and practice of the court of Rome, the pride of the pope, and the avarice of the cardinals: He asserted, that annates and papal months, should be abolished, and that the canon-law ought to be entirely destroyed. He even assembled the students of Wittenberg together, and flung the pope's bull and decretals into a fire prepared for that purpose, saying, "Because thou hast troubled the Holy One of "God, let eternal fire trouble thee." This ceremony was performed by Luther, upon the tenth of December, 1520. The next day he expounded the psalms, and earnestly charged his auditors, *that, as they loved the salvation of their souls, they should take heed of the pope's decrees.* He also defended what he had done in writing; and published, among other errors in the papal doctrine, the following thirty:

I.

'The pope and his clergy are not bound to obey the 'commandments of God.

II.

'It is not a precept, but a counsel of St Peter, when 'he teaches, *That all men are to be subject to kings.*

III.

'That in a state, the sun signified the papal power, the 'moon meant the imperial, or secular.

IV.

IV.

'That the pope and his chair are not to be held subject to the councils and decrees.

V.

'That the pope has in the secret of his own breast all laws, and plenary power over all laws.

VI.

'Whence it follows; That the pope hath power to disannul, change, and determine all counsels, and all constitutions and ordinances, as he daily practises.

VII.

'That the pope hath a right to demand an oath of all bishops, and an obligation upon them for their palls.

VIII.

'That if the pope be so negligent of his own and his brethren's salvation, and so unprofitable and careless in his function, as to carry with him (like the chief factor for hell) innumerable people to their everlasting damnation; no man ought to reprove him, or blame his faults.

IX.

'That the salvation of all the faithful, next to God, depends upon the pope.

X.

'That no man upon earth can judge the pope, or censure his determinations; but the pope is judge of all men.

XI.

'That the Roman see giveth to all laws and rights their due force; but is itself subject to none of them.

XII.

'That the see of Rome is the rock, on which Christ built his church, according to Matth. xvi.—Distinct. 19.

XIII.

'That the keys were given to St Peter only.

XIV.

'That the priesthood of Christ was translated from Him to St Peter. *De constit.* c. *translato.*

XV.

'That the pope hath power to make laws and ordinances for the catholic church.

XVI.

'That this sentence; *Whatsoever thou bindest on earth, shall also be bound in heaven*, establishes this point, That the pope hath power to impose even his unadvised laws upon the whole catholic church.

XVII.

'That his injunction to abstain from flesh, butter, &c. on particular days, is not to be disobeyed without sin, or danger of excommunication.

XVIII.

'That no priest can marry, because he hath forbidden it.

XIX.

'That pope Nicholas the 3d or 4th, hath well decreed, that Christ, by giving the keys, gave him power both over the heavenly and earthly kingdom.

XX.

'That Constantine the great gave to popes the power over all the provinces and kingdoms of this lower world.

XXI.

'That the pope is the rightful heir of the holy Roman empire.

XXII.

'That it is lawful for a Christian to avenge himself.

XXIII.

'That subjects may rebel against their princes; and that the pope may depose kings.

XXIV.

'That the pope can overturn and dissolve all oaths, covenants, and obligations.

XXV.

'That the pope hath power to dissolve and compound for all vows made to God.

XXVI.

'That he that doth not pay his vow to God, is not guilty of breaking it.

XXVII.

'That no married man or woman can truly serve God.

XXVIII.

XXVIII.

'That the pope's injunctions are of equal force and 'weight with the scriptures.

XXIX.

'That the pope hath power to explain the scripture, 'at his own will and pleasure; and that no man can dare 'to explain it in a contrary sense.

XXX.

'That the pope doth not receive his authority from the 'scripture, but the scripture from the pope.

'In short, the sum of the whole canon law is this: '*The pope is God on earth, supreme in all heavenly, earthly,* '*spiritual, and secular matters. All things are the pope's;* '*and there is none who can say unto him, What dost thou?*" Melch. Adam. *in vit.* Luth.

This publication gave (as it may be supposed) the highest offence to the Romanists; and the pope resolved to crush him at once by his bulls, which commanded all secular princes to destroy him.

Eckius carried the bull against Luther into Germany, and was entrusted by the pope to carry it into execution; which was a smart blow given him by his mortal enemy, who was his adversary, accuser, and executioner.

Charles V. was crowned emperor, at Aix-la-Chapelle, the twenty-first of October 1520, and appointed a diet to be held at Worms, on the sixth of January, 1521. The nuncios, Martinus Coracciolus and Jerom Alexander, presented the elector of Saxony the brief which the pope had sent him, to inform him of the decree which he had made against Luther, who was then more than ever protected by the elector, and the university of Wittenberg. Luther renewed his appeal to a future council; and called the pope a tyrant, and heretic. Erasmus, and several other divines, foresaw that the fire, which was to burn the books of Luther, would put all Germany into a flame, and were for referring the whole cause to a general council: But the nuncios prevailed, and Luther's books were burnt at Mentz and Cologne. Ulricus Hultenus, a satirical poet, ridiculed the papal bull; which Luther called the execrable bull of antichrist, and caused it (as we have just observed) to be burnt at Wittenberg. Catharinus wrote five books in defence of the papal supremacy; which Luther refuted; and Alexander obtained a new bull from Rome, wherein Luther was declared contumacious, and to have incurred the penalty denounced by the pope.

The diet of Worms assembled on the day appointed, when Alexander exerted all his interest and eloquence, to persuade the emperor, and the princes of the empire, to put the bull against Luther into execution; without suffering him to appear, or hear his vindication. The diet resolved, that Luther should be summoned, and have a safe conduct; which was granted by the emperor, who sent with it a private letter, directed 'To the honourable, beloved, devout, doctor Martin Luther, of the 'order of St Augustine.' This letter was dated the sixth of March, and Luther was thereby ordered to appear at Worms, within twenty-one days. The tragical end that John Huss had met with at Constance, in 1415, was remembered by the friends of Luther on this occasion: But he answered those who dissuaded him from appearing, that "he would go, though there should be as many "devils at Worms as there were tiles upon the houses." He was accompanied from Wittenberg by some divines, and one hundred horse: But he took only eight horsemen into Worms, where he arrived on the sixteenth of April: And, when he stept out of the coach, he said, "God shall be on my side," in the presence of a great multitude of people, whom curiosity had brought together to see the man, who had made such a noise in the world.

Luther had his apartments in the house belonging to the knights of the Teutonic order, near those of the elector of Saxony. He was visited by many princes, noblemen, and divines; and the next day appeared before the diet. Eckius acted as prolocutor, and told Luther, that the emperor had sent for him, 'to know whether he owned 'those books that bore his name; and if he intended to 'retract, or maintain what was contained in them?' Luther is said to have had as much courage, as Alexander and Julius Cæsar put together. He answered, he owned the books: But desired time to consider the other question: "So that he might make a satisfactory answer, "without prejudice of the word of God, and prejudice "of his own soul." The emperor granted him a day to consider the matter: And some of his principal friends encouraged him with this sentence; *When thou art before kings, think not what thou shalt speak, for it shall be given to thee in that hour.*

Luther appeared again before the diet the following day, when Eckius repeated the same question, to which Luther replied with modesty and constancy. He protested,

that

that all he had wrote was for the glory of God, and the instruction of the faithful: But desired the assembly to observe, that his books were of three kinds: 'That in 'some, he treated only of piety and morality, in such 'a plain and evangelical manner, that his adversaries 'acknowledged, they were innocent, profitable, and 'worthy to be read by all Christians: That in others, 'he had wrote against popery: And in a third sort, against 'those private persons who opposed the truths which he 'taught.' He asserted, that the bull itself had condemned nothing in particular which was taken out of these books, though all his books in general were condemned. And declared, "that as a man he might err; "and if any one could convince him, by holy scripture, "of any error, he was ready to revoke it, and burn his "writings." Eckius passionately said, he had not answered the question; therefore he insisted that Luther would give a plain and direct answer, 'whether he would 'retract, or not?' Luther replied, "that he was not "obliged to believe the pope, or his councils, because "they erred in many things, and contradicted themselves: That his belief was so far settled by the texts "of scripture, and his conscience engaged by the word "of God, that he neither could, nor would, retract any "thing; because it was neither safe, nor innocent, for "a man to act against his conscience." Eckius then said, that Luther had revived the errors contained in the council of Constance: And the emperor declared he would proceed against him as a heretic: which was a prejudging the cause, and contrary to the established rules of the diet.

As Luther undauntedly refused to recant at Worms, as he had done three years before at Augsburg; the clergy insinuated to the emperor, 'that faith was not to be kept 'with heretics.' They wanted him to revoke the safe-conduct he had granted to Luther: But Charles made this generous answer, 'that if no faith was to be found in 'the rest of the world, it ought at least to be seen in 'a Roman emperor.' The elector Palatine also opposed the violation of the safe-conduct, as had been done at the council of Constance. The electors of Brandenburg and Triers, with Eckius, Cochlæus, and others, had a private conference with Luther, to persuade him to desist from his enterprise: But he declared he was resolved to die, rather than recede from the word of God. The elector of Triers desired Luther to propose some means of ending

ending this matter himself; to which Luther answered, he had no other way than the council of Gamaliel, "If "this work be of men, it will come to nought, and "fall of itself; but if it be of God, ye cannot hinder "the execution of it."

The emperor, on the twenty-sixth of April, ordered Luther to depart immediately from Worms, under a safe-conduct for twenty-one days; and the elector of Saxony imagined, that Charles would issue a severe edict against Luther; but the elector was resolved to protect him from the prosecution of the emperor and pope. Luther was purposely seized on the road by a troop of masked horsemen, and carried, as if by violence, to the castle of Wartburg, near Eisenach, where the elector concealed him ten months. Luther called this retreat his Patmos, and wrote several useful treatises there: While his enemies employed reputed wizards to find out the place of his concealment. Here he held a constant correspondence with his friends at Wittenberg, and employed himself in composing several of his works. He frequently made excursions into the neighbourhood, though always in disguise. Weary, however, of this confinement, he appeared at the end of ten months at Wittenberg, on the sixth of March.

The emperor published an edict against Luther, on the twenty-sixth of May, when the electors of Saxony and Palatine were absent from the diet. He declared, 'it 'was his duty to extinguish heresies; that Luther was a 'schismatic and heretic; that the sentence of the pope 'should be put in execution against him; and that no per-'son should revive, defend, maintain, or protect him, under 'the penalty of high treason, and being put to the ban 'of the empire.' This edict was drawn up with all possible rancour and malice by Aleander. However, whilst Luther attended at Worms, and pleaded his cause, he was treated with much affability and civility by that illustrious assembly. He shewed a sufficient presence of mind, and a noble intrepidity, in the opinion of every one but himself; for he afterwards lamented, that he had not been still bolder in the cause of God.

Some are of opinion, that the emperor connived at the spreading of Luther's doctrine in Germany, that he might make himself absolute there by such divisions: Else, say they, he might easily have suppressed it, by putting Luther to death, when he had him in his power at Worms. However, it is far from being clear, that if he had been murdered,

murdered, contrary to the sanction of the safe-conduct, his opinions would have died with him: And it would have been very imprudent in Charles to have thereby disobliged the elector of Saxony, who had placed him on the imperial throne, and whose authority in Germany was great, while he had a war upon his hands against Turkey and France.

The tenets of Luther came now to be received, not only in Upper and Lower Saxony, but also in other parts of Germany, and in the North. Erasmus, and the learned Agrippa of Cologne, looked upon this reformer as a hero, who would put a stop to the tyranny which the mendicant friars, and the rest of the clergy, exercised over the minds and consciences of men. Being ignorant and voluptuous, they encouraged a thousand paltry superstitions, and would neither emerge from their barbarity, nor suffer others to do it: Insomuch, that to be witty and polite, was sufficient to expose a man to their hate and indignation. Agrippa, Erasmus, and some other great geniuses, were pleased that Luther had broke the ice: They expected the critical hour for the deliverance of honest men from oppression: But when they saw that things did not take the turn they expected, they were the first to cast a stone at Luther. Agrippa wrote to Melancthon in these words: 'Pay my compliments to the invincible heretic, 'Martin Luther, who, as St Paul says in the Acts, 'worships God after the way which they call heresy.' But the divines of Louvain censured Agrippa for writing 'the vanity of sciences,' though that book convinced Erasmus, its author was of a fiery genius, extensive reading, and great memory. But Jovius and Thevet, ridiculously charge Agrippa with being a magician: Though this did not hinder the famous John Colet from lodging Agrippa in his house at London; nor the emperor Maximilian from employing him in Italy.

Jerom Savonarola, a Dominican at Florence, had distinguished himself by the austerity of his life, and by the fervent eloquence with which he preached against immorality, without sparing the disorders of the clergy, nor even the court of Rome. Philip de Comines, the celebrated historian of France, saw Savonarola at Florence, and says, 'that no preacher ever had a greater influence 'over a city.' Some authors maintain, that his conduct was the effect of a great zeal for truth, and for the Reformation of the church: Others pretend that he was an impostor, and a hypocrite. It is certain, that this divine had

had acquired such a great power over the Florentines, by his singular sanctity, and the reputation of his virtue, that, in the opinion of all, he deserved to be canonized alive: But he lost his credit, was excommunicated, degraded from his ecclesiastical order, hanged, and burnt in the year 1498. Friar Jerom had been considered as a prophet sent from God for the reformation of manners; and he had preached, that the state of the church should be reformed by the sword. He foretold many things before they came to pass: But the pope excommunicated him, on a charge that his doctrine was not catholic; and the Francisan friars undertook to prove it heretical. The truth is, Savonarola had earnestly wished to be the instrument of calling a general council, in which the corrupt manners of the clergy might be reformed; and the state of the church of God, which had deviated so far, might be reduced to as great a resemblance as possible of those days that were nearest to the times of the apostles. The general of the Dominicans, and the bishop of Romolino, were appointed commissaries by the pope, to punish Savonarola, whom they put to the torture, and delivered him over to the secular arm to be hanged and burnt. His trial was falsified in the most unjust and scandalous manner: But he suffered death courageously, and many persons considered him as a martyr. His ashes were thrown into the Arno, that his adherents might not have any relic left of him: But books were written for his justification; and the protestants have revered his memory.

Beza, Vigner, Cappel, Du Plessis Mornay, and the other Reformers, considered Jerom Savonarola as a martyr like Jerom of Prague: They looked on him as one of the forerunners of the evangelical Reformation; and called him the Luther of Italy. The popish writers also defended his character, particularly the learned prince of Mirandula: But the pope Clement VIII. forbade the sermons of Savonarola to be read till they had undergone a purgation.

Luther quoted Savonarola, and prefixed a preface to his meditations; because he considered him as an author that is very orthodox upon the subject of justification, and the merit of good works. The tools of Rome were for putting Luther to death, as well as Savonarola: But Erasmus was greatly dissatisfied, when Luther was proscribed; and said, 'that they, who condemned him, de-'served to be condemned themselves: That the pope's 'unmerciful

'unmerciful bull was disapproved by all honest men; 'and that Luther, being a man void of ambition, was 'the less to be suspected of heresy.' One of the ecclesiastical electors said, 'Would to God that Luther had 'written in Latin, and not in German.' Mention being made of Luther at the emperor's table, Ravenstein said, 'here is one Christian arisen among us, at last, after four 'hundred years, and the pope wants to kill him.'

The emperor had performed the conditions of the safe-conduct to Luther; and the pope had tried him before a council: 'But the Lutherans would have been fools and 'mad, to have trusted themselves and their cause, to 'such a pontiff, and to such an emperor;' notwithstanding Erasmus said, 'we have a pope, who in his temper 'is much disposed to clemency, and an emperor who is 'also mild and placable.' Erasmus judged very wrong of both these persons. Leo was a vain, voluptuous, and debauched man, who had no religion, and no compassion for those, who could not submit entirely to his pleasure; as he shewed by the haughty manner in which he treated Luther, without admitting the least relaxation in any of the disputed points. Charles V. was only twenty years of age, at this time, and made a conscience of nothing to accomplish any of his projects. He said so himself; and we may take his word for it. This emperor, discoursing of past events with the prior and the monks of St Justus, told them, that he repented of having fulfilled the promise of false-conduct which he gave to Luther. This regret is ascribed to his pious zeal for the cause of God: But the examples of Gregory the Great, who kept his faith given to heretics; of Joshua, who kept it to the idolatrous Gibeonites; and of Saul, whom God punished for doing the contrary, might have quieted his royal conscience: And if he had any cause to repent, it should have been for plighting his faith to a heretic, and not for keeping it. However, Charles in his old age seemed inclined to protestant principles: And, if reports may be credited, his son Philip intended to have made his father's process, and to have had his bones burnt for heresy; being only hindered from doing it by this consideration, that if his father was an heretic, he had forfeited all his dominions, and by consequence he had no right to resign them to his son. If these things are true, the emperor must have been the greatest hypocrite that ever lived; or we have been greatly imposed upon by historians.

At

At the time the diet of Worms was held, a treatise was published, in which were the following, among other anecdotes. The count of Nassau, governor of Flanders, Brabant, and Holland, said to the divines at the Hague, 'Go, and preach the gospel in sincerity and truth, like 'Luther.' The academics of Louvain complained to Margaret the emperor's sister, governess of the Netherlands, that Luther was subverting Christianity by his writings. 'Who, said she, is this Luther?' They replied, he was an illiterate monk. 'Is he so, said the princess? Then 'you, who are very learned and numerous, write 'against this illiterate monk: And surely the world 'will pay more regard to many scholars than to one block-'head.'

As the pope and emperor had published such a furious bull, and violent edict, against Luther, Erasmus began to be in pain for the Reformer, though the elector of Saxony had taken him under his protection. 'I fear, says he, for 'the unfortunate Luther: So violent is the conspiracy, and 'so strongly have the pope and the prince been instigated 'against him. Would to God he had followed my coun-'sel, and had abstained from violent and seditious pro-'ceedings! He would then have done more good, and 'have incurred less hatred.'

But if Luther had followed the advice of Erasmus, and conducted the affair with all moderation and reserve, he would still have had less success; because his system passed, in the opinion of the divines, for a most pestilent heresy, tending to overset the authority of the pope and the monks, and to destroy the credit of certain opinions and doctrines, from which they drew an immense profit. If Luther had recanted after he had been condemned, all the benefit, that his doctrine was capable of producing, would have been lost: And if he resisted, a separation from those who had excommunicated him must ensue.

Erasmus declined the task of refuting Luther; 'be-'cause it was a work above his abilities; and he would 'not deprive the universities, which had undertaken to 'confute him, of their honour and glory.' He wished that Luther had been solidly confuted before his books were burnt: Because it is the duty of divines to persuade, and the practice of tyrants to compel. But this was not the language of the inquisition, and of the monks, who breathed nothing besides revenge, and the destruction of heretics. To please them, he ought to have cried out, that 'Luther deserved to be hanged, for 'what

'what he had done, whether he submitted or not: He 'ought to have insulted and abused him on all occasions, 'if he hoped for any favour from men, who accounted 'moderation and equity to be capital crimes, when they 'extended to a man accounted by them the leader of 'the heretical armies.' Luther was sometimes censured by Erasmus for writing with such spirit; but in this Luther acted more like an apostle, or primitive Christian, than Erasmus.

Luther also made a translation of the New Testament into the German language; and wrote several books, during his retirement, which he called his hermitage. He was immediately accused of corrupting the gospel in several places; but none of his adversaries venturing to condemn the translation of the New Testament into the vulgar tongue: On the contrary, Jerom Emser criticised upon this version, and made another. The king of England wrote to the princes of Germany upon that subject; and said, it was useful to have the scripture in several languages, that corrupt versions might be prevented.

However, it is acknowledged, that Luther, in translating the bible, was assisted by the disciples of Reuchlin, and hath hit off many places very happily: That he was master of the German language; and that there is much to be learned from this work. But the Sieur de St Aldegonde, in 1594, wrote to John Drusius, who was employed by the states-general to make a new translation of the bible into the Dutch tongue, that, 'among all the 'versions he had met with, he had seen none that dif-'fered so widely from the true Hebrew, as that of 'Luther.'

Luther wrote against private confession, private masses, and monastic vows; in consequence of which, Carolostadius, and the Augustine friars at Wittenberg, abolished the use of the mass. Vows of celibacy very little promoted continence. The monks left their cloisters at Wittenberg, and the priests married; after Carolostadius and Justus Jonas had set them the example, which was afterwards followed by Luther.

The adversaries of Luther affirmed, 'that he uttered 'a thousand blasphemies, and particularly against Moses: 'They went so far as to maintain, that he got Amadis de 'Gaul translated into French, to put people out of con-'ceit with the scripture, and all books of devotion. 'They observed so little measures in the calumnies they 'published against him, as to accuse him of having said,

'that

'that he believed nothing of what he preached.' Most of these calumnies were grounded upon some words in a book published by Luther's friends; to which his enemies gave a very malicious interpretation, and very remote from this minister's thoughts.

He was even accused of Atheism: But this, as well as what was said of Amadis, was an egregious falsehood, and proved so by Bayle, from the journal of Leipsic, October 1684, where it is said, that 'this ridiculous calumny 'cannot excite indignation, but laughter; for the honest 'catholics themselves must be ashamed of it: They can-'not be ignorant that, by the indefatigable pains of 'Luther, the sacred writings were once more put, not 'only into the hands of the clergy, but into those of 'the middle rank, nay, even of those of the meanest sort; 'he having for that purpose, with incredible study and 'toil, translated the Holy Bible into that vulgar tongue, 'and not Amadis.' What is not a man capable of, in point of gross calumnies, so diametrically opposite to all probability, when there are those who dare affirm, that Luther desired to bring the scriptures into discredit; Luther had no greater reproach to bear, with all the Reformers, from the popish clergy, than that of too much recommending to laymen the reading of the Bible in the vulgar tongue.

The doctrine of Luther was not prevented by the edict of the emperor, which was contemned by the princes and magistrates. Henry VIII. king of England, stopt the new doctrine from spreading in his dominions: He did something more, for he caused to be made, in his own name, a treatise about the seven sacraments, against Luther's book of "the Captivity of Babylon." Some have thought that Edward Lee, afterwards archbishop of York, was the author of that work: But the king presented it to the pope, who received it very favourably, and was so well pleased with Henry, that he rewarded him with the glorious title of 'Defender of the Faith.' Henry was the slave of Rome for the first eighteen years of his reign. Delighted with the flatteries of the pope and the clergy, he drew his pen in their defence. The papal compliments induced Henry to order all Luther's books to be called in; and forty-two articles, taken from his doctrine, were condemned. Luther had made very free with Aquinas, the favourite author of king Henry VIII. who had a great opinion of his learning and talents for disputation, and stepped forth as the champion of the church,

church, to defend her against the danger she was in from the spreading of Luther's heresy. But Luther was not to be silenced by the power of his adversary: And conceiving himself to be used too contemptuously by the king, he replied with more acrimony than was thought decent towards the person of a sovereign prince. He answered Henry with sharpness; and without any respect to his royal dignity; for Luther spared no man in the cause of God: Many divines thought it an honour to defend the king of England, by confuting the book which Luther wrote against him. In Germany, it was answered in Latin by Eckius; and in High Dutch by Muncer. In England, John Fisher, bishop of Rochester, wrote a book to maintain the doctrine which the king had vindicated; and Sir Thomas More wrote another, under the name of William Ross, in which he gave a character of Luther. But Luther's magnanimous spirit was not to be depressed by the words of a king, whose treatment of Lambert, the martyr, discovered an heart full of rancour against the truth, because he condemned it without investigation; and a mind full of meanness, because he insulted and threatened an humble subject and inferior. Luther defended his sharp style in answering the king, after this manner: "If my asperity towards the king has offended "any body, let them take this answer: In that book I "had to do with unfeeling monsters, who have despised "my best and gentlest writings, who have trampled "upon my most humble submissions, and who only seem "the more insolent, in proportion to my calmness and "temperance. Let it be remembered too, that I en-"tirely omitted all threats of virulence and falsehoods, "with which the king has filled his book against me, "from beginning to end. Nor ought it to be considered "as a great affair, if I affront and treat sharply an "earthly prince, who has dared to blaspheme the King "of heaven in his writings, and to insult his holy name "with the bitterest lies.—But GOD will judge the "people in his equity."——Luther had indeed written a very humble letter to Henry the Eighth, by the persuasion of Christiern, the banished king of Denmark; to which the king returned a very harsh and unbecoming answer in his book, which probably induced Luther to treat this haughty prince with the more tartness. His submissive letters to cardinal Cajetan, George duke of Saxony, and others, were all served in the same contemptuous strain, which determined Luther to take up a different conduct with his

adversaries, in which his bravery of soul was equal to all their insolence.

If we would know what was the ground of this wonderful man's magnanimity, it cannot be better expressed than it is by himself in a letter to Spalatinus, during the business of Augsburgh: "That kings, and princes, and "people, (says he) rage against Christ, the Lord's "Anointed, I esteem a good sign, and a much better one "than if they flattered. For it follows upon this, that "he who dwelleth in heaven laughs them to scorn. "And if our head laugh, I see no reason why we should "weep before the faces of such beings. He does not "laugh for his own sake, but for our's; that we, putting "the more trust in him, might despise their empty de-"signs; of so great need is faith, that the cause and "ground of it is not to be perceived without faith. He, "who began this work, began it without our advice and "contrivance; he hath hitherto protected it, and hath "ordered the whole above and beyond our counsels and "imaginations. He also, I make no doubt, will carry "on and complete the same, without and above all our "conceptions and cares. I know, and am assured of this, "for I rest the whole upon him, who is able to do above "all that we can ask or think. Yet our friend Philip "Melancthon will contrive and desire that God should "work according to, and within the compass of, his puny "notions, that he may have somewhat whereof to glory. 'Certainly (he would say) thus and thus it ought to be 'done; and thus and thus would I do it.' But this is "poor stuff: 'Thus I Philip would do it.' This (I) "is mighty flat. But hear how this reads; I AM "THAT I AM, *this is his name* JEHOVAH: HE, *even* "HE, *will do it.*——But I have done. Be strong in "the Lord, and exhort Melancthon from me, that he "aim not to sit in God's throne, but fight against that "innate, that devilishly implanted ambition of our's, "which would usurp the place of God; for that am-"bition will never further our cause. It thrust Adam "and Eve out of paradise; and this alone perplexes us, "and turns our feet from the way of peace. We must "be men, and not gods." The protestant champion knew full well where his strength lay—not in himself, but in his Sovereign. If deserted by his covenant-head, he felt the deep conviction, that every reed might make him tremble, and every blast of trial cast him down. He knew (to use the words of a late writer) that if 'God

'God changed from his purpose of saving a man, whenever the man, left to his own will, would change from the desire of being saved; he must renounce the strongest believer upon earth, in five minutes after he had committed him to himself *.'—But Luther had *not* so *learned Christ*.

Leo X. called John de Medicis, was elected pope on the eleventh of March, 1513; and it is thought, that nothing contributed more to his elevation to the popedom, than his intrigues and connections with some dissolute women of great influence. He made a league with the emperor against France, to recover the places which the French held in Italy. He took that affair so much to heart, that having received the news of the misfortunes of the French, he died, it is said, of mere joy: Not but there are writers who affirm, that he was poisoned. He died, on the second of December, 1521, in the forty-sixth year of his age, and the ninth of his pontificate. He might justly be termed the father of revived and restored learning, which claims from history a tribute perhaps not due to his other virtues as a man, or to his piety as a prelate. His encouraging arts and sciences; his boundless liberality to the poor, to wits, poets, artists, and men of letters, is what his apologists have to oppose to abundance of scandalous defects, and grievous faults in his character. Even the failings of his character were productive of some public use; for he seems to have had a contempt for the understanding of other nations, which led him to trespass upon them too far in the matter of indulgences, and other ecclesiastical propositions, that paved the way for the Reformation.

After the death of Leo, the several factions of the conclave terminated in the election of Adrian VI. which highly displeased the people of Rome. He was born at Utrecht, in 1459: and his father got his living by barge-making: But the university of Louvain supplied his domestic indigence, and educated the son, who made a great progress in all kinds of sciences, and was appointed preceptor to the archduke Charles, in 1507. The new pope refused to change his name: And in every thing expressed his aversion to pomp and pleasures. He was thought fit to be raised to the papacy, which had need, at that time, of a man learned in divinity, to oppose Luther; and also of one capable of governing a state, because of

* See '*Horæ Solitariæ*, or Essays upon the Names of Christ.' p. 379. Mathews, Strand.

the troubles in Italy. But he thought it necessary, in the first place, to reform the discipline of the church, and particularly the abuses of the court of Rome, which he observed, and publicly acknowledged, in a very strong manner. He began with revoking all the privileges granted to the Franciscans, by the promulgation of indulgences: Next, he abolished part of the reservations, accessions, regresses, and such inventions, which were called the snares of the court of Rome: And afterwards he attempted to reform the discipline of the church; as also the manners of the clergy and laity: But his laudable views were prevented by the cardinals and priests, who could not endure the thoughts of a Reformation, which was so contrary to their interest. Erasmus entertaineds ome hopes, that his old friend and school-fellow, Adrian VI. would do some good. The new pope deplored the sad life of the clergy, and the corruption of morals which had appeared in some popes: But his reign was short and troublesome; which made him say, he had more satisfaction in governing a college of Louvain than in governing the whole Christian church.

Luther was now at open war with the church of Rome, and wrote against the excommunication issued by the pope: He also attacked the bishops and ecclesiastical princes, in a work, entitled, "Against the order, falsely "called, the order of bishops." And he exhorted the states of Bohemia to continue in their separation from the Roman church. He wrote his rough answer to Henry VIII. in Latin, and afterwards translated it into German. Emser wrote the life of Benno, bishop of Misnia, in the eleventh century, whose principal merit was, that he had been a rebel and a traitor: yet he was canonized by pope Adrian VI. for his miracles. Luther wrote against this canonization, and treated Benno's miracles as human frauds, or diabolical operations. Every thing co-operated with the decree of heaven, in spreading the doctrines of Luther; and the spiritual monarchy of Rome was on the brink of ruin.

As the diet of Worms had not settled the tranquillity of the empire, another diet was appointed by the emperor to be held at Nuremberg in November, 1522. The emperor was not present, and his brother Ferdinand supplied his place. The pope sent his nuncio, Cheregatus, to this diet; with letters, in manner of a brief, to the princes; and instructions how to proceed against Luther. The pope informed the diet, that Luther continued to disturb

and

and replenish the world with new books; which grieved him the more, because he was his countryman. He exhorted the members to reduce Luther, and his adherents, to a conformity of faith with the church: 'But, if this 'pestiferous canker cannot be cured with gentle medi-'cines, sharper salves must be proved, and fiery searings: 'The putrified members must be cut off from the body, 'lest the sound parts should be infected.' Yet the nuncio was instructed to declare, 'that God suffered this 'persecution to be inflicted upon his church for the sins 'of men, especially of priests and prelates of the clergy.' The cardinals strongly resented these reflections cast upon them in such an assembly; and it is imagined that the life of Adrian was shortened on that account.

The diet answered the nuncio by writing, that they had not put the papal sentence, nor the imperial edict, into execution against Luther, for fear of raising civil commotions: But they particularly desired he would apply a remedy to the abuses and grievances of which they would give him a memorial; as this would be the only way to re-establish peace and concord between the ecclesiastical and secular orders. They thought it would be necessary, as soon as possible, to call a free council in Germany, to extirpate all errors and abuses: And that all controversy should cease, till the determination of such a council should be known. The nuncio replied, that the negligence which they had shewn concerning Luther, was offensive to God, to the pope, the emperor, and the empire: That they should observe the imperial edict; and also put in execution the decree of the council of Lateran, which inhibits the printing of any book about religious matters, without being licenced by the ordinary.

The diet, in the reign of Maximilian, proposed ten grievances against the court of Rome: But this diet of Nuremberg sent one hundred heads of complaint, or grievances to the pope; with a protestation, that they neither could nor would endure such oppressions and extortions. The principal of the *centum gravamina* were against the great number of human constitutions; indulgences; ecclesiastical causes; collation of benefices; annates; exemption of ecclesiastics in criminal causes; excommunication; and many others which they reserved to be proposed, when justice was done them in these.

This resolution of the diet was published, on the sixth of March, 1523, in the form of an edict; but both the Papists and Lutherans interpreted it in favour of themselves.

selves. Luther continued to publish several new tracts; and undertook to compose a new form of celebrating the communion in the church of Wittenberg. He would have none admitted to the communion, but such as could give an account of their faith; and who knew the nature, use, and benefit of the Lord's Supper: He appointed, that both kinds should be given; and that those, who would take only in one, should have neither.

Jodocus Clichtovæus, and Joannes Cochlæus, answered Luther; against whom, and the Reformation, the writings of Cochlæus have been the fund of virulent abuse, for all those who have slandered the Protestant religion ever since: But Luther answered, and confuted, both these antagonists; as also two others, John Faber, afterwards bishop of Vienna, and Conradus Collinus, a Dominican. Luther was desirous of totally suppressing the monastic orders, and wrote a book called, "The common Trea-"sury," for blending them with the public; which made his enemies say, he set himself up as a supreme legislator, and disposer of the revenues of the church.

Zuinglius, at this time, was establishing his doctrine in Switzerland: But differed from Luther in the doctrine of the sacrament. Pope Adrian VI. died on the twenty-fourth of October, 1523, in the sixty-fifth year of his age; without being able to reform the church. He was succeeded by the cardinal Julius de Medicis, who assumed the name of Clement VII. The new pope sent Cardinal Campegius to the diet of Nuremberg, in February, 1524, when he had an audience of the assembly, and vainly endeavoured to stop their complaints by promises. The diet declared for a free council, to allay the disputes of Luther: But the legate procured a private assembly to be held at Ratisbon in July, where it was agreed, that the edict of Worms should be put into execution; and that thirty-five articles of certain constitutions, made for the Reformation of the German clergy in pursuance of the late complaints, should be published. The doctrines of Luther were generally favoured by the imperial cities, whose deputies held an assembly at Spires, and explained the decrees of Nuremberg in their favour, while the other sat at Ratisbon.

Luther exposed the contradictions in the two last edicts; and the popish princes opposed Lutheranism, by putting those edicts in execution. Luther was certainly right, in asserting, that the edicts of Nuremberg and Spires contradicted each other: For if the edict of Worms, which condemned

condemned Luther as a heretic, was to be obeyed; why should the diet of Nuremberg, which ordered that edict to be executed, also order his books to be examined at Spires? And if an examination was to be made of his writings, why was he to be condemned as a heretic, before such examination was to be made?

Luther published a book "Of the Duty and Dignity "of the civil magistrate;" and wrote an elegy upon two Augustine monks, who were burnt for Lutheranism at Brussels. Their names were Henry Voes, and John Esch. The greatest error they were accused of, was, 'that men ought to trust only in God.' They suffered with heroic constancy; and Luther composed a hymn in their praise, which was sung in the reformed churches. The charitable catholics rejoiced at their death, and called them 'the devil's martyrs:' But Erasmus had the courage to declare his dislike of such barbarous and unchristian proceedings; and observed, that the sufferings of these men had brought over multitudes to Lutheranism. About this time Luther wrote a consolatory epistle to three noble ladies at Misnia, who were banished from the duke of Saxony's court at Friburg for reading his books. The disputes between Luther and Carolostadius increased, and the latter retired from Wittenberg to Ortamunden, where he was followed by Luther, who accused him of making innovations in the public worship, without the consent of the magistrate; and the elector banished Carolostadius out of his dominions. He settled at Strasburgh, where he published two books upon the Lord's Supper, to maintain, that "the body of Jesus "Christ is not in the sacrament." Zuinglius would not absolutely condemn his opinion: But he censured his conduct, and rejected his interpretation.

About this time, the Anabaptists sprung up under Muncer and Stork, who were discovered to be fanatics, and were banished Saxony. A rebellion ensued, which the popish writers attribute to the rise of Lutheranism: But it has been fully proved, that these tumults were occasioned by grievances of a civil nature. The peasants refused to pay obedience to their superiors, and desolated whole countries in a most barbarous manner; but they were reduced, and returned to their duty, after more than one hundred thousand of their associates had been killed during this commotion, and their leaders had received the punishment they deserved. Their principal tenets were these;

1. 'That

1. 'That every man hath the Spirit.

2. 'That the Spirit was nothing more than our natural 'reason and understanding.

3. 'That every man believes, or may believe.

4. 'That there is no hell to torment souls, but that 'the body only is condemned.

5. 'That every soul shall be saved.

6. 'That we are taught by the law of nature to do to 'others, as we would have them do to us; and that this 'principle is all we are to understand by the term *faith*.

7. 'That we do not sin against the law by concupis-'cence, if in the will we do not follow that concupis-'cence.

8. 'That a man not having the holy Spirit hath no sin; 'because he is without reason, which is only another 'name for the holy Spirit.

9. 'That infants are not to be baptized.

10. 'That all things are to be held in common.'

Luther exerted himself against these fanatical people, and set forth a treatise, wherein he admonished them to lay down their arms, and proved the necessity of obeying their magistrates. These Anabaptists, were enemies to popery, and a scandal to the Reformation. The exhortations of Luther on this occasion, both to the rebellious peasants, and to the tyrannical nobles, were excellent, and gave a high idea of his probity, plain-dealing, and good sense. Lutheranism increased, and was established in several cities, even before these seditions were suppressed in Germany. It was publicly professed by the elector of Saxony, the landgrave of Hesse, and the duke of Brunswick. It was received at Strasburgh, Frankfort, Mentz, and Cologne. And it prevailed in almost all the states of the empire, except in the hereditary countries subject to the emperor.

Erasmus had been frequently solicited by the pope, and the popish princes, to write against Luther: But he avoided the dispute, till he was suspected of being a Lutheran, and then he undertook to oppose him, in a book entitled, 'A Diatribe, or conference about Free-'will,' against the opinion of Luther concerning liberty. The Lutherans themselves have rejected that opinion: But Luther and Erasmus were in the same condition and situation in one respect: They had innumerable adversaries, and for the most part extremely contemptible.

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Le Clerc supposes that Luther was a Thomist: But we find, that he abhorred Aristotle, and despised the schoolmen in general; particularly both the Thomists and Scotists. If he was a favourer of any scholastic sect, it was that of Occam, whom he esteemed. Therefore, a judicious divine thinks that Luther first received his doctrine of predestination from Augustine, of whom he was a great admirer. Certain it is, that scarce any man ever carried the doctrine of predestination to greater lengths, or wrote more positively in defence of it*. If there

* Witness his book *de servo arbitrio*, written against Erasmus, who had attacked the doctrine of predestination. Erasmus had said: What can be "more useless, than to publish this paradox to the world? namely, that "whatever we do, is done, not by virtue of our own free-will, but in a "way of necessity, &c. What a wide gap does the publication of this te-"net open among men, for the commission of all ungodliness! What "wicked person will reform his life? Who will dare to believe himself "the favourite of heaven? Who will fight against his own corrupt incli-"nations? Therefore, where is either the need, or the utility of spreading "these notions, from whence so many evils seem to flow!"

To which Luther replies: "If, my Erasmus, you consider these "paradoxes (as you term them) to be no more than the inventions of "men; why are you so extravagantly heated on the occasion? In that "case, your arguments affect not *me*: For there is no person, now living "in the world, who is a more avowed enemy to the doctrines of men, than "myself. But, if you believe the doctrines in debate between us, to be "(as indeed they are) the doctrines of God; you must have bid adieu to "all sense of shame and decency, thus to oppose them. I will not ask, "Whither is the *modesty* of Erasmus fled? but, which is much more im-"portant, Where, alas! are your *fear* and *reverence* of the Deity, when "you roundly declare, that this branch of truth, which He has revealed "from heaven, is at best *useless*, and unnecessary to be known? What? "shall the glorious Creator be *taught* by *you*, his creature, what is fit to be "preached, and what to be suppressed? Is the adorable God so very de-"fective in wisdom and prudence, as not to know, till *you* instruct him, "what would be useful, and what pernicious? Or could not He, whose "understanding is infinite, foresee, previous to his revelation of this doc-"trine, what would be the *consequences* of his revealing it, till those conse-"quences were pointed out by *you?* You cannot, you dare not say this. "If, then, it was the divine pleasure to make known these things in his "word; and to bid his messengers publish them abroad, and leave the "consequences of their so doing to the wisdom and providence of Him, in "whose name they speak, and whose message they declare; *who art thou*, "O Erasmus! *that thou shouldest reply against God*, and say to the Almighty, "*What dost thou?* St Paul, discoursing of God, declares peremptorily, "*Whom he will he hardeneth*: And again, *God willing to shew his* "*wrath*, &c. And the Apostle did not write this to have it stifled "among a few persons, and buried in a corner; but wrote it to the "Christians at Rome; which was, in effect, bringing this doctrine "upon the stage of the whole world; stamping an *universal impri-*"*matur* upon it; and publishing it to believers at large throughout the

there was any difference between Luther and the Thomists of the church of Rome, it was this, that Luther spake more simply, sincerely, and openly than they; for he

" the earth.—What can sound harsher, in the uncircumcised ears of " carnal men, than those words of Christ, *Many are called, but few* " *are chosen?* And elsewhere, *I know whom I have chosen.* Now, " these and similar assertions of Christ and his Apostles, are the very " positions which you, O Erasmus, brand as useless and hurtful. You " object, *If these things are so, who will endeavour to amend his life?* I answer; without the Holy Ghost, no man *can* amend his life to purpose. " Reformation is but varnished hypocrisy, unless it proceed from *grace.* " The elect and truly pious are amended by the Spirit of God: And those " of mankind, who are not amended by Him, will perish.—You ask, " moreover, *Who will dare to believe himself a favourite of heaven?* I answer; " It is not in man's own power to believe himself such, upon just grounds, " till he is enabled from above. But the elect shall be so enabled: They " shall believe themselves to be what indeed they are. As for the rest, " who are not endued with faith, they shall perish; raging and blaspheming as you do now. But, say you, *These doctrines open a door to un-* " *godliness.* I answer; whatever door they may open to the *impious* and " *profane;* yet, they open a door of righteousness to the *elect* and *holy,* " and shew them the way to heaven, and the path of access unto God. " Yet you would have us *abstain from the mention* of these grand doctrines, " and leave our people in the dark, as to their election of God: The " consequence of which would be, that every man would bolster himself, " up with a delusive hope of a share in that salvation, which is supposed " to lie open to all; and thus, genuine humility, and the practical fear " of God, would be kicked out of doors. This would be a pretty way " indeed of *stopping up the gap,* Erasmus complains of! Instead of closing " up the door of licentiousness, as is falsely pretended; it would be, in " fact, opening a gulph into the nethermost hell. Still you urge, " *Where is either the necessity, or utility of preaching predestination?* God him- " self teaches it, and commands *us* to teach it: And that is answer enough. " We are not to arraign the Deity, and bring the motives of his will to " the test of human scrutiny; but simply to revere both *Him* and *It.* " He, who alone is all-wise and all-just, can, in reality (however things " appear to us,) do wrong to no man; neither can he do any thing un- " wisely or rashly. And this consideration will suffice, to silence all the " objections of truly religious persons. However, let us, for argument's " sake go a step farther. I will venture to assign, over and above, *Two* " very important reasons, why these doctrines should be publicly taught. " 1. For the *humility of our pride,* and the manifestation of divine grace. " God hath assuredly promised his favour to the truly humble. By truly " humble, I mean, those who are endued with repentance, and despair " of saving themselves: For a man can never be said to be really penitent " and humble, till he is made to know that his salvation is not sus- " pended, in any measure whatever, on his own strength, machi- " nations, endeavours, free-will, or works: But entirely depends on " the free pleasure, purpose, determination, and efficiency of another; " even of God alone. Whilst a man is persuaded, that he has it

" in

he absolutely denied there was any such thing as free-will; whilst they admitted it in words. This, perhaps, deceived Erasmus, who imagined he was only disputing against Luther, whilst he was really disputing as much against Thomas Aquinas and his followers, as against the Reformers. To attack Luther upon the single point of liberty and necessity, was, in an oblique and indirect way, to allow him superior to his adversaries in other respects. Erasmus very dexterously and artfully chose this point of disputation, that he might appear to the Romanists to write against Luther; and yet that he might avoid censuring his other doctrines opposite to the Roman church.

Erasmus insisted, that the human will co-operates with the grace and assistance of God; and that a man should use all his endeavours to attain to perfection. He shews that

" in his power to contribute any thing, be it ever so little, to his own " salvation; he remains in carnal confidence: He is not a *self-despairer*, " and therefore he is not duly humbled before God: So far from it, that " he hopes some favourable juncture or opportunity will offer, when he " may be able to lend an helping hand to the business of his salvation.— " On the contrary, whoever is truly convinced that the whole work de- " pends singly and absolutely on the will of God, who alone is the *author* " and *finisher* of salvation; such a person despairs of all *self-assistance*: He " renounces his own will, and his own strength: He waits and prays for " the operation of God: Nor waits and prays in vain. For the *Elect's* " sake, therefore, these doctrines are to be preached: That the chosen of " God, being humbled by the knowledge of his truths; self emptied, and " sunk, as it were, into nothing in his presence; may be saved in Christ, " with eternal glory. This, then, is one inducement to the publication of " the doctrine; that the penitent may be made *acquainted* with the pro- " mise of grace, *plead* it in prayer to God, and *receive* it as their own. 2. The *nature of the Christian faith* requires it. Faith has to do with things " not seen.—And this is one of the highest degrees of faith, stedfastly to " believe that God is infinitely merciful, though he saves (comparatively) " but few, and condemns to many; and that he is *strictly just*, though of " his own Will, he makes such numbers of mankind necessarily liable to " damnation. Now, these are some of the unseen things, whereof faith is " the evidence. Whereas, was it in my power to *comprehend* them, or " clearly to make out, *how* God is both inviolably just, and infinitely mer- " ciful, notwithstanding the display of wrath and seeming inequality in his " dispensations respecting the reprobate; *faith* would have little or nothing " to do. But now, since these matters cannot be adequately comprehend- " ed by us, in the present state of imperfection; there is room for the " exercise of faith. The truths, therefore, respecting *predestination*, in all " its branches, should be taught and published: They, no less, than the " other mysteries of Christian doctrine, being proper objects of faith, on " the part of God's people." See TOPLADY's *Zanchius*, p. 97, &c.

that man was created a free agent; but took a middle way between those who destroy free-will entirely, and those who attribute too much to it: He would have something ascribed to it, but more to grace.

Erasmus sent his treatise against Luther to the king of England, to Wolsey, Warham, and many more. Luther answered Erasmus in his book "*De servo arbitrio;*" to which Erasmus replied in two books, entitled, "*Hyperaspistæ.*

Luther had wrote a letter to Erasmus, full of life, fire, and spirit; which vexed him not a little. He begins in the apostolical manner; "Grace and peace to you from "the Lord Jesus." After modestly reproving him for keeping fair with the papists, he says, "We saw that "the Lord had not conferred upon you the discernment, "courage, and resolution to join with us, and freely "and openly to oppose those monsters; and therefore we "dared not to exact from you, that which greatly sur-"passeth your strength and your capacity. We have even "borne with your weakness, and honoured that portion "of the gift of God which is in you." Then having bestowed upon him his due praises, as he had been the reviver of good literature, by means of which the holy scriptures had been read and examined in the originals, he tells Erasmus, that he had withheld some persons from attacking him; and that he had restrained himself, though provoked. "What, says he, can I do now? Things "are exasperated on both sides; and I could wish, if it "were possible, to act the part of a mediator between "you, that they might cease to attack you with such "animosity, and suffer your old age to rest in peace in "the Lord. They would shew their moderation towards "you so much the more, since our affairs are advanced "to such a point, that our cause is in no peril, although "even Erasmus should attack it with all his might." He desires of Erasmus, if he cannot, or will not defend their sentiments, to let them alone; and concludes with a high compliment on his authority and reputation.

Erasmus answered this letter, and speaks ambiguously of the Lutheran doctrine. Luther wrote another against the Hyperaspistæ, wherein he accuses Erasmus of Arianism. 'The Minorite brethren had said, 'that Erasmus laid 'the egg, and Luther hatched it:' But, says Erasmus, 'I 'laid a hen egg, and Luther hath hatched a very different 'bird.' It is to be lamented that these two eminent men had any misunderstanding; as they both had translated the

the holy scriptures, and were both inclined for a Reformation in the church. Erasmus afterwards wrote some other treatises against the Reformers: Yet he honestly dissuaded the German princes from hanging and burning the poor Lutherans; and declared himself against the cruel and sanguinary methods of defending the cause of Rome. The Italians thought him a Lutheran; and the Germans called him a Romanist: But every man passed for an heretic at Rome, who did not join in every article with the pope against Luther. About this time, the violent and unhappy controversy, concerning the eucharist, was excited among the Protestants. As many books were written upon the subject as would load several waggons; and were of no small harm to the Reformation; which, like the growth of the Roman commonwealth, flourished in the midst of violent and continual divisions.

Luther was this year occupied in translating the book of Job, which he was inclined to think was wrote by Solomon. He complained of the difficulty of the task; and observed, somewhat jocosely, that Job chose to sit on his dunghill, and to admit of no interpreters.

Luther's memorable protestation, upon the article of justification, must not be omitted. "I, Martin Luther, "an unworthy preacher of the gospel of our Lord Jesus "Christ, thus profess, and thus believe; that this article, "THAT FAITH ALONE, WITHOUT WORKS, CAN JUS-"TIFY BEFORE GOD, shall never be overthrown neither "by the emperor, nor by the Turk, nor by the Tartar, "nor by the Persian, nor by the pope, with all his "cardinals, bishops, sacrificers, monks, nuns, kings, "princes, powers of the world, nor yet by all the "devils in Hell. This article shall stand fast, whether "they will or no. This is the true gospel. Jesus "Christ redeemed us from our sins, and he only. This "most firm and certain truth is the voice of scripture, "though the world and all the devils rage and roar. "If Christ alone take away our sins, we cannot do this "with our works; and as it is impossible to embrace "Christ but by faith, it is, therefore, equally impossible "to apprehend him by works. If then faith alone must "apprehend Christ, before works can follow, the conclu-"sion is irrefragable; that faith alone apprehends him, "before and without the consideration of works: And "this is our justification and deliverance from sin. Then, "and not till then, good works follow faith, as its ne-"cessary and inseparable fruit. This is the doctrine I "teach;

" teach; and this the Holy Spirit and church of the faith-
" ful have delivered. In this will I abide. Amen."

The judgment of this great man, upon synods and councils, is very remarkable: " I do not think it (says " he) very safe to call a council of our friends, for the " settlement of a unity in ceremonies; for it will occa-
" sion a bad example, though it be attempted with the " best zeal, as all councils of the church from the be-
" ginning may serve to shew us. Thus, as in the " synod of the apostles, matters of action and tradition " were much more treated of than matters of faith; so, " in succeeding councils, were opinions and questions " always agitated, without entering upon faith; for " which reasons I have a greater suspicion and detes-
" tation of the very shadow of a council, than I have " of free-will itself. If one church will not follow " another in those external things, what need is there " to compel it by the decrees of councils, which soon " are perverted into institutions and traps for the in-
" tanglement of souls? Let one church, therefore, be " at liberty either to follow or not to follow another; " principally regarding, above all indifferent circum-
" stances, the unity of the spirit, founded upon one " common faith in the word of God; which being main-
" tained, the difference of outward rites is only to be " considered as a difference in the flesh and the elements " of the world."—It would be happy for the cause of Christianity, if all its professors were like-minded, and it would save the gospel much of that reproach, which infidels in all ages, upon this very account, have cast upon it.

Luther laid aside the friar's habit in October, 1524; and married Catharine de Bore, a lady of noble descent, who, with eight other nuns, was taken out of the nunnery at Nimptschen in 1523, and carried to Wittenberg, by Leonard Coppen, of Torgau. Luther vindicated that action, and intended to marry Catharine to Glacius, minister of Ortamunden, whose person she disliked; and so Luther married her himself, on the 13th of June, 1525, without consulting his friends: But Luther says, he took a wife in obedience to his father's command. Luther was then forty-two, and his wife was twenty-six. He was so far from being ashamed of entering into the holy state of matrimony, that he exhorted the elector of Mentz, and the grand master of the Teutonic order, to follow his example; which was done by the latter, notwithstanding the

the censure of the Romanists. This grand master was Albert margrave of Brandenburgh, for whom that part of Prussia which belonged to the Teutonic order was formed into a secular duchy. He embraced the Lutheran religion, renounced his vow of celibacy, and married Anna Maria of Brunswick. He afterwards conformed to the Augsburg confession, and founded an university at Konings-berg, in 1544, that the Protestant religion might be introduced and established in Prussia, and all the professors were to be Lutherans. In those times, marriage soon became a recommendation among the Reformers, and was a certain proof that they had abjured popery; for if a converted clergyman did not marry, he caused a suspicion that he had not renounced the doctrine of celibacy.

Luther was very fond of his wife, and used to call her his Catharine. She was handsome and modest: Luther did not pretend she was without faults, but he believed she was less faulty than other women; and when she had born him a son a little after, he said he would not change his condition for that of Crœsus. He was heard to say, that he would not exchange his wife for the kingdom of France, nor for the riches of the Venetians; because she had been given him by God, at a time when he implored the assistance of the Holy Ghost in finding a good wife; and had strictly regarded her conjugal fidelity. But he professed himself, that one great reason which induced him to marry was, to give an example of the doctrine he had preached against celibacy, and to shew, that he was not afraid or ashamed to do himself, what he exhorted and enjoined in others.

Erasmus sent word to Nicholas Everard, president of the court of Holland, that the Lutheran tragedy would end, like the quarrels of princes, in matrimony. He says, 'If the common story be true, that antichrist 'shall be born of a monk and a nun, as they pretend, how 'many thousands of Antichrists, are there in the world 'already? I was in hopes that a wife would have made 'Luther a little tamer: But he has published a book a-'gainst me more virulent than ever.' Erasmus was not well instructed in this affair, or he was too prone to give credit to the scandal which was published against Luther.

Luther had answered the king of England in a rough way, and was now persuaded by his friends to write him a very humble letter, with some hope that his majesty would favour the Reformation. Henry returned him a very haughty and churlish answer: Upon which Luther, (as we have observed)

served) who had too much spirit to bear affronts even from crowned heads, declared publicly that he was very sorry for having demeaned himself so far: And that he would never more throw away any civilities and submissions upon Henry VIII. cardinal Cajetan, prince George of Saxony, or Erasmus, who had all paid his humility with insults. The king of England was chiefly angry, because Luther had said, that his book upon the sacrament was made by another, and put out in his name. Luther believed it was written by Lee, who was a zealous Thomist, and had been engaged in disputes with Erasmus, and was afterwards made archbishop of York: Therefore, Luther wrote another book, entitled, "An answer to the abu-"sive and slanderous book of the king of England." None suspected the king wanted learning for such a design: 'But, it is probable, some other gardener gathered 'the flowers, though king Henry had the honour to wear 'the posie, carrying the credit in the title thereof.' The king was assisted by bishop Fisher and Sir Thomas More; in return for which he afterwards cut off their heads.

The disturbances in Germany increased every day, and the emperor called another diet, which was held at Spires on the twenty-fifth of June, 1526. Ferdinand, and six other deputies, acted for the emperor, and were for executing the edict of Worms: But the elector of Saxony and landgrave of Hesse, were for holding a general council, and laid the foundation of an union for the defence of those who followed the new doctrine. The emperor had a quarrel with the pope, who entered into a league against him with the French king, and the Venetian republic. Charles V. told Clement VII. he would appeal to a general council, and vindicate himself. The next year his troops invaded Italy, plundered Rome, and took the pope prisoner, who was obliged to submit to some hard conditions before he was set at liberty.

A motion was made in the consistory at Rome to tempt Luther with a great sum of money, and buy him off from opposing popery: But one of the cardinals cried out, "*Hem! Germana illa bestia non curat aurum, sed auram.*'

The disputes between the Lutherans and Zuinglians, about the sacrament, continued till the emperor assembled another diet at Spires, in March, 1529, when long and warm debates were held about religion. The Romanists again insisted, that the ban should be executed upon the Lutherans; which was opposed by the electors of Saxony and Brandenburg, the dukes of Lunenberg, the landgrave

of

of Hesse, and the prince of Anhalt, who declared again for a council, either general or national. But the Romanists prevailed, and confirmed the decree of the former diet of Spires; against which the Lutheran princes, and fourteen cities, joined in a formal protest, whereby they appealed, from all that should be done, to the emperor, a future council, or to unsuspected judges; and accordingly they sent deputies to the emperor, with a petition that this decree might be revoked. This was the remarkable protestation, which gave the name of PROTESTANTS to the Lutherans in Germany. The protesters acted with so much steadiness and resolution, that the emperor was much startled at it, and determined to use moderation for the present.

The same year, the Landgrave of Hesse brought Luther and Zuinglius to a conference at Marpurg; when the Lutherans produced such articles as they objected against in the doctrine of the Zuinglians. After some debates, articles were drawn up, in which they agreed about the Trinity, original sin, justification by faith, the efficacy of baptism, and the authority of the magistrates: But they disagreed about the sacrament, in the sense and meaning of the words; though they assented, that the communion should be administered in both kinds; and they denied transubstantiation, as also the sacrifice of the mass.

At this time, Solyman the Magnificent invaded Germany, and besieged Vienna: But soon retired with great loss. The emperor Charles returned to Germany, and appointed another diet to be held at Augsburg, which was opened on the twentieth of June, 1530. It was given out, that the emperor would tread the gospeliers under his feet; which made the protestant princes inclined to meet him in arms; but Luther prevailed on them to meet in peace. The princes appointed Luther, Melancthon, Justus Jonas, and Pomeran, to draw up their form of doctrine, to lay before the diet, where Luther was too obnoxious to appear, and was left in the castle of Coburg, near at hand, that he might be consulted on occasion. Erasmus excused himself from appearing at this diet, because he knew upon whose judgment the emperor relied; upon divines, in whose opinion whosoever should dare to open his mouth in favour of piety, was a Lutheran, and worse than a Lutheran.

The imperial chancellor opened the diet, by declaring, that the emperor had summoned this assembly, that every

one might consult upon such propositions as should be made, and offer in writing what he thought convenient, concerning religion. The protestant princes petitioned the emperor to permit their confession of faith to be read in a full diet, which he refused; but granted them leave to read it in his presence before a special assembly of princes, and other members of the empire. This confession of faith, which was afterwards called, 'The AUGSBURG CONFESSION,' was delivered to his imperial majesty both in Latin and German, with the authority whereon each article was founded. It was signed by the elector of Saxony; George margrave of Brandenburgh; Ernest and Francis, dukes of Brunswick and Lunenberg; Philip landgrave of Hesse, and the princes of Anhalt; as also by the deputies of Nuremberg and Ruthlingen.

The emperor shed tears when this confession was read; which were doubtless owing to the truth of the doctrines contained in it, and the moderation that Melancthon had shewn in revising the whole. It was divided into two parts: The one contained twenty-one articles upon the principal points of religion: And the other was concerning the ceremonies of the church. The emperor dismissed the assembly, when they had heard the confession; and the Romanists agreed to draw up a confutation of it, which was undertook by Faber, Eckius, Cochlæus, Conradus de Wimpina, Conradus Collinus, and other popish divines, who examined the protestant confession of faith, step by step, and answered all the articles; some of which were approved, and others condemned; but some were partly received, and partly rejected, as will be seen in the life of Melancthon.

Luther, in his retirement, was not a little afraid to what lengths the pacific spirit of Melancthon might induce him to yield to the papists, and therefore wrote to him to be careful of what concessions he should make them; "for (says he) they will take them in the large, the "larger, and largest sense, but hold their own in the "strict, stricter, and strictest. In short, I have but a "small opinion of this projected concord in doctrine: "I believe it truly impossible, unless the pope will "renounce his popedom." With regard to the Romish confutation of the protestant articles, he said; "I "thank God, who suffered our adversaries to compose "so wretched a confutation. Christ will reign for "ever. Let the devils, if they will, turn monks and "nuns; for truly no shape would better become them "than

"than that, in which they have so long held forth "themselves, for the adoration of the world."

This confutation, however, was read before the diet, and the Romanists said they hoped the protestants would return to the communion of the church, as they agreed in several points which had been formerly contested. The elector of Saxony answered, that the protestants were always ready to come to an union in religion, in any thing which was not prejudicial to their consciences. In consequence of this, the Romanists appointed seventeen persons to treat about religion with the protestants; and this conference was held at Augsburg on the seventh of August. The popish deputies said, that Luther would not submit to the judgment of a council: But the protestants declared, they would refer themselves to the determination of a council, to which they appealed; and also presented to the emperor an apology for their confession, which put at end to the diet at Augsburg, and the protestant princes returned home in October, without an accommodation with the Romanists.

The sacramentarians also presented their confession of faith to the emperor at this diet; which was drawn up by Bucer and Capito: But this confession was more unacceptable than that of the Lutherans, and was answered by Faber and Eckius; in consequence of which, the emperor commanded the Zuinglians to renounce their errors, and threatened to compel them by his authority, if they refused.

A symbolical representation was exhibited before the emperor and his brother Ferdinand at Augsburg, when the Lutherans presented their confession of faith to that assembly. As the princes were at table, a company of persons offered to act a small comedy for the entertainment of the company. They were ordered to begin; and first entered a man in the dress of a doctor, who brought a large quantity of small wood, of straight and crooked billets, and laid it on the middle of the hearth and retired: On his back was written the name of *Reuchlin*. When this actor went of, another entered, apparelled also like a doctor, who attempted to make faggots of the wood, and to fit the crooked to the straight; but having laboured long to no purpose, he went away out of humour, and shaking his head: On his back appeared the name of *Erasmus*. A third, dressed like an Augustinian monk, came in with a chafing-dish full of fire, gathered up the crooked wood, clapped it upon the fire, and blew till he

made it burn, and went away, having upon his frock the name of LUTHER. A fourth entered dressed like an emperor, who, seeing the crooked wood all on fire, seemed much concerned, and to put it out drew his sword, and poked the fire with it, which only made it burn the brisker: On his back was written *Charles* V. Lastly, a fifth entered, in his pontifical habit and triple-crown, who seemed extremely surprised to see the crooked billets all on fire, and by his countenance and attitude betrayed excessive grief: then looking about on every side, to see if he could find any water to extinguish the flame, he cast his eyes on two bottles in a corner of the room, one of which was full of oil, and the other of water; and in his hurry, he unfortunately seized on the oil, and poured it upon the fire, which made it blaze so violently that he was forced to walk off: On his back was written *Leo* X. This farce wanted no commentary.

Luther wrote some books against popery, during the sitting of the diet; particularly a treatise upon the second Psalm, in which he applied to the princes met at Augsburg, what was said in that psalm concerning the assembly and conspiracy of the princes of the world against Jesus Christ. The emperor procured a decree in the diet, which allowed the protestant princes till the fifteenth of April following, to consult about their submission to it; and his imperial majesty promised to issue out his summons for a council to begin the next year. The protestant princes remained firm to their confession of faith, and the emperor published the decree of the diet on the sixteenth of November, which ordered, that no alterations or innovations should be made in the faith or religious worship of the church; and that none should be admitted to the imperial chamber, who disobeyed this decree.

The elector of Saxony was summoned by the emperor to be present at Cologne, on the twenty-ninth of December, at the election of Ferdinand to be king of the Romans: But the elector appointed the other protestant princes to meet him at Smalkald, on the twenty-second of the same month, where they entered into a confederacy to defend themselves against the emperor and the Romanists, who were determined to put the decree, made at the diet of Augsburg, rigorously into execution.

The court of Rome was greatly disturbed at what had been transacted at the diet of Augsburg; and the pope employed his nuncios to dissuade the emperor from holding a council: But the emperor urged the necessity of it;

it; and the pope, on the first of December, 1530, wrote a circular letter to all the Christian princes, informing them, that a council should be held, and desiring them to countenance so holy a cause by their personal attendance. The protestant princes also wrote circular letters to the European sovereigns, and particularly to the kings of England and France, requesting their interest and protection in obtaining a Reformation, which had been attempted by John Colet in England, by John Gerson and Nicholas Clemangis in France, and by Luther in Germany. The kings of England and France, declared for a general council, peace, and Reformation; which encouraged the confederate princes to meet again at Smalkald on the twenty-ninth of March, 1531. when they renewed their league; and Luther composed a treatise against the diet of Augsburg, to prove that it was lawful to resist the magistrates, if they commanded any persons to assault those who would not submit to the decree.

The protestant princes held another assembly at Francfort on the fourth of July, and the emperor, on the thirteenth of July, 1532, by the treaty of Nuremberg, agreed that all the disputes concerning religion should cease until a free general council was held, which was to be within a year. The protestants insisted, that no innovation in doctrine should be made from their *confession*, nor any ceremonies introduced contrary thereto; which was granted by the emperor, and the protestant princes agreed to assist him in the war against the Turks.

The elector of Saxony died in August, and was succeeded by his son John Frederic in his dominions, and zeal for the protestant cause. The pope sent his nuncio, in January, 1531, to the new elector, to settle with him the conditions of holding a council. And the protestant princes met upon this occasion at Smalkald, on the twenty-fourth of June, when they desired that the council might be free, and be held in Germany, where these differences in religion first began: But the pope refused to comply with their request.

Luther dissuaded the elector of Saxony from making an alliance with the Switzers, and persisted to unite more zealously than ever against the sacramentarians: But Bucer undertook to reconcile the Lutherans and Zuinglians. Luther met Bucer and Capito at Wittenberg, on the twenty-second of May, 1536, when they entered into a long debate upon their faith and doctrine concerning the sacrament; and they delivered to Luther the confes-

sion of faith of the churches of Switzerland; but they could not agree in their articles of *the form of union* about the sacrament. Luther explained himself concerning the Lord's Supper, by saying, he had never taught that Jesus Christ came down from heaven to the earth, either visible or invisible; and that he left it to the almighty power of God to effect how the body and blood of Christ are offered in the Lord's Supper, keeping himself entirely close to the words of the scripture, *This is my body, this is my blood.* He observed, that as they could not understand each other, it was convenient they should be friends, and entertain a good opinion reciprocally of themselves, till the spirit of contention should cease among them; and so he committed to the care of Bucer and Capito to finish what they had begun.

About the beginning of the year 1527, Luther was attacked by a very severe illness, which brought him near to his grave. He applied himself to prayer, made a confession of his faith, and lamented grievously his unworthiness of martyrdom, which he had so often and so ardently desired. In this situation he made a will, for he had a son, and his wife was again with child, in which he recommended his family to the care of heaven: "Lord God, says he, I thank thee, that thou wouldst "have me poor on earth and a beggar. I have neither "house, nor land, nor possessions, nor money, to leave. "Thou hast given me a wife and children: Take them, "I beseech thee, under thy care, and preserve them, as "thou hast preserved me." He bequeathed his detestation of popery to his friends and brethren; agreeably to what he often used to say, "*Pestis eram vivus, moriens "ero mors tua, papa;*" i. e. Living, I was the plague of the pope; and dying, I shall be his death.

Luther, from about this period, having laid the great foundation of the Reformation, was chiefly employed in raising and completing the superstructure. The remainder of his life was spent, in exhorting princes, states, and universities, to confirm the great work, which had been brought about through him; and in publishing from time to time such writings as might encourage, direct, and assist them in doing it. The emperor threatened temporal punishment with armies; and the pope eternal pains with bulls and curses; but Luther, armed with the intrepidity of grace, over and above his own courageous nature, regarded neither the one nor the other. His friend and assistant Melancthon could not be so indifferent; for

for Melancthon had a great deal of softness, moderation and diffidence in his constitution, which made him very uneasy and alarmed at these formidable appearances. Hence we find many of Luther's letters were written on purpose to comfort him under these anxieties: "I am (says "he, in one of these letters) much weaker than you in "private conflicts, if I may call those conflicts private, "which I have with the devil; but you are much weaker "than me in public. You are all distrust in the public "cause; I, on the contrary, am very confident; because "I know it is a just and true cause, the cause of God "and of Christ, which need not tremble or be abashed. "But the case is different with me in my private con-"flicts, feeling myself a most miserable sinner, and there-"fore have great reason to look pale and tremble. Upon "this account it is, that I can be almost an indifferent "spectator amidst all the noisy threats and bullyings of "the papists; for if we fall, the kingdom of Christ falls "with us: And if it should fall, I had rather fall with "Christ than stand with Cæsar." So again a little far-ther: "You, Melancthon, cannot bear these disorders, "and labour to have things transacted by reason, and "agreeably to that spirit of calmness and moderation, "which your philosophy dictates. You might as well "attempt *cum ratione insanire*, to be mad with reason. "Don't you see, that the matter is entirely out of your "power and management, and that even Christ himself "forbids your measures to take place? If the cause be "bad, indeed; let us renounce it: But if it be good, "why do we make God a liar, who hath promised to "support us? Does he make his promises to the wind, "or to his people?"

About the year 1533, he had a terrible controversy with George duke of Saxony, who had such an aversion to Luther's doctrine, that he obliged his subjects to take an oath, that they would never embrace it. However, sixty or seventy citizens of Leipsic were found to have deviated a little from the catholic way, in some point or other; and they were known previously to have consulted Luther upon it: Upon which duke George complained to the elector John, that Luther had not only abused his person, but also preached up rebellion among his subjects. The elector ordered Luther to be acquainted with this, and to be told at the same time, that if he did not clear himself from the charge, he could not possibly escape punishment. But Luther easily refuted the accusation, by proving, that

he had been so far from stirring up his subjects against him, on the score of religion, that, on the contrary, he had exhorted them rather to undergo the greatest hardships, and even suffer themselves to be banished. Indeed, it appears from all his conduct and writings, that no man more abhorred that impious principle of subverting kingdoms and states, under a pretence of advancing the cause of God or his gospel. The Almighty is surely able to effect his own will in this case: And it is the duty of Christians to suffer and obey it.

In this year, 1533, Luther wrote a consolatory letter to the citizens of Oschatz, who had been banished for the gospel; in which letter he uses these words; the devil "is the host in the world; and the world is his inn. "Go where you will in the world, you will be sure to "find this ugly host walking up and down in it."

In the year 1534, he printed, and in the next year published, his translation of the bible into German; in which latter year, he began publicly to preach upon the book of Genesis, which task he ended with his life, as he is said to have foretold.

In the year 1538, arose the vile sect of the Antinomians, who taught that it mattered not how wicked a man was, if he had but faith. The principal person amongst them was Joannes Islebius Agricola. Luther had the honour not only of confuting, but of converting this man, and of bringing him back to his senses and his duty.

In the year 1540. Luther printed and prefaced the confession of Robert Barnes, his intimate friend, and a learned divine, who was burnt this year at London for the gospel. They became acquainted through Barnes's coming to Wittenberg about the business of king Henry the Eighth's divorce.

Luther was continually baited at by a world of furies; and he was particularly set up by providence to effect a Reformation. He published seventy-five propositions against the divines of Louvain; and also a short confession of faith; after which he was sent for to his native country, to compose a difference between the counts of Mansfield. He preached his last sermon at Wittenberg on the seventeenth of January, 1546; and on the twenty-third, set out for Isleben, where he was honourably entertained by the count, who escorted him to his apartments with one hundred horse. Luther attended the business upon which he came from the twenty-ninth of January,

to

to the seventeenth of February, when he sickened a little before supper of his usual illness. This was an oppression of humours in the opening of the stomach, with which Melancthon, who was with him, had seen him frequently afflicted. His pain increased, and he went to bed, where he slept till midnight, when he awaked in such anguish, that he found his life was near at an end. He then prayed in these words: "I pray God to preserve the doctrine of his gospel among us; for the "pope and the council of Trent have grievous things in "hand." After which, he said; "O heavenly Father, "my gracious God, and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, "thou God of all consolation, I give thee hearty thanks "that thou hast revealed to me thy Son Jesus Christ, "whom I believe, whom I profess, whom I love, whom "I glorify, and whom the pope and the multitude of "the wicked do persecute and dishonour.—I beseech thee, "Lord Jesus Christ, receive my soul. O my heavenly "Father, though I be taken out of this life, and must "lay down this frail body; yet I certainly know, that "I shall live with thee eternally, and that I cannot be "taken out of thy hands. *God so loved the world, &c.* "Lord, I render up my spirit into thy hands, and come "to thee. Lord, into thy hands I commend my spirit: "Thou, O God of truth, hast redeemed me!" Albert count of Mansfield, Melancthon, Justus Jonas, and several other friends, attended him in his last moments, joining him in prayer, that God would preserve the doctrine of his gospel among them. Melancthon says of Luther, that having frequently repeated his prayers, he was called to God, 'unto whom he so faithfully commended his spirit, 'to enjoy, no doubt, the blessed society of the patriarchs, 'prophets, and apostles, in the kingdom of God the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost.'

Luther died on the eighteenth of February, 1546, in the sixty-fourth year of his age. A thousand fables have been invented concerning his death; nor would his enemies forbear publishing lies on this subject long after he had left this world. Some have said, that he died suddenly; others that he killed himself; and some have impudently proceeded so far as to give out that he was taken away by the devil. Nor are they people of mean figure or credit, who vent these calumnies, but the most famous writers, as Cochlæus, Bessæus, Bozius, Fabianus, Justinian, and Bellarmine. This, says Bayle, reflects on the whole body of popery; for such fables ought not to pass

pass the press. Father Maimbourg has rejected all these foolish stories; but he has been mistaken in a notable fact. Speaking of Luther, he says, the elector of Saxony caused his body to be conveyed with a most magnificent pomp to Wittenberg, where he erected to him a monument of white marble, surrounded with the statues of the twelve apostles, as if he had been the thirteenth, with respect to Germany. He was honourably interred at Wittenberg: But Seckendorf has shewn that no such statues were placed round his tomb.

The virulent partizans of the church of Rome tell us, that Luther was not only no divine, but even an outrageous enemy and calumniator of all kinds of science; and that he committed gross, stupid, and abominable errors against the principles of divinity and philosophy. They accuse him of having confessed, that after struggling for ten years together with his conscience, he at last became a perfect master of it, and fell into Atheism: And add, that he frequently said, he would renounce his portion in heaven, provided God would allow him a pleasant life for a hundred years upon earth. And lest we should wonder, that so monstrous and such unheard of impiety should be found in a mere human creature, they make no scruple to say, that an Incubus begat him. These, and many more such scandalous imputations, Mr Bayle has been at the pains to collect, under the article LUTHER, in his dictionary; and has treated them with all the contempt and just indignation they deserve. But let us leave these impotent railers, and attend a little to more equitable judges. Luther, says Mr Warton, in his appendix to Dr Cave's *Historia Literaria*, was 'a man 'of prodigious sagacity and acuteness, very warm, and 'formed for great undertakings; being a man, if ever 'there was one, whom nothing could daunt or intimi-'date. When the cause of religion was concerned, he 'never regarded whose love he was likely to gain, or 'whose displeasure to incur. He treated the pope's 'bulls, and the emperor's edicts, just alike; that is, he 'heartily despised both. In the mean time, it must be 'owned, that Luther often gave a greater loose to his 'passions than he ought, and did not in his writings pay 'that deference to crowned heads which it is always 'necessary to pay: But every man has his foible, and 'this was Luther's. However, he was very diligent in 'his application to letters, and very learned, considering 'the times he lived in. His chief pursuit was in the

'study

'study of the scriptures, upon a great part of which he 'wrote commentaries. He reformed the Christian religion from many errors and superstitions, with which 'it had been long corrupted; and reduced it, as well as 'he could, to its primitive purity. If in some places 'he appears not quite so orthodox, we must impute it 'to the times, and not to him; for it is no wonder, that 'one who attempts to cleanse such a stable of Augeus as 'the church of Rome, should not escape free from spots 'and blemishes. He kept primitive antiquity constantly 'before his eyes, as his guide and rule; and, as Erasmus 'has observed, many things are condemned as heretical 'in the writings of Luther, which are thought very orthodox and pious in the books of Augustine and Bernard. Erasmus also says, that Luther wrote many 'things rather imprudently than impiously. His stile 'was rough and harsh, for in those days every body could 'not write like Erasmus, Politian, Bembus, &c. who were 'always reading Tully, Livy, and Terence. Yet how 'uncouth and inelegant soever his style may be, it every 'where breathes a genuine zeal and piety, which is more 'solicitous about things than words.'

Luther left a widow, three sons, and two daughters. His family was not extinct, when Seckendorf published his history, towards the latter end of the last century. Whilst the troops of Charles V. were at Wittenberg, in the year 1547, the Spaniards solicited the emperor to pull down Luther's monument, and wanted to dig up his bones: But the emperor had more generosity and prudence, than to consent to a procedure so base and infamous.

Luther had a very sharp and satirical stile: But his commentary on the epistle to the Galatians; was his favourite work, which he used to call his wife, his *Catharine de Bore*. It was a very great imprudence to publish such a collection as the *Sermones Mensales*, or *Colloquia Mensalia*; for Luther's table-talk is the subject of the book. It was published, in 1571, by Henry Peter Rebenstock, minister of Eischerheim: But Luther was not the author of that book, the publication of which was the effect of an inconsiderate zeal.

His favourite doctrine, was justification by faith alone, and not by works, moral, legal, or evangelical: But we must do him the justice to observe, that he perpetually inculcated the absolute necessity of good works. Accord-

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ing to him, a man is justified only by faith; but he cannot be justified without works; and where those works are not to be found, there is assuredly no true faith. He was once somewhat inclined to the opinion, that souls after death sleep till the resurrection: But he afterwards said, that the souls of the faithful are in a state of felicity, and this seems to have been his last and settled opinion. He thought that the Jewish nation would never be converted; and that St Paul's expressions concerning this subject were misunderstood.

Luther was a magnanimous person even by the concession of his enemies; and undertook such things as the world may reasonably admire, having opposed himself alone to the whole earth. His followers called themselves *Lutherans* much against his mind: But they recede from him in many things, as may be seen by their writings.

Melancthon says, 'Pomeranus is a grammarian; I am a 'logician; and Justus Jonas is an orator: But Luther is 'good at every thing; the wonder of mankind; for what-'ever he says, or writes, it penetrates the heart, and makes 'a lasting impression.'

It has also been said of Luther, that it was a great miracle a poor friar should be able to stand against the pope: It was a greater that he should prevail: And the greatest of all, that he should die in peace, as well as Erasmus, when surrounded by so many enemies.

The doctrine of this eminent divine, and great Reformer, was soon extended through all Germany, Denmark, Sweden, England, and other countries, under different modifications.

Luther's works were collected after his death, and printed at Wittenberg in seven volumes folio. Catharine de Bore survived her husband a few years, and continued the first year of her widowhood at Wittenberg, though Luther had advised her to seek another place of residence. She went from thence in the year 1547, when the town was surrendered to the emperor Charles V. Before her departure, she had received a present of fifty crowns from Christian III. king of Denmark; and the elector of Saxony, and the counts of Mansfelt, gave her good tokens of their liberality. With these additions to what Luther had left her, she had scarce wherewithal to maintain herself and her family. She returned to Wittenberg, when the town was restored to the elector, where she lived

lived in a very devout and pious manner, till the plague obliged her to leave it again in the year 1542. She sold what she had at Wittenberg, and retired to Torgau, with a resolution to end her life there. An awful providence befel her in her journey thither, which proved fatal to her. The horses growing unruly, and attempting to run away, she leaped out of the vehicle she was conveyed in; and, by leaping, got a fall, of which she died about a quarter of a year after, at Torgau, upon the twentieth of December, 1552. She was buried there in the great church, where her tomb and epitaph are still to be seen; and the university of Wittenberg, which was then at Torgau, because the plague raged at Wittenberg, made a public programma concerning the funeral pomp.

Upon Luther's tomb, the university of Wittenberg directed the following inscription:

MARTINI LUTHERI S. THEOLOGIÆ
D. CORPUS H. L. S. E. QUI ANNO
CHRISTI MDXLVI. XII. CAL.
MARTII EISLEBII IN PA-
TRIA S. M. O. C. V. AN.
LXIII. M. III. D. X.

TRANSLATION.

'In this place lies buried the body of MARTIN LUTHER, doctor of divinity, who died at Isleben, his 'birth-place, on the twelfth of the calends of March, 'in the year 1546; when he had lived sixty-three years, 'three months, and ten days.'

Beza's Epigram upon Luther has been much admired; and therefore we will present it to our readers.

Roma orbem domuit; Romam sibi papa subegit:
Viribus illa suis, fraudibus iste suis.
Quanto isto major Lutherus, major et illâ:
Istum illamque uno qui domuit calamo!
I nunc! Alciden memorato, Græcia mendax;
Lutheri ad calamum ferrea clava nihil.

The learned reader will excuse the following unequal translation.

Rome

Rome tam'd the world; yet Rome the pope hath aw'd:
She rose by force, but he by holy fraud.
Greater than both, how much was Luther, when
He vanquish'd both, with nothing but a pen!
Go, fabling Greece, and bid Alcides know,
His club, as Luther's pen, gave no such blow.

Our serious readers will, perhaps, be pleased with the insertion of some remarkable sayings and observations of this great man, which we will extract from that able and faithful biographer, Melchior Adam. Erasmus confessed 'that there was more solid divinity contained in one leaf 'of Luther's commentaries, than could be found in many 'prolix treatises of schoolmen, and such kind of authors.'

Speaking of the pope's using the mass for departed souls, Luther observed, that "he, with his mass, was not "satisfied to thrust himself into all corners of the earth, "but he must needs go tumbling down into the very "bosom of hell.'

He used to call the indulgence-merchants, *purse-threshers*.

There were many plots laid against his life, which the bloody papists sought after by all means. Poison, daggers, pistols, were intended; when fire and faggot could not be used, through the elector's protection. A Polish Jew was hired for 2000 crowns to poison him. "The "plot (says Luther) was discovered to me by the letters "of my friends. He is a doctor of physic, and dares to "attempt any thing: He would go about this business "with incredible craft and agility. He is just now ap-"prehended."——However, God preserved him from the malice of his enemies. It shews, however, what papists can attempt (says Melchior Adam); and if we wanted further proof of it, the words of Aleander, the pope's legate, are quite sufficient. 'Though you Ger-'mans (said he), who pay the least of all people to the 'Roman see, have shaken off the pope's yoke; yet we 'will take care, that ye shall be devoured with civil 'wars, and perish in your own blood.'—A pious resolution indeed!

When Luther's bold manner of expressing himself was censured, he replied; "Almost all men condemn my tart-"ness of expression; but I am of your opinion, (says he "to his friend) that God will have the deceits of men "thus powerfully exposed. For I plainly perceive, that "those things, which are softly dealt with in our cor-

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" rupt age, gives people but light concern, and are pre-
" sently forgotten.—If I have exceeded the bounds of
" moderation, the monstrous turpitude of the times has
" transported me. Nor do I transcend the example of
" Christ, who, having to do with men of like manners,
" called them sharply by their own proper names, such
" as, *an adulterous and perverse generation, a brood of vipers,*
" *hypocrites, children of the devil* who could *not escape the*
" *damnation of hell.*"—— Erasmus, with all his refinement, could own, ' That God had sent in Luther a sharp phy-
' sician, in consideration of the immensity of the diseases
' which had infected this last age of the world.'

Luther caused the psalms used in worship to be translated into German. " We intend (says he to Spalatinus)
" after the example of the prophets and primitive fathers
" of the church, to turn the psalms, for spiritual sing-
" ing, into the vulgar tongue for the common people;
" so that the word of God may remain among the people
" even in their singing. Upon this account, we seek
" for some poets: And as you possess the copiousness
" and elegance of the German, which you have greatly
" cultivated; I would request your assistance in this
" business, in translating some of the psalms into Ger-
" man verse, according to the inclosed example. My
" wish is, to avoid all difficult and courtly terms, and to
" use the simplest and most common phrases, so that
" they are fit and proper, for the edification of the
" lowest among the people. Let the sense be clear,
" and as close as possible to the original. To preserve
" the sense, when you cannot render word for word, it
" may be right to use such a phrase as will most per-
" fectly convey the idea. I confess, I am not suffi-
" ciently qualified myself; and therefore would request
" you to try how near you can approach to *Heman*, *Asaph*,
" and *Jeduthun*."

He used to say of himself and the other ministers; " We are only planters and waterers, in administring
" the word and sacraments; but the increase is not in
" our power."

Concerning our righteousness, he observed; " Thou,
" Lord Jesus, art my righteousness; but I am altogether
" sin: Thou hast taken what was mine, and hast given
" me what was thine; thou hast taken what thou wast
" not, and hast given me what I was not before."

Respecting

Respecting ceremonies, he said; "I condemn no cere-
"monies, but such as oppose or obscure the gospel."

With regard to human learning, he thus expressed himself; "I am persuaded, that true divinity could not well "be supported without the knowledge of letters: Of "this we have sad proof, for while learning was decayed "and in ruins, theology fell too, and lay most wretchedly "obscured. I am sure, that the revelation and mani-"festation of the word of God would never have been "so extensive and glorious as it is, if preparatorily, like "so many John Baptists, smoothing the way, the know-"ledge of languages and good learning had not risen up "among us.——They are most exceedingly mistaken, "who imagine, that the knowledge of nature and true "philosophy is of no use to a divine."

He advised, in the case of temptations, in this manner; "I would comfort those that are tried in their faith "and hope toward God, in this way; first, let them "avoid solitariness, keep always in good company, sing "the psalms, and converse upon the holy scriptures. "Secondly, Though it be the most difficult point to "work upon the mind, yet it is the most present remedy. "if they can, through grace, persuade themselves, that "these grievous thoughts are not their own, but Satan's; "and that, therefore, they should earnestly endeavour to "turn the heart to other objects, and quit those evil "suggestions: For to dwell upon them, or fight with "them, or to aim to overcome them, or to wait for an "end of them, is only to irritate and strengthen them, "even to perdition, without relief."

It is well known, that Luther earnestly defended Christ's corporal presence in the sacrament; but it is said, that he was of a contrary sentiment a little before his death, and owned it. For as he was preparing to make his last journey to Isleben, he confessed to Melancthon, on the twenty-third of January, 1546, "that he had gone too "far in the sacramentarian controversy." Melancthon persuaded him to explain himself by some public writing; but to this he objected, "that by so doing he should "make all his doctrine doubtful; but that he [Melan-"thon] might do as he thought fit, after his decease." This speech was made before several witnesses.

Luther frequently said, "That a preacher should take "care not to bring three little sly dogs into his pro-"fession; viz. PRIDE, COVETOUSNESS, and ENVY." To which he added to preachers, "When you observe "the

" the people hear most attentively; be assured, they will " return the more readily. Three things make a divine, " *meditation*, *prayer*, and *temptation*. And three things " are to be remembered by a minister; *turn over and over* " *the bible; pray devoutly; and be never above learning*.— " They are the best preachers for the common people, " who speak in the meanest, lowest, humblest, and most " simple style."

In private life, Luther was an example of the strictest virtue. At dinner, or supper, he would often dictate matter of preaching to others, or correct the press; and sometimes amuse himself with music, in which he took great delight. Though a large man, he was a very moderate eater and drinker, and not at all delicate in his appetite, for he usually fed upon the simplest diet. He much delighted in his garden, and was very fond of cultivating it with all kinds of plants. In short, he was never idle.

Though he had not much himself, he very freely bestowed of what he had upon others. A poor student, asking money of him, he desired his wife to give some, who excusing herself on account of their poverty; he took up a silver cup and gave it to the scholar, bidding him to sell it to the goldsmith, and keep the money for his occasions. When a friend sent him two hundred pieces of gold, he bestowed them all on poor scholars. And when the elector gave him a new gown, he wrote in answer, " That too much was done; for if we receive " all in this life, we shall have nothing to hope for in " the next." He took nothing of printers, for his works, to his own use, saying, " 'Tis true, I have no money, " but am indeed poor; yet I deal in this moderate man- " ner with printers, and take nothing from them for my " variety of labours, except sometimes a copy or two. " This, I believe, may be due to me, when other au- " thors, even translators, for every sheet have their stipu- " lated price." When he had some money sent him, he wrote thus to a friend; " I have received by Taubenheim " an hundred pieces of gold; and at the same time Schart " has sent me fifty; so that I begin to fear, lest God should " give me my portion here. But I solemnly protest, " that I would not be so satisfied from HIM: I will " either presently return, or get rid of them. For what " is so much money to me? I have given half of it to " Prior, and made him very happy."

He had great tenderness for his family. When he saw Magdalen his eldest daughter at the point of death, he read to her this passage from the xxvith of Isaiah; *Thy dead men shall live, together with my dead body shall they arise: Awake and sing, ye that dwell in the dust; for thy dew is as the dew of herbs, and the earth shall cast out the dead. Come, my people, enter thou into thy chambers and shut thy doors about thee: Hide thyself as it were for a little moment, until the indignation be overpast.* "My daughter, "do thou enter (says he) into thy chamber with peace: "I shall soon be with thee; for God will not permit me "to see the judgments that hang over Germany." And upon this he poured forth a flood of tears. Yet afterwards, when he attended the funeral, he contained himself, so as not to appear to weep.

What he said of the covetousness of the Germans and of the prevailing scarcity in his time, may be applied to some other professing people besides them. "We are "in dread of famine; and famine we shall feel, without "remedy. And as we, without necessity, and like impious and faithless heathens, have been distracted with "carefulness, solicitous lest we should be destroyed by "famine; and utterly neglecting the word and work of "God: so he will permit the evil day shortly to come, "which will bring with it a most heavy load of sorrows, "beyond our power either to sustain or remove."

Being once asked, *Whether we should know each other in heaven?* he answered; "How was it with Adam? He "had never seen Eve; for when God formed her, he "was in a deep sleep; yet when he awaked and saw her, "he did not ask, Who she was? or from whence she "came? but immediately said, that she was flesh of his "flesh, and bone of his bone. How, then, did he know "this? Being filled with the Holy Spirit, and endued "with the true knowledge of God, he was able to determine upon the nature of things.—In like manner, "we shall be perfectly renewed hereafter through Christ; "and shall know with far greater perfection than can "be conceived of here, our dearest relations, and indeed "whatever exists: and in a mode too much superior to "that of Adam in paradise."

He was of a proper stature and of a robust body, with such a piercing vivacity in his eyes, that but few could look upon him directly, when he intentively looked upon them. He had but a soft voice, and that not very clear; so that when mention was made, one day at table, of Paul's

Paul's voice, that it was rather weak; he observed of his own, that it could not deliver his words but with a low pronunciation. 'Yes, (said Melancthon) but that feeble 'voice of thine is powerfully perceived both far and 'near.'

Sturmius says, that he saw a letter written by Luther to Wolfgang Capito, in which he affirmed, that scarce any of his writings pleased himself, except his catechism, and his book *de servo arbitrio*, "or free-will a slave." Of this last work the late Mr Toplady had begun a translation, and indeed carried it on a considerable way; but being prevented from finishing it by his death (it having been long delayed through other avocations,) we are deprived of this valuable companion to Zanchius in an English dress.

We will conclude this account of Luther with the high encomium, paid to his memory by Wolfgang Severus, preceptor to the emperor Ferdinand:

Japeti de gente prior majorque Luthero
Nemo fuit: Sed nec credo futurus erit.

GEORGE WISHART.

GEORGE WISHART, or *Georgius Sophocardus*, as Buchanan translated it, was born in Scotland, and brought up at a grammar-school: From whence he went to the university. After which he travelled into several countries, and at last came to Cambridge, where he was admitted into Bennet-College.

He was a most famous and successful preacher of the gospel, and in many places of Scotland, through which he preached, he was blessed with many seals of his ministry: And though he was much persecuted by the cruel cardinal Beton, he still continued to preach in public, and perseveringly to go about doing good.

He

He was (says the excellent Mr Robert Fleming) one of the most extraordinary ambassadors of Jesus Christ, that can be instanced. He was also the great friend, and (it is believed) spiritual father of the famous John Knox, to whom we are chiefly indebted for the memorials of Wishart's life, that have been transmitted down to us.

Wishart spent a considerable time abroad for his improvement in literature, and distinguished himself for his great learning and abilities both in philosophy and divinity. His desire to promote true knowledge and science among men, as is usually the case, accompanied the possession of it in himself. He was very ready to communicate what he knew to others, and frequently read various authors both in his own chamber and in the public schools.

He appears to have left Cambridge in the year 1544, and to have returned into his own country with the ambassadors of Scotland, who came into England to treat with Henry the eighth, about the marriage of his son prince Edward with their young queen Mary, who was afterwards the mother of James the first, and put to death by queen Elizabeth. Wishart first preached at Montrose, and then at Dundee, to the admiration of all that heard him. In this last place, he made a public exposition of the epistle to the Romans, which he went through with such grace and freedom in speaking the truth, that the papists began to be excessively alarmed. At length, upon the instigation of cardinal Beton, one Robert Miln, a principal man at Dundee, and formerly a professor of religion, prohibited his preaching; forbidding him to trouble their town any more, for he would not suffer it. This was spoken to him in the public place: Whereupon he mused a space, with his eyes lifted up to heaven; and afterwards, looking sorrowfully on the speaker and people, he said, "God is my witness, that I never minded "your trouble, but your comfort; yea, your trouble is "more dolorous to me than it is to yourselves: But I "am assured, to refuse God's word, and to chuse from "you his messenger, shall not preserve you from trouble, "but shall bring you into it: For God shall send you "ministers that shall neither fear burning nor banish-"ment. I have offered you the word of salvation. "With the hazard of my life I have remained among "you: Now ye yourselves refuse me; and I must leave "my innocence to be declared by my God. If it be "long prosperous with you, I am not led by the Spirit

"of

" of truth: But if unlooked-for trouble come upon you, " acknowledge the cause, and turn to God, who is gra- " cious and merciful. But if you turn not at the first " warning, he will visit you with fire and sword." And then he came down from the pulpit.

After this he went into the west of Scotland, where he preached God's word, which was gladly received by many; till the archbishop of Glasgow, at the instigation of the aforesaid cardinal, came with his train to the town of Air to resist Wishart, and would needs have the church himself to preach in. Some opposed it; but Wishart said, " Let him alone; his sermon will not do much hurt. " Let us go to the market-cross" And so they did, where he made so notable a sermon, that his very enemies themselves were confounded.

Wishart remained with the gentlemen of Kyle, preaching sometimes in one place, sometimes in another; but coming to Mackleue, he was by force kept out of the church. Some would have broken in; upon which he said to one of them, " Brother, Jesus Christ is as mighty " in the fields as in the church; and himself often " preached in the desert, at the sea-side, and other places. " The like word of peace God sends by me: The blood " of none shall be shed this day for preaching it."

Then going into the fields, he stood upon a bank, where he stayed in preaching to the people above three hours; and God wrought so wonderfully by that sermon, that one of the most wicked men in all the country, the laird of Sheld, was converted by it: his eyes flowing with such abundance of tears that all men wondered at it.

Soon after, news was brought to Wishart, that the plague was broke out in Dundee; which began within four days after he was prohibited to preach there, and raged so extremely, that it is almost beyond credit how many died in the space of twenty four hours. This being related to him, he would needs, notwithstanding the importunity of his friends to detain him, go thither; saying, " They are now in troubles and need comfort. Perhaps " this hand of God will make them now to magnify and " reverence the word of God, which before they lightly " esteemed."

There he was with joy received by the godly. He chose the Eastgate for the place of his preaching; so that the healthy were within, and the sick without the gate. His text was, *He sent his word and healed them*, &c. Psalm cvii.

cvii. 30. In this sermon he chiefly dwelt upon the advantage and comfort of God's word, the judgments that ensue upon the contempt or rejection of it, the freedom of God's grace to all his people, and the happiness of those of his elect, whom he takes to himself out of this miserable world. The hearts of his hearers were so raised by the divine force of this discourse, as not to regard death, but to judge them the more happy who should then be called, not knowing whether they might have such a comforter again with them. After this, the plague almost quite ceased; though, in the midst of it, Wishart constantly visited those that lay in the greatest extremity, and comforted them by his exhortations.

When he took his leave of the people of Dundee, he said, "that God had almost put an end to that plague, "and that he was now called to another place." He went from thence to Montrose, where he sometimes preached, but spent most of his time in private meditation and prayer, in which he was so earnest, that night and day he frequently continued in it.

It is said, that before Wishart left Dundee, and while he was engaged in the labours of love to the bodies, as well as to the souls of those poor afflicted people, the cardinal corrupted a desperate popish priest, called John Weighton, to slay him. And on a day, the sermon being ended, and the people departed, the priest stood waiting at the bottom of the stairs, with a naked dagger in his hand under his gown. But Mr Wishart having a sharp piercing eye, and seeing the priest as he came down, said to him, "My friend what would you have?" And immediately clapping his hand upon the dagger, took it from him. The priest being terrified, fell down upon his knees, and confessed his intention, and craved pardon. A noise being hereupon raised, and it coming to the ears of those who were sick, they cried, 'Deliver the traitor 'to us, or we will take him by force;' and they burst in at the gate. But Wishart taking the priest in his arms, said, "Whatsoever hurts him shall hurt me; for he hath "done me no mischief but much good, by teaching me "more heedfulness for the time to come." And so he appeased them, and saved the priest's life.

Soon after his return to Montrose, the cardinal again conspired his death, causing a letter to be sent to him as if it had been from his familiar friend, the laird of Kinnier, in which he was desired with all possible speed to come to him, because he was taken with a sudden sickness,

m s. In the mean time, the cardinal had provided sixty
en armed, to lie in wait within a mile and a half
of Montrose, in order to murder him as he passed that way.

The letter coming to Wishart's hand by a boy, who also brought him a horse for the journey; Wishart, accompanied by some honest men his friends, set forward; but suddenly stopping by the way, and musing a space, he returned back, which they wondering at, asked him the cause, to whom he said, "I will no go. I am forbidden of God. I am assured there is treason. Let some of you go to yonder place, and tell me what you find." Which doing, they made the discovery; and hastily returning, they told Mr Wishart: Whereupon he said, "I know I shall end my life by that blood-thirsty man's hands, but it will not be in this manner."

The time approaching when he should meet the gentlemen at Edinburgh, he took his leave, and departed. By the way, he lodged with a faithful brother, called James Watson, of Inner-Goury. In the night-time he got up, and went into a yard; which two men hearing, they privately followed him. There he walked in an alley for some space, breathing forth many groans: Then he fell upon his knees, and his groans increased: Then he fell upon his face, when those that watched him heard him lamenting and praying: And thus he continued near an hour: Then getting up, he went to his bed again. Those who attended him, appearing as though they were ignorant of all, came and asked him where he had been? But he would not answer them. The next day they importuned him to tell them, saying, 'Be plain with us, 'for we heard your mourning, and saw your gestures.' Then he, with a dejected countenance, said, "I had "rather you had been in your beds." But they still pressing upon him to know something, he said, "I will "tell you: I am assured that my warfare is near at an "end, and therefore pray to God with me, that I shrink "not when the battle waxeth most hot."

When they heard this, they fell a-weeping, saying, 'This is small comfort to us.' Then said he, "God "shall send you comfort after me. This realm shall be "illuminated with the light of Christ's gospel, as clearly "as any realm since the days of the apostles. The house "of God shall be built in it; yea, it shall not lack, in "despite of all enemies, the top-stone; neither will it "be long before this be accomplished. Many shall not suffer

" suffer after me, before the glory of God shall appear " and triumph in despite of Satan. But alas! if the " people afterwards shall prove unthankful, then fearful " and terrible will the plagues be that shall follow."

He then went forward upon his journey, and came to Leith, but hearing nothing of the gentlemen, who were to meet with him, he kept himself retired for a day or two. He then grew pensive, and being asked the reason of it, he answered, " What do I differ from a dead " man? Hitherto God hath used my labours for the " instruction of others, and to the disclosing of dark- " ness: And now I lurk as a man ashamed to shew his " face." His friends perceived that his desire was to preach, whereupon they said to him, ' It is most com- ' fortable to us to hear you, but because we know the ' danger wherein ye stand, we dare not desire it.' But, said he, " If you dare hear, let God provide for me as " best pleaseth him;" and so it was concluded that the next day he should preach in Leith. His text was of the parable of the sower, Matt. xiii. The sermon ended, the gentlemen of Lothian, who were earnest professors of Jesus Christ, would not suffer him to stay at Leith, be- cause the governor and cardinal were shortly to come to Edinburgh; but took him along with them; and so he preached at Brunstone, Longniddry, and Ormistone; then was he requested to preach at Inveresk, near Musselburgh, where he had a great confluence of people, and amongst them Sir George Douglas, who after sermon said publicly, ' I know that the governor and cardinal will hear that ' I have been at this sermon: But let them know that ' I will avow it, and will maintain both the doctrine and ' the preacher, to the uttermost of my power.' This much rejoiced those that were present.

Among others that came to hear him preach, there were two gray-friars, who standing at the church door, whispered to such as came in: Which Wishart observing, said to the people, " I pray you make room for these " two men, it may be they come to learn;" and turning to them, he said, " Come near, for I assure you, you " shall hear the word of truth, which this day shall seal " up to you either your salvation or damnation;" and so he proceeded in his sermon, supposing that they would be quiet; but when he perceived that they still continued to disturb all the people that stood near them, he said to them the second time, with an angry countenance; " O " ministers of Satan, and deceivers of the souls of men;

" will

" will ye neither hear God's truth yourselves, nor suffer " others to hear it? Depart, and take this for your por- " tion; God shall shortly confound and disclose your " hypocrisy within this kingdom; ye shall be abomi- " nable to men, and your places and habitations shall be " desolate." This he spake with much vehemency, and turning to the people, he said, " These men have pro- " voked the Spirit of God to anger;" and then he pro- ceeded to the end of his sermon.

He preached afterwards at Branstone, Languedine, Ormistone, and Inveresk; where he was followed by a great confluence of people: And he preached also in divers other places, the people much flocking after him; and he, in all his sermons, foretold the shortness of the time that he had to travel, and the near approach of his death.

Being come to Haddington, his auditory began much to decrease, which was thought to happen through the influence of the earl of Bothwel, who was moved to oppose him at the instigation of the cardinal. Soon after, as he was going to church, he received a letter from the west-country gentlemen; and having read it, he called John Knox, who had diligently waited upon him since he came into Lothian; to whom he said, " That he was weary of " the world, because he saw that men began to be weary " of God: For, said he, the gentlemen of the West have " sent me word, that they cannot keep their meeting at " Edinburgh." John Knox, wondering that he should enter into conference about these things immediately before his sermon, contrary to his custom, said to him; ' Sir, sermon-time approaches; I will leave you for the ' present to your meditations.'

Wishart's sad countenance declared the grief of his mind. At last he went into the pulpit, and his auditory being very small, he began in this manner; " O Lord, " how long shall it be, that thy holy word shall be de- " spised, and men shall not regard their own salvation? " I have heard of thee, O Haddington, that in thee there " used to be two or three thousand persons at a vain and " wicked play; and now, to hear the messenger of the " eternal God, of all the parish can scarce be numbered " one hundred present. Sore and fearful shall be the " plagues that shall ensue upon this thy contempt. With " fire and sword shalt thou be plagued: Yea, thou Had- " dington in special, strangers shall possess thee; and you, " the present inhabitants, shall either in bondage serve " your enemies, or else you shall be chased from your

" own

" own habitations; and that because you have not known, " nor will know, the time of your visitation."

This prophecy was accomplished not long after, when the English took Haddington, made it a garrison, enforced many of the inhabitants to fly; oppressed others, and for a while, a great plague breaking forth in the town, whereof multitudes died, the English were at last forced to quit it, who at their departure, burnt and spoiled great part of it, leaving it to be possesssd by such as could first seize upon it, which were the French that came as auxiliaries to Scotland, with a few of the ancient inhabitants; so that Haddington, to this day, never recovered her former beauty, nor yet men of such wisdom and ability as did formerly inhabit it.

That night was Wishart apprehended in the house of Ormeston, by the earl of Bothwel, suborned thereto by the cardinal. The manner was this: After sermon he took his last farewell of all his friends in Haddington; John Knox would have fain gone with him; but he said, " Re- " turn to your children, and God bless you: One is " sufficient for one sacrifice." Then went he to the laird of Ormeston's, with some others that accompanied him. After supper, he had a comfortable discourse of God's love to his children; then he appointed the 51st Psalm to be sung, and so retired to his chamber.

Before midnight, the house was beset; and the earl of Bothwel called for the laird of the house, and told him that it was in vain to resist, for the governor and cardinal were within a mile, with a great power; but if he would deliver Wishart to him, he would promise upon his honour that he should be safe, and that the cardinal should not hurt him. Wishart said, " Open the gates, the will of " God be done;" and Bothwel coming in, Wishart said to him, " I praise my God, that so honourable a man as " you, my lord, receive me this night; for I am per- " suaded that for your honour's sake, you will suffer no- " thing to be done to me but by order of law: I less " fear to die openly, than secretly to be murdered." Then said Bothwel, ' I will not only preserve your body ' from all violence that shall be intended against you ' without order of law; but I also promise in the pre- ' sence of these gentlemen, that neither the governor nor ' cardinal shall have their will of you; but I will keep ' you in mine own house, till I either set you free, or ' restore you to the same place where I receive you.' Then said the lairds, ' My lord, if you make good your ' promise,

'promise, which we presume you will, we ourselves will 'not only serve you, but we will procure all the profes- 'sors in Lothian to do the same, &c.' These promises being made in the presence of God, and hands being stricken by both parties, the earl took Wishart, and so departed.

Wishart was carried to Edinburgh; but gold and women easily corrupt fleshly men; for the cardinal gave Bothwel gold; and the queen that was too familiar with him, promised him her favour, if he would deliver Wishart into Edinburgh castle, which he did; and shortly after he was delivered to the blood-thirsty cardinal: Who, because it was forbidden by their canon-law for a priest to sit as a judge upon life and death; sent to the governor, requesting him to appoint some lay-judge to pass sentence of death upon Wishart.

The governor would easily have yielded to his request, if David Hamilton, a godly man, had not told him, that he could expect no better an end than Saul, if he persecuted the truth which formerly he had professed, &c. Hereupon the governor sent the cardinal word, that he would have no hand in shedding the blood of that good man. The cardinal being angry, returned this answer, that he had sent to him of mere civility, and that he would proceed without him; and so to the great grief of the godly, the cardinal carried Wishart to Saint Andrew's, and put him into the tower there; and, without any long delay, he caused all the bishops, and other great clergymen to be called together to Saint Andrew's.

On February the twenty-eighth, 1546, Wishart was brought before them, to give an account of his seditious and heretical doctrine, as they called it. The cardinal caused all his retinue to come armed to the place of their sitting, which was the abbey-church, whither when Wishart was brought, there was a poor man lying at the door, that asked his alms, to whom he flung his purse. When he came before the cardinal, there was a dean appointed to preach; whose sermon being ended, Wishart was put up into the pulpit to hear his charge, and one Lawder, a priest, stood over against him, and read a scroll full of bitter accusations and curses, so that the ignorant people thought that the earth would have opened and swallowed up Wishart quick: But he stood with great patience, without moving or once changing his countenance. The priest, having ended his curses, spat at Wishart's face, saying, 'What answerest thou? thou runagate, traitor, 'thief,

'thief, &c.' Then Wishart fell upon his knees, making his prayer unto God, after which he said, "Many and "horrible sayings unto me a Christian man, many words "abominable to hear, have ye spoken here this day; "which not only to teach, but even to think, I ever "thought a great abomination, &c." Then did he give them an account of his doctrine, answering every article as far as they would give him leave to speak.

But they, without any regard to his sober and godly answers, presently condemned him to be burnt. After which sentence, he falling upon his knees, said;

"O immortal God, how long wilt thou suffer the "rage, and great cruelty of the ungodly to exercise their "fury upon thy servants, which do further thy word in "this world; whereas they on the contrary seek to de-"stroy the truth, whereby thou hast revealed thyself to "the world, &c. O Lord, we know certainly that thy "true servants must needs suffer, for thy name's sake, "persecutions, afflictions, and troubles in this present "world; yet we desire, that thou wouldest preserve and "defend thy church, which thou hast chosen before the "foundation of the world, and give thy people grace to "hear thy word, and to be thy true servants in this pre-"sent life."

Then were the common people put out, the bishops not desiring that they should hear the innocent man speak; and so they sent him again to the castle, till the fire should be made ready. In the castle came two friars to him, requiring him to make his confession to them; to whom he said, "I will make no confession to you, "but fetch me that man who preached even now, and I "will speak with him." Then was the sub-prior sent for, with whom he conferred a pretty while, till the sub-prior wept, who going to the cardinal, told him that he came not to intercede for Wishart's life, but to make known his innocency to all men; at which words the cardinal was very angry, saying; 'We knew long ago what 'you were.'

The captain of the castle with some friends, coming to Wishart, asked him if he would break his fast with them: "Yea, said he, very willingly, for I know you be "honest men." In the meantime he desired them to hear him a little; and so he discoursed to them about the Lord's Supper, his sufferings and death for us, exhorting them to love one another, laying aside all rancour and malice, as becomes the members of Jesus Christ, who continually

continually intercedes for us with his Father. Afterwards he gave thanks, and blessing the bread and wine, he took the bread and brake it, giving it to every one, saying, "eat this, remember that Christ died for us, and "feed on it spiritually;" so taking the cup, he bad them "remember that Christ's blood was shed for them," &c. Then he gave thanks and prayed for them, and so retired into his chamber.

Presently came two executioners to him from the cardinal; one put on him a black linen coat, the other brought him bags of powder, which they tied about several parts of his body; and so they brought him forth to the place of execution; over against which place, the castle windows were hung with rich hangings, and velvet cushions laid for the cardinal and prelates, who from thence were to feed their eyes with the torments of this innocent man. The cardinal, fearing lest Wishart should be rescued by his friends, caused all the ordinance in the castle to be bent against the place of his execution, and commanded his gunners to stand ready all the time of his burning. Then were his hands bound behind his back, and so he was carried forth. In the way some beggars met him, asking him his alms for God's sake: To whom he said, "My hands are bound wherewith I was wont "to give you alms: But the merciful Lord, who of his "bounty and abundant grace feeds all men, vouchsafe "to give you necessaries both for your bodies and "souls." Then two friars met him, persuading him to pray to our lady to mediate for him; to whom he meekly said, "Cease, tempt me not, I entreat you:" And so with a rope about his neck, and a chain about his middle, he was led to the fire; then falling upon his knees, he thrice repeated, "O thou Saviour of the world, have "mercy upon me; Father of heaven, I commend my "spirit into thy holy hands." Then turning to the people, he said; "Christian brethren and sisters, I be-"seech you, be not offended at the word of God for the "torments which you see prepared for me; but I exhort "you that ye love the word of God for your salvation, "and suffer patiently, and with a comfortable heart, for "the word's sake, which is your undoubted salvation "and everlasting comfort. I pray you also shew my "brethren and sisters, who have often heard me, that "they cease not to learn the word of God, which I "taught them according to the measure of grace given "me, for no persecution or trouble in this world what-

"soever;

" soever; and shew them, that the doctrine was no old " wives fables, but the truth of God; for if I had " taught men's doctrine, I should have had greater " thanks from men: But for the word of God's sake I " now suffer, not sorrowfully, but with a glad heart and " mind. For this cause I was sent, that I should suffer " this fire for Christ's sake; behold my face, you shall " not see me change my countenance: I fear not the " fire; and if persecution come to you for the word's " sake, I pray you *fear not them that can kill the body, and* " *have no power to hurt the soul*," &c. Then he prayed for them, who accused him; saying, " I beseech thee, " Father of heaven, forgive them that have, of ignorance " or of an evil mind, forged lies of me: I forgive them " with all my heart; I beseech Christ to forgive them, " that have condemned me this day ignorantly." Then turning to the people again, he said; " I beseech you, " brethren, exhort your prelates to learn the word of " God, that they may be ashamed to do evil, and learn " to do good, or else there shall shortly come upon them " the wrath of God which they shall not eschew." Then the executioner upon his kness, said, ' Sir, I pray ' you forgive me, for I am not the cause of your death;' Wishart, calling him to him, kissed his cheeks, saying, " Lo here is a token that I forgive thee: My heart, do " thine office." And so he was tied to the stake, and the fire kindled.

The captain of the castle coming near him, bade him be of good courage, and to beg for him the pardon of his sin; to whom Wishart said, " This fire torments my bo- " dy, but no whit abates my spirits:" Then, looking towards the cardinal, he said, " He, who, in such state " from that high place, feeds his eyes with my tor- " ments, within few days shall be hanged out at that " same window, to be seen with as much ignominy, as " he now leans there with pride:" And so his breath being stopped, he was consumed by the fire, near the castle of St Andrew's, in the year 1546.

This prophecy was fulfilled, when, after the cardinal was slain, the provost raising the town, came to the castle gates, crying, ' What have you done with my lord car- ' dinal? Where is my lord cardinal?' To whom they within answered, ' Return to your houses, for he hath ' received his reward, and will trouble the world no ' more:' But they still cried, ' We will never depart till ' we see him:' Then did the Lesleys hang him out at that

that window, to shew that he was dead; and so the people departed.

But we will relate more particularly, from the Scotch historian, the circumstances of the cardinal's death. God (says he) left not the death of this holy man long unrevenged: For the people generally exclaimed against the cruelty used upon him; especially John Lesley, brother to the earl of Rothes, and Norman Lesley his cousin, fell foul upon the cardinal for it: But he thought himself strong enough for all Scotland, saying, 'Tush, a fig for 'the fools, and a button for the bragging of heretics. 'Is not the lord governor mine, witness his eldest son 'for a pledge at my table? Have not I the queen at my 'devotion? Is not France my friend? Why should I 'fear any danger?' Yet he had laid a design to cut off such as he feared and hated, which was discovered after his death by letters and memorials found about him. He kept himself for his greater security in the castle; and on a Friday night there came to the town of St Andrew's, Norman Lesley, William Kircaldy, John Lesley, and some others; and on the Saturday morning they met together not far from the castle, waiting till the gate was opened, and the draw-bridge let down, for the receiving in some lime and sand, to repair some decays about the castle; which being done, Kircaldy, with six more, went to the porter, falling into discourse with him, till the Lesleys came also with some other company. The porter, seeing them, would have drawn up the bridge, but was prevented; and whilst he endeavoured to keep them out at the gate, his head was broken, and the keys taken from him. The cardinal was asleep in bed, for all night he had for his bed-fellow, Mrs Mary Ogleby, who was a little before gone from him out at the postern gate; and therefore the cardinal was gone to his rest.

There were about one hundred workmen in the castle, who, seeing what was done, cried out; but, without hurt, they were turned out at the wicket gate. Then William Kircaldy went to secure the postern, lest the cardinal should make an escape that way. The rest going to the gentlemen's chambers, who were above fifty, without hurting them, turned them all out at the gate. They who undertook this enterprize, were but eighteen men. The cardinal, being awakened with the noise, asked out at the window, 'what was the matter?' Answer was made, that Norman Lesley had taken his castle. Then did he attempt to have escaped by the postern; but finding

ing that to be kept, he returned to his chamber; and with the help of his chamberlain, fell to barricadoing the door with chests, and such things. Then came up John Lesley, and commanded him to open the door: The cardinal asked, 'who was there?' He answered, John Lesley. The cardinal said, 'I will have Norman, for he is my 'friend. 'Content yourself, said the other, with those 'that are here:' And so they fell to breaking open the door. In the mean time, the cardinal hid a box of gold under some coals in a secret corner. Then he said to them; 'Will ye save my life?' John Lesley answered, 'It may be, that we will.' 'Nay, said the cardinal, 'swear unto me by God's wounds, that you will; and 'then I will open the door.' Then said John, 'that 'which was said, is unsaid;' and so he called for fire to burn down the door; whereupon the door was opened, and the cardinal sat him down in his chair, crying; 'I 'am a priest, I am a priest, ye will not slay me!' Then John Lesley and another struck him once or twice: But Mr James Melvin, a man that had been very familiar with Wishart, and of a modest and gentle nature, perceiving them both to be in choler, plucked them back, saying; 'This work and judgment of God, although it 'be secret, ought to be done with great gravity.' And so presenting him the point of his sword, he said, 'Re-'pent thee of thy former wicked life, but especially of 'shedding the blood of that noble instrument of God, 'Mr George Wishart, who, though he was consumed by 'the fire before men, yet cries it for vengeance upon 'thee; and we from God are sent to revenge it; for 'here, before my God I protest, that neither the hatred 'of thy person, the love of thy riches, nor the fear of 'any hurt thou couldst have done me, moveth me to 'strike thee; but only because thou hast been, and still 'remainest, an obstinate enemy against Jesus Christ, and 'his holy gospel;' and so he thrust him through the body, who falling down, spake never a word, but 'I am 'a priest, I am a priest: Fie, fie, all is gone.'

The death of this tyrant was grievous to the queen mother, with whom he had too much familiarity, as with many other women; as also to the Romanists, though the Reformed were freed from their fears in a great measure thereby.

The conduct, however, of these Lesleys, is by no means to be justified; for killing men without law, is undoubtedly murder, and a defiance of all civil institutions.

And,

And, in a Christian view, it is still more unjustifiable; for we are taught to suffer, and not to revenge, but to commit ourselves to HIM, who judgeth righteously. It was also what Wishart himself would have condemned; as evidently appears by his meek and tender conduct to the priest, who would have stabbed him, as we have above related. *Vengeance is mine; I will repay, saith the Lord.* The judgment was certainly just upon the cardinal; but God, in the dispensations of his justice, usually lets wicked instruments loose, and even Satan himself, to accomplish his awful designs. Christians have a better business allotted them.

The Scotch historian's account of Wishart's person and manner of life is so extraordinary, that we flatter ourselves it will not be unacceptable to our readers.

'Wishart, says he, was tall of stature, and of a melancholy constitution: He had black hair, a long beard, 'was comely of personage, and well-spoken, courteous, 'lowly, lovely, willing to teach, desirous to learn. As 'for his habit, he wore a freeze gown, a black fustian 'doublet, plain hose, course canvass for his shirts, falling bands, &c. all which apparel he gave to the poor, 'some weekly, some monthly, some quarterly; saving a 'French cap that he wore, which he kept a twelvemonth. 'He was modest, temperate, fearing God, hating 'covetousness. His charity was extraordinary; he forbore his food one meal in three, and one day in four; 'that he might the better relieve the poor. His lodging 'was upon straw; and he had course new canvass sheets, 'which, when once foul, he gave away. He had by his 'bedside a tub of water, in which in the dark night he 'bathed himself. He taught with great modesty and 'gravity.'

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FREDERIC MYCONIUS.

FREDERIC MYCONIUS, was born at Lichtenfeldt, in Franconia, December the twenty-sixth, in the year 1491, of religious parents, and bred up at school there, till he was thirteen years of age, and then was sent to Annaberg, where he studied till he was twenty. About that age he entered into a monastry of Franciscans, without the knowledge of his parents. To this step he was led, by the superstition of the times, not for the love of ease (says Melchior Adam) and much less for the sake of his belly or pleasures; but with a view to serve God, and to obtain, by his own righteousness, the remission both of his own sins and of others. For the monks persuaded men, 'That their vow was equivalent 'to baptism; that it was the state of perfection; that 'the monastic rules and ordinances [*verbo* DEI *multis 'parasangis anteire*] were very far to be preferred to the 'word of God; that the habit of their order was much 'holier than all other garments; and that whosoever 'should be buried in the cowl of a monk, would infal-'libly obtain the remission of one-third part of all his 'sins;' with much other goodly doctrine of the same profitable kind.

The first night after his entry, Myconius had a remarkable dream, which proved prophetical, but is too long for insertion here. In this monastry he read the schoolmen and Augustine's works. He read also, at meal-times, the bible with Lyra's notes, which he continued for seven years together, and with such exactness, that he had it almost by heart: But at length despairing of making any considerable attainments in learning, he turned himself to the mechanical arts. About which time, the arrant vagabond Tetzelius brought his indulgences into Germany, boasting of the virtue of them, and exhorting all men,

as

as they loved their own salvation, and the salvation of their deceased friends, that they should buy them, &c. Myconius had been taught by his father, the Lord's prayer, the creed, the decalogue, and had been admonished to pray often; that the blood of Christ only could cleanse us from sin; that if only three persons were to be saved by this blood, he should endeavour to be one of them; and that pardon of sin and eternal life could not be bought with money, &c. From this circumstance, it has been supposed, that Myconius's father had secretly embraced the doctrine of the Waldenses. Myconius, however, was greatly troubled, not knowing whether to believe his father or the priests; but understanding, that there was a clause in the indulgences, that they should be *freely given to the poor*, he went to Tetzelius, and begged him to give him one, for that he was a poor sinner, and one that needed a free pardon of his sins, and a participation of the merits of Christ. Tetzelius wondered to hear him speak Latin so well, which was what few priests could do in those days, and he therefore consulted with his colleagues, what was best to be done; who advised him to give Myconius a pardon: But, after a long debate, Tetzelius concluded, 'That the pope wanted money, without which he could not part with an indulgence.' Myconius urged the above-mentioned clause in the bull; upon which Tetzelius's colleagues desired he might have one given him, pleading his learning, ingenuity, poverty, &c. and that it would be a dishonour both to God and the pope to deny him one: But still Tetzelius absolutely refused. Upon this one of them whispered to Myconius, to give a little money for one, which he refused to do: They fearing the event, and believing that he was suborned by others, offered him money to buy one with; but he would not accept of it, saying, "That, if he "chose to buy one, he could sell a book for that pur- "pose, but he desired one for God's sake, which if they "denied him, he wished them to consider how they could "answer it to God," &c. But prevailing nothing, he went away rejoicing, that there was yet a God in heaven, to pardon sinners freely, &c. according to that promise, *As I live, saith the Lord, I desire not the death a sinner, &c.*

A little time after this [viz. in the year 1516.] he took orders, and read privately Luther's books with John Voit, till he made profession of the truth, which gave great offence to the other friars, who severely threatened him

for it. About this period, while Luther was attacking the errors and blasphemies of the church of Rome at Wittenberg, and the light of the gospel began to shine, he received a call to be a preacher at Vinaria, which he accepted of, and where at first he mixed some popish errors with the truth; but being further enlightened by the SPIRIT's teaching in reading the scriptures and Luther's works, he at length began to preach boldly against popery, and to hold forth the truth clearly; which spread with such incredible swiftness, not only through Saxony, but through all Europe, 'as if,' says our biographer, 'the angels had been the carriers of it.' Afterwards, in the year 1524, he was called to Gotha, to teach and govern the Thuringian churches, where he lived with his colleagues twenty-two years in much peace and concord; of which he himself says, "*Cucurrimus, certavimus, laboravimus, pugnavimus, vicimus, & viximus semper conjunctissimè*, &c." i. e. "We ran, we strove, we fought, we conquered, and we lived together always in the greatest harmony and love." He was remarkable for the great pains he took to pacify and keep quiet the boors, or common people; and is said to have made such an oration to great numbers of them, that were pulling down some noblemen's houses, that they all went away in peace. The same year he married, and by the blessing of God, had a numerous posterity.

At this early period, the sound of the gospel was happily spread over most parts of Germany; and the following illustrious persons were scattered over it and the bordering countries; Luther, Zuinglius, Melancthon, Pomeran, Amsdorf, Urbanus, Regius, Snepfius, Brentius, Vitus Theodorus, John Alpin, Herman Bon, John Huss, Ambrose Moiban, Brisman, Speratus, Poliander, P. Rhodius, Hausmann, N. Medlerus, J. Cæsius, J. Langus; and many others.

He accompanied the elector of Saxony in many of his journies into the Low Countries, and other places, where he preached the gospel openly and faithfully, though often at the hazard of his life. About this time, our king Henry VIII. had fallen out with the pope, for not divorcing him from his wife Catharine, aunt to Charles V. emperor of Germany, and king of Spain, because of whose greatness the pope durst not do it. The king then sent over to the German princes, especially to the duke of Saxony to confederate against the pope, and to join with him in an agreement respecting religion; upon which account Myconius

conius was sent over to England, partly about religious matters, but principally about a match between king Henry and Anne of Cleve. Myconius upon his arriva soon discovered the king's hypocrisy respecting religion, not only by the six articles about that time established, but also by his imprisoning of Latimer, beheading lord Cromwel, burning Dr Barnes, &c. and by his seizing all the abbey-lands; all which gave him such offence that he left England. Upon his return home, he was called by Henry of Saxony to visit and reform, (in conjunction with Luther, Jonas, Cruciger, and others) the churches of Misnia. The occasion of this reformation-visit was; George duke of Saxony, laying on his death-bed, sent to his brother Henry (all his own sons being already dead) desiring him, as he was to be his successor, not to make any innovations in religion; at the same time he promised him, by his ambassadors, golden mountains if he would comply with his request. To whom Henry answered, 'This embassage of your's is just like the devil's 'dealing with Christ, when he promised him all the 'world if he would fall down and worship him: But, 'for my own part, I am resolved not to depart from the 'truth which God hath revealed unto me.' But before the return of the ambassador, duke George was dead: Upon which Henry, notwithstanding all the oppositions of the papists, carried on the Reformation in the churches. This reformation-work being finished, Myconius visited all the churches in Thuringia; and, with the help of Melancthon and some others, he provided them pastors and schoolmasters, and procured stipends to be settled upon them for their maintenance.

In the year 1541, he fell into a consumption, of which he wrote to Luther, "That he was sick, not to death, but "unto life:" Which interpretation of the text pleased Luther exceedingly: who wrote for answer, 'I pray 'Christ our Lord, our salvation, and our health, &c. 'that I may not live to see thee and some others of our 'colleagues to die, and go to heaven and leave me here 'amongst the devils alone. I pray God, that I may first 'lay down this dry, exhausted, and unprofitable taber-'nacle: Farewel, and God forbid, that I should hear of 'thy death while I live; but may God grant thee to out-'live me: This is my prayer, and my wish, and may it 'be granted me, amen; for I ask it for the glory of 'God's holy name, and not for my own ease or profit.' A while after, Myconius recovered according to this

prayer, though his disease seemed to be desperate, and outlived it six years, even till the year after Luther's death; upon which Justus Jonas remarks, in speaking of Luther, *Iste vir potuit quod voluit;* That man could have of God whatever he pleased. Myconius, a little before his death, wrote an excellent letter to John Frederic elector of Saxony, in which he praised God for raising up three successively in that family, namely, Frederic, John, and John Frederic, to undertake the patronage of Luther, &c. He was a man of singular piety, of solid learning, of an excellent judgment, of a burning zeal, and of an admirable candour and gravity. He died of a relapse into his former disease, on the seventh of April, in 1546, having lived fifty-five years, three months, and seventeen days. And he died as he had lived, glorifying God for all the mercies which had been received by him and by the church in the blessed Reformation. He was a dear friend to Luther; and Luther was not less so to him. In their lives, they were united; and, in their deaths, they were not long divided; for Myconius survived his magnanimous friend only seventy-seven days.

Stigelius wrote the following epitaph for his tomb.

Quo duce, Gotha, tibi monstrata est gratia CHRISTI;
Hic pia Myconii contegit ossa lapis.
Doctrinâ et vitæ tibi moribus ille reliquit
Exemplum: Hoc ingens, Gotha, tuere decus.

He is said to have published the following works: *Expositio in Evang. Marci. Enarrationes in Psalmum* ci. *Expositiones in Evang. secundùm Matthæum, Lucam, & Johannem. Commentaria in Esaiam, Jeremiam, & Jonam. Narratio de vitâ & morte Zuinglii. Sermo de liberis rectè educandis: De crapulâ; & Ebrietate: De fœnore & usurâ,* &c.

JOHN DIAZIUS.

THIS learned, pious, and constant sufferer, in the cause of God and truth, was born and educated in Spain, and from thence was sent to Paris, to

to complete his studies; but it pleased God, in the reading of the books of Luther and some other protestant divines, so to enlighten his mind, and to teach him the knowledge of the truth from the scripture, that he began to see and abhor the heresies and abominations of the church of Rome. In order therefore to further himself in the knowledge and study of the gospel, he went to Geneva, where he became intimately acquainted with Calvin, and was very dear to him. From Geneva he went to Strasburgh, where Bucer, observing his learning, piety, and diligent application to study, obtained leave of the senate for him to be joined with him to go to the disputation at Ratisbon. When he came thither, he visited Peter Malvinda a Spaniard, the pope's agent in Germany, who, finding that he came in company with Bucer, and other protestant divines, was much surprised, but more upon observing the great change that had taken place in him since he knew him at Paris. Malvinda was also exceedingly uneasy that the protestants had got a Spaniard amongst them, presuming they would triumph more in him than in many Germans; and therefore tried all ways and means to draw him back to the church of Rome; sometimes making large proffers and promises to him, at other times threatening him with severe punishments, and mixing both with earnest intreaties. But when he found he was unsuccessful in all his endeavours, he sent for his brother Alphonsus Diazius, one of the pope's lawyers, from Rome; who, hearing that his brother was turned protestant, came with all speed into Germany, bringing a notorious cut-throat with him, resolving either to draw him back to popery or to destroy him.

When Alphonsus came to Ratisbon, his brother John was gone to Newberg about the printing of Bucer's book; to which place Alphonsus followed him; and there they maintained many disputations upon religious matters: But Alphonsus, finding his brother John so stedfast in the belief of the truths of the gospel, that neither the pope's agent by his promises or threats could terrify him, nor he, by his persuasions and pretensions of brotherly love, could prevail upon him, to return to popery, he feigned to take a most friendly and affectionate leave of him, and departed. But, soon after, he returned with his ruffianly murderer, and, by the way, they bought an hatchet of a carpenter. Alphonsus sent the ruffian in first, disguised, with letters to his brother, himself following behind: And while John Diazius was reading the letters,

this bloody murderer cleft his head with the hatchet; and taking horse they both rode away. This cruel act was perpetrated in the year 1546. Alphonsus, another inhuman Cain, was highly applauded by the papists for his deed. But God did not suffer this unnatural cruelty to go unpunished; for, not long after, he was so exceedingly tormented with horrors and dread of conscience, that being at Trent, when the general council was held there, he died, like Judas, by hanging himself.

We thought this account of a Spaniard, though short, might be the more desirable, as the country of his birth was ever famous for bigotry and superstition, and hath been remarkably barren in the real profession of the gospel. Indeed, it hath not, of late ages, been much distinguished for men of great liberality or learning, and at this day, partakes less of civil and religious liberty than any other kingdom in Europe. The people there know still less of that spiritual and heavenly liberty, with which Christ makes his people free: And their bloody and horrid inquisition will do what it can to keep them ignorant of it. All the *acts of faith* (as they shamefully call the executions of this abominable tribunal) are begun in ignorance and infamy, and end in cruelty and blood.

Spain has, however, produced some few learned men of the first class, within the three past centuries: But these have, almost without exception, been bigots of the church of Rome, and employed their talents in supporting the papal jurisdiction. It is a pleasure to see an example to the contrary; and, therefore, our Readers will not think it an impertinent digression to relate, that Cyprian de Valera was of this country, became a sincere, as well as learned protestant, made a voyage to England for improvement, and returned with the bible translated into Spanish; copies of which, with copies of a Spanish translation of Calvin's institutes, he dispersed among his countrymen.——The word of God is indeed a *pearl of great price;* but the grace of God alone can make it *precious* to the soul, and render those who read it *wise unto salvation.* Happy for his countrymen, if the same light, which blessed his mind, had illuminated their's!

CASPAR

CASPAR CRUCIGER.

CASPAR CRUCIGER, was born at Leipsick in Misnia, 1504, of religious parents, who brought him up in the nurture and admonition of the Lord, as well as in all useful learning. He was naturally inclined to melancholy, loved retirement, was much in meditation, and of few words. In the midst of company he was frequently absent, and collected within himself. The discovery of this temper in him, in his childhood, gave his parents occasion to conclude, that he would be dull in understanding, and of a slow capacity. But judgments of this kind have been very frequently erroneous; for some, who have promised but little in their infancy, have turned out the first of men; while others, who have made an early shew, have yielded only disappointment to the fond expectation of their friends. Cruciger, when put under the tuition of an able master, soon afforded proofs of a reach and strength of genius, which surprized every body who knew him. Nothing was too difficult, in human science for his comprehension; and his industry equalled the clearness of his judgment, and the penetration of his mind. Having acquired the Latin language, he studied the Greek, together with Camerarius, under Richard Croke, an Englishman. At this time it was said of him, 'That though he seemed dull to every body, he 'acquired more knowledge than all his fellow-students 'put together.' Yet, with all his attainments, he was meek, modest, and humble in his deportment, tinctured with no arrogance or ostentation; patient, chaste, and pious. He was beloved by his tutor, as though he had been his son, and indeed had the affection and esteem of the whole academy, where he studied.

Having made great proficiency in letters, he went to the university of Wittenberg, to study divinity, with a view of being more useful to the church: There he acquired

acquired the Hebrew language, and became very skilful in it; for whatever he studied he studied profoundly. He then was called from Wittenberg to govern the school of Magdeburg, where he taught with great success and applause till the year 1527, when he was invited back again to Wittenberg, to preach and expound the scriptures; which he did with so much judgment and use, that they conferred upon him the degree of doctor in divinity. At that university, he also studied and practised physic and botany, both of which he greatly delighted in. He was very helpful to Luther in his translation of the bible. To Luther he was extremely dear, both for the probity of his manners, and the soundness of his doctrine. He is said to write so swiftly, that he was requested to take down the disputation at Worms, in 1540, which he did with so much ease and exactness, that at the same time, he suggested to Melancthon many things which he had not answered to his adversary, and several hints with which he confuted the arguments of Eckius his opponent. This being observed by Granvel Bane, who there personated the emperor, it caused him to say, 'That the Lutherans 'had a clerk that was more learned than all the papists.' And the following lines of Martial were frequently applied to him, upon account of this extraordinary faculty.

Currant verba licet, manus est volocior illis:
Nondum lingua suum, dextra peregit opus.

'Though words can swiftly run,
'His pen could move more fast:
'The tongue had scarcely done,
'But hand the work had past.'

He frequently made notes of Luther's sermons, while he was preaching them, and could recite them *per extensum*, or as they were delivered afterwards.

He always opposed the errors of the fanatical Anabaptists of that day, and was very careful to preserve the truth from corruption: He had a great aversion to sophistical and ambiguous phrases, which had often caused much trouble in the church; and he took such frequent delight in contemplating the foot-steps of God in the creation, that he would often say with St Paul, 'That God was 'so near unto us, that he might be almost felt with our 'hands.' In the latter part of his time he studied the mathematics, in which he made so great a progress that few excelled him. He was also a most accomplished optician:

tician: In short, he mastered almost the whole compass of human learning, and, what was better, applied all he learned to the use of those about him. To the sick, he was a physician, under God, both for body and soul; and a friend to all men. At length, by intense and incessant application to study, he brought upon himself a disease, which, though it wasted his body away, did not impair his intellects. He lay sick three months, all which time, he gave the most lively demonstrations of his faith, patience, and piety. Every thing he said spoke the deepest resignation to the divine will, and that full assurance of faith, with which he waited for glory. Nor did he give up his studies during his sickness, but turned into Latin Luther's books concerning the last words of David; and often read the psalms, and sometimes other authors. His common conversation with his friends was upon the principles of religion, the affairs of the church, immortality, and our sweet communion in heaven.

A little before his death, he called to him his two young daughters, and caused them to repeat their prayers before him, and then himself prayed with great fervency, for himself, the church, and these his orphans, earnestly and often repeating these words; "I call upon thee, O omnipotent God, eternal and only Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, maker of heaven and earth, of mankind, and of thy church, and upon thy co-eternal Son our Lord Jesus Christ, and upon the Holy Spirit, thou only wise, faithful, just, true, merciful, and holy God; have mercy upon me, and forgive me all my sins, for Christ's sake, who was crucified and raised again for us, the Word, and everlasting image of thy person, whom thou madest to be a propitiation, and also a mediator and intercessor for thy people, by thy wonderful and unspeakable covenant; O sanctify me by thy Holy Spirit, and preserve the remnant of thy church in these lands, nor suffer the light of thine own gospel to be put out. Make my dear orphans vessels of mercy. Lord, I call upon thee; and though it be with a languid and feeble faith, yet with faith notwithstanding. I trust in thy promise, O thou Son of God, which thou didst seal by thy blood and by thy resurrection. Help, help me, Lord Jesus, and support and warm my bosom with faith to the end! Having repeatedly uttered these words, he inculcated upon his children his paternal advice, respecting the welfare of their souls, and spent the remainder of his time in prayer; and so quietly ended his

days

days at Wittenberg, on November the sixteenth, in 1548, and in the forty-fifth year of his age. Considering the mutability of all sublunary things, he used often to say,

"*Omnia prætereunt, præter amare deum.*"

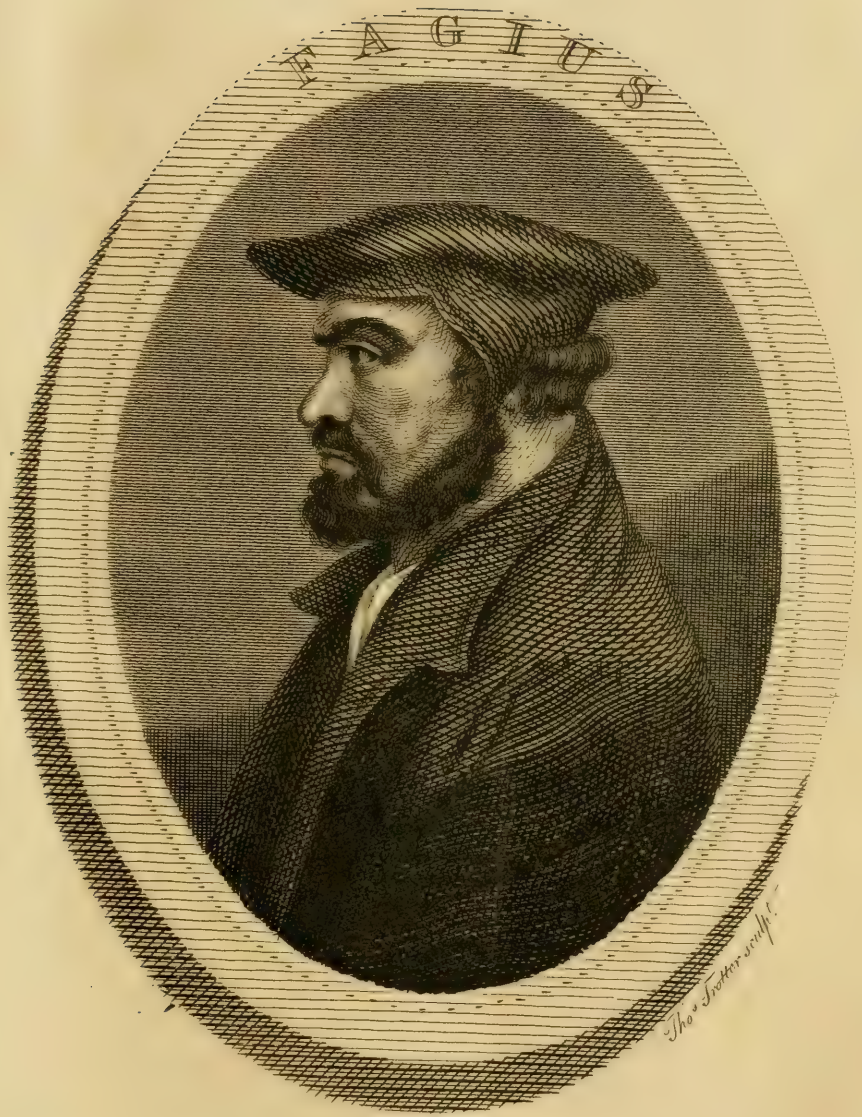
All things must perish, but God's love:
That only, nothing can remove.

He published some theological commentaries, upon the gospel of St John, upon the first epistle of St Paul to Timothy, upon the Psalms, and upon two controverted articles in the Nicene creed. He wrote a tract of the "Method of teaching," which has been ascribed to Melancthon. And the Christian church is obliged to Cruciger's nimble pen for many remains of Luther, which had otherwise been lost.

PAULUS FAGIUS.

PAULUS FAGIUS, in the German language, called Buchlin, a learned divine, was born at Reinzabern in Germany, in the year 1504, and received the foundation of his learning in that town, under his father Peter Buchlin, who was chief schoolmaster there. He was sent to Heidelberg at eleven years of age, and at eighteen to Strasburgh; where not being properly supported, by reason of his parent's narrow circumstances, he had recourse to teaching others, in order to find himself books and necessaries. The study of the Hebrew growing into vogue in Germany, Fagius applied himself to it; and by the help of Capito's two books of rules and instructions for learning the Hebrew, and of Elias Levita, a learned Jew, became a very great proficient in it. This branch of learning led him into a strict acquaintance with Capito, Hedio, Bucer, Zellius, and other learned Reformers. In the year 1527, he took upon him the care of a school at Isna; where he married a wife, and had several children.

Afterwards



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Afterwards, quitting the schoolmaster, he entered into the ministry, and became a sedulous preacher. This was about the year 1537. Petrus Buffierius, one of the senators of Isna, being informed of his perfect knowledge in the holy tongue, and of the natural bias which he had to learning, erected a printing-house, at his own cost and charge, to the end that Fagius might publish, whatever he might deem useful to religion and to posterity: But the event did not answer the charges Bufflerus had been at. Fagius, however, prosecuted his studies with continued zeal, and was allowed to be one of the greatest Hebræans of his time. He often employed his knowledge to the confutation of the Jews, with whom he had strenuous debates. Mr Leigh notes of him, that, as the Jews say of Moses Ben Maimon (or Maimonides,) from Moses to Moses not one has risen up like this Moses; so the Germans might add of Paulus Fagius, that from Paul to Paul, not one, in this way, has appeared like this Paul.

In the year 1541, the plague began to spread at Isna, when Fagius understanding, that the wealthiest of the inhabitants were about to leave the place, without having any regard to the poorer sort, he rebuked them openly, and admonished them of their duty; that they should either continue in the town, or liberally bestow their alms before they went, for the relief of those they left behind; adding that, during the time of their visitation, he would himself in person visit those that were sick, would administer spiritual comfort to them, pray for them, and be present with them day and night: All which he did, and yet escaped the distemper. At the same season, the plague was hot in Strasburgh, and, among many others, took off Wolfgang Capito; upon which Fagius was called by the senate to succeed him; and here he continued preaching till the beginning of the German wars. Then Frederic the second, the prince elector Palatine, intending a Reformation in his churches, called Fagius from Strasburgh to Heidelberg, and made him public professor there: But the emperor prevailing against the elector, the Reformation was put a stop to. During his residence there, he published many books for the promotion of Hebrew learning; which were greatly approved by Bucer, Hedio, Zellius, and others, who were the first planters of the gospel in those parts, and who also employed him to read divinity lectures on week-days, and to officiate for them in other parts of their pastoral

pastoral function, when they were hindered themselves by sickness or other important avocations. Even Scaliger confessed him to be the most learned of all the Christians of his time in the Hebrew tongue.

His father dying in the year 1548, and the persecution in Germany threatening pains, penalties, and banishments to all who did not profess the doctrine of the church of Rome, he and Bucer came over to England, upon receiving letters from archbishop Cranmer, in which they had repeated assurances of a kind reception and a handsome stipend, if they would continue there. They arrived in April, 1549; were cordially entertained for some time in the palace at Lambeth; and were destined at length to reside at Cambridge; where they were to perfect a new translation and illustration of the scriptures; Fagius taking the Old Testament, and Bucer the New, for their several parts. But this was all put an end to, by the sudden illness and death of both these gracious and learned professors. Fagius fell ill at London of a quartan fever, but would be removed to Cambridge, upon a presumption of receiving benefit from the change of air. He died there upon the 13th of November, 1550, aged 45; and Bucer did not live above a year after him. See Bucer's life. Melchior Adam says, that Fagius slept with great resignation in Christ, not without suspicion of having been poisoned; which last circumstance is not mentioned by any of the English historians.

Both their bodies were dug up and burnt in the reign of queen Mary, both because they had maintained the doctrine of predestination with the other Reformers, and because they, in their writings, had highly commended those Reformers. Fagius was tall in stature, somewhat black-visaged; his countenance appeared stern, yet such as commanded reverence; he was of an affable and courteous disposition, affectionate, meek, and lowly; an excellent orator, and a great student, as appears by his works; which are, 1. A translation of Thesbites Elias. 2. Apothegms of the Hebrew fathers. 3. Moral sentences of Ben Syra, alphabetically digested, with notes. 4. The translation of Tobias Hebraicus. 5. Hebrew prayers used by the Jews on their solemn festivals. 6. An exposition of the Hebrew sayings on the four first chapters of Genesis, with the Chaldee paraphrase of Onkelos. 7. Translation of a book called, Of the Truth of Faith; compiled by a converted Jew, to prove the verity of the Christian religion. 8. Commentaries on certain Psalms by Kimchi. 9. An Hebrew

Hebrew preface to Elias Levita's Chaldee Lexicon. 10. The Targum, with notes. 11. An introduction to the Hebrew tongue. And many others.

Melchior Adam has preserved the heads of his valedictory sermon, when Fagius left Strasburgh; in which, among other exhortations, he desired his hearers; "not to raise "a disturbance, nor attempt by human force, to keep "the ministers of the gospel among them, now attacked "by persecution; but to read their bibles, to edify one "another, and to continue in the doctrine which had "been faithfully preached to them; to honour the mini-"sters for their work's sake, who were not sent to serve "their own bellies, nor to please men; that the causes "of the present evil were, 1. That wherever God raised "a church, the devil would build a chapel by it. 2. "That the professors of the gospel had been too remiss "and secure, so that the devil had sown his tares. 3. "That they had been too little thankful for the divine "blessing of God's word. 4. That God would try his "own, and, by the trial, separate the chaff from the "grain." He added concerning himself: "I hear the "trumpet of sedition, upon this occasion; but I bless "God, I have instigated no man to follow it. This "cannot truly be said of me. What I would confess is, "that I have been too little diligent in preaching the "gospel among you; for which I implore pardon of my "God. Pray for me, that I may abide faithful in all "afflictions. I am but a man: and even Peter fell."— Thus humbly did this gracious man think and speak of himself! He knew his own heart; and knew too, that nothing but almighty grace could keep that heart from falling. This is a point of wisdom, which comes alone from heaven, and which is given to all the faithful in leading them thither.

MARTIN

MARTIN BUCER,

THE MODERATE REFORMER.

THIS Protestant divine was born at Schelestadt, in Alsace, in 1491, and died at Cambridge in 1551. He was one of the ablest ministers of that century, and there were but few ecclesiastical negociations in which he was not employed. He wrote several books, and composed many lectures, in which he laboured with great zeal, and much dexterity, to pacify the differences between the Lutherans and Zuinglians. He wished that both parties had been less rigid; and that great affair might have happily succeeded, if all the heads had been persons of a reconciling temper like himself.

Bucer was a man of immense learning. From his earliest youth he applied himself to acquire a thorough knowledge of the Greek and Hebrew. He read Erasmus's books with great attention. Meeting afterwards with some of Luther's treatises, and comparing the doctrine there delivered with the scripture, he began to doubt of his Romish principles. His uncommon learning and eloquence, which was assisted by a strong and musical voice, recommended him to the elector palatine, who made him one of his chaplains.

Bucer met Luther at the diet of Worms in 1521, when they passed several days in familiar conversation; after which Bucer embraced the doctrine of Luther, and openly professed it from that time. Two years after, he was admitted into the number of the reformed preachers in Strasburgh; and he subscribed a book with them, which they published in 1524, setting forth the reasons that induced them to renounce popery: But he wrote some tracts in 1527, in defence of the Zuinglians against Brentius and Pomeranus, who were Lutherans. He assisted, in



From an original Engraving published under the Inspection of Beza.

in 1529, as deputy of the church of Strasburgh, in the conferences of Marpurg, where they endeavoured to pacify the dissentions between the Lutherans and the Zuinglians: But it was false, that he begun by being a Sacramentarian, for he followed Luther as the instrument of his conversion from the beginning.

The bishop of Meaux endeavours to make Bucer pass for a dissembler, and alleges the testimony of Calvin for it. 'Whether Bucer had a formal design to trifle with the 'world by affected equivocations, or whether any con-'fused idea of reality made him believe, that he might 'sincerely subscribe to expressions so evidently contrary 'to the figurative sense, is left to the judgment of the 'protestants. It is certain that Calvin, his friend, and 'in some measure his disciple, when he would express a 'blameable obsurity in a profession of faith, said, that 'there was nothing so perplexed, so obscure, so ambigu-'ous, so winding in Bucer himself.' It was said by Justus Jonas, that there was in Zuinglius something rustic, and a little arrogant: In Oecolampadius a wonderful good nature and clemency: In Hedio, no less humanity and good nature: In Bucer, a fox-like cunning, imitating prudence and sagacity. But the bishop of Meaux would not rely on the disadvantageous judgment that this divine of Saxony made of Bucer, after the conferences of Marpurg in 1529.

All the works of Bucer were very moderate: But, it is said, by one who was an Arminian in his heart, that Calvin castrated some of them at his pleasure at Geneva. However, we are told, that 'Bucer used, as often hap-'pens among learned men as long as they live, to revise 'his lucubrations, to add, or take away, and even to 'retract some things.' Bucer declares this concerning himself, in his preface to his commentaries on the gospels, in these words: "This disturbs some, because they make "no doubt but many will be offended, that I now seem "not very consistent with myself. Because the Lord "has given me to understand some places more fully "than I formerly did, which as it is so bountifully given "to me, why should I not impart it liberally to my "brethren, and ingeniously declare the goodness of the "Lord? What inconsistency is there in profiting in the "work of salvation? And who in this age, or in the "last, has treated of the scripture, and has not experi-"enced, that, even in this study, one day is the scholar "of another?" Afterwards he produces the example of

Augustine in his retractions, and wishes that more books of retractions were published. If Bucer himself declares that he retracted many things of his former meditations, by what consequence, or even with what conscience, can any one assert, that the latter editions of his works are corrupted; if every thing, in some places of them, is not found expressed in the very same words? David Paræus made a confession like this of Bucer; for which he was insulted by a jesuit of Mentz.

Luther did not admire Bucer; and yet Bucer has been ranked with Luther, Zuinglius, Calvin, and Cranmer, as one of the promoters of the Reformation, to whom the protestants are more obliged than to Erasmus, whose timidity offended the Reformers, by his obstinately adhering to the interpretations of the church, upon whose authority he founded his faith and belief of the canonical scriptures. In a civil letter to Bucer, in 1527, Erasmus sets forth his reasons why he could not join with the reformed; and gives them a very bad character; though he declares his esteem for Bucer, who, like Erasmus, endeavoured to pacify the religious disputants, and bring things to an accommodation; and, like Erasmus, was insulted by both parties.

Bishop Burnet says, that 'Bucer was a very learned 'judicious, pious, and moderate person. Perhaps, he 'was inferior to none of all the Reformers for learning: 'But for zeal, true piety, and a most tender care of 'preserving unity among the foreign churches, Me-'lancthon and he, without any injury done to the rest, 'may be ranked apart by themselves. At Ratisbon, he 'had a conference with Gardiner, who was then Ambas-'sador from king Henry VIII. in which Gardiner broke 'out into such a violent passion, that, as he spared no 'reproachful words, so the company thought he would 'have fallen on Bucer and beat him. He was in such 'disorder, that the little vein between his thumb and 'fore-finger did swell and palpitate, which Bucer said he 'had never before that observed in any person in his life.' Even Cochlæus acknowledged, that Bucer and Melancthon were very learned men. And cardinal Contarene, on his return out of Germany from the disputation at Ratisbon, being asked his judgment of the German divines, answered; 'They have, among others, Martin Bucer, 'endowed with that excellency of learning both in the-'ology and philosophy, and, besides, of that subtlety 'and happiness in disputation, that he alone may be set

'against

'against all our learned men.' John Gropper, likewise, ambassador of the archbishop of Cologne, said of him, after the assembly at Regenspurg, 'That he was the fittest 'man in the world to reform religion, because he was 'not only very learned and exemplary in his life, but a 'great lover of peace and concord'

The Sacramentarians presented their confession of faith at the diet of Augsburgh, in 1530. It was drawn up by Bucer and Capito, and approved by the senate of Strasburgh. They held, that men are only justified by the merits of Jesus Christ, and faith; but that faith ought to be attended with charity: And they allowed only of two sacraments, Baptism and the Lord's Supper.

The Lutherans and Zuinglians differed about the Lord's Supper, and were separated as to communion. The Lutherans denied having any union with the Sacramentarians; and *they* were not able to bear the opinion of Luther: But there was a third party gathered out of both, who were sensible that they were not obliged to hold up their divisions, and laboured to persuade them that their opinions were not so different, as was commonly thought, and that they might easily re-unite. Bucer, then a minister at Strasburgh, was at the head of this party, and undertook, purely out of a desire of uniting the Lutherans and Zuinglians, to draw up a confession of faith, which both sides might approve. The task was difficult to perform. Luther, and his followers, had always asserted, that the body and blood of Christ were really with the bread and wine in the Eucharist. Zuinglius, and his adherents, on the contrary, held, that the bread and wine were only signs of the body and blood of Christ.

These two propositions were directly contrary. Bucer found out a medium, which he thought might satisfy both parties; namely, that the bread and wine remained the same substance, that they ever were, without any alteration; but by receiving them, they received the substance of the real body and blood of Jesus Christ, spiritually, and by faith. He made use of the same sort of expressions, as were made by the four imperial cities, Strasburgh, Constance, Memminghen, and Lindau, and presented to the diet at Augsburg. He made also the same declaration to Luther, to persuade him that the Sacramentarians were not of a contrary opinion to him about the Eucharist: But Luther knew the opinions of the Zuinglians, and gave no credit to Bucer. He wrote a letter to the senate of Francfort upon this occasion, in which having

ing clearly shewn the difference between his own doctrine and the Zuinglian, he says, that the Zuinglians play after a strange manner with the words of Jesus Christ: That they are a double-tongued generation, who say that the body and blood of Jesus Christ are really in the sacrament; but, when they explain themselves, say, that it is spiritually not corporeally; and so continue in the error, that there is nothing but bread and wine in the Lord's Supper. The ministers of Francfort made an apology against this letter, and made use of Bucer's expressions, affirming that believers receive the true body and blood of Jesus Christ in the Lord's Supper, and do really eat and drink it for the nourishment of their souls: That though the bread and wine are not changed in their own nature, yet it cannot be said, that there is nothing in the Lord's Supper except the bread and wine, but that it is the sacrament of the true body and blood, which God has given us for the nourishment of our souls. The Zuinglians suspected, on the other side, that Bucer was departed from their opinion; so that in his journey to Zurick, which he made in May, 1533, he was forced to remove that suspicion, by assuring them, that he was of the same opinion which he maintained in the conference of Bern. He added, that he certainly knew, and could prove, that the opinion of Luther did not differ from Zuinglius, but in terms; and that the presence of the body of Jesus Christ, which he asserted in the Lord's Supper, was not contrary to the doctrine of Zuinglius.

The ministers of Augsburg also complained of Bucer, and accused him of having changed his opinion, by acknowledging that the body of Jesus Christ was eat corporeally and substantially in the Lord's Supper, and exhorting others to subscribe the confession of Augsburg, and the apology. They plainly told him, that they would acknowledge no other presence of Jesus Christ in the Lord's Supper, than that of which he speaks in the sixth chapter of St John. Bucer replied, that the imperial cities had not, in the assembly of Schweinfort, departed from the confession of faith, which they had given into the diet at Augsburg; and that, by subscribing to the confession of Augsburg, they had not asserted a corporeal eating, but only promised to teach nothing contrary to that confession, which, in the article of the Lord's Supper, might agree with the doctrine of Zuinglius.

The ministers of Strasburgh importuned the Switzers to draw up a confession of their faith about the Lord's Supper.

Supper. It was composed at Basil in these words. 'We 'acknowledge that our Lord Jesus Christ instituted his 'holy Supper in remembrance of his passion, to publish 'his death with thanksgiving, to shew our Christian 'charity, and union in the true faith. And as in bap-'tism the water retains its own nature; so in the Lord's 'Supper, in which the true body and true blood of Jesus 'Christ is signified and tendered to us with the bread and 'wine by the minister of the church, the bread and the 'wine remain. Now we firmly believe, that Jesus Christ 'is the nourishment of faithful souls to eternal life, and 'that our souls are nourished and watered by true faith in 'Jesus Christ, with his flesh and his blood.' They added, in the margin of that confession, some words, by which they restrained what they seemed to say, in favour of the real presence, to a sacramental and spiritual presence by faith.

What opposition soever there was between the Lutherans and Zuinglians, Bucer would not despair of effecting an union; and, to that end, he obtained that a synod of the ministers of the cities of Upper Germany, should meet at Constance, in 1534. The ministers of Zurick were invited; but not being able to come, they sent a confession of their faith, in which they expressed their sense of the sacrament in the same words they had used at the conference at Bern; where they had declared, that they could not re-unite with Luther, unless he would acknowledge that they eat the flesh of Jesus Christ, no otherwise, than by faith; for, according to his human nature, he is only in heaven, and is only in the eucharist by faith after a sacramental manner, which makes things present not carnally and sensibly, but spiritually, and to be received by faith. This form, approved by the churches of Basil, Schaffhausen, and Gall, was received by the synod of Constance, and put into the hands of Bucer for him to communicate to Luther and Melancthon. Bucer had a conference with the latter at Cassel, in the presence of the Landgrave, and told him, "that we received truly "and substantially the body and blood of Jesus Christ, "when we receive the sacrament: That the bread and "wine are exhibiting signs; and, by receiving them, "the body and blood of Jesus Christ are given to us, "and received by us: That the bread and body of Jesus "Christ are united, not by a mixture of substance, but "because it is given with the sacrament." Melancthon was inclinable enough to accept this exposition: But

because he acted in the names of others, he would not conclude any thing, and obliged himself to give a fair account of Bucer's words. Luther also began to be more tractable, after Bucer had made this declaration; and, in several letters, shewed great inclination for an agreement, and to confer about the means of coming to an union.

The ministers and magistrates of the reformed cantons of Switzerland, met at Basil in January 1536, to draw up a confession of faith. Bucer and Capito went thither, and propounded an union with the Lutherans, assuring them that Luther was much mollified as to the Zuinglians, and desired nothing more than to come to an agreement with them; and therefore prayed them, so to moderate the expressions of their confession of faith, which they were about to draw up, especially in the articles about the eucharist, and the efficacy of the sacraments, as that they might forward the union, by omitting such words, as might occasion a contest. This they partly obtained of the ministers of Switzerland, from the confession of faith which they had composed. They owned, that the sacraments of baptism and the Lord's Supper were not mere signs, but made up of signs, and things signified. That the water was the sign in baptism, and the thing signified was regeneration and adoption: That, in the eucharist, the bread and wine are the signs, and the thing signified is the communion of the body of Christ received by faith: That the body and blood of Christ is offered to the faithful in the Lord's Supper, that Jesus Christ may live in them, and they in Jesus Christ; not that the body and blood of Jesus Christ are naturally united to the bread and wine, or included in the elements, or carnally present; but because they are symbols, by which we have a real communion with the body and blood of Jesus Christ to nourish the soul spiritually. This confession of faith was also approved in a second assembly of the magistrates and ministers of the protestant cantons of Switzerland, held at Basil in March of the same year.

The ministers of Strasburgh gave notice to those of Basil and Zurick, that they had appointed a synod to meet at Eisenach, on the fourteenth of May, where Luther would be present to treat of an union about the article of the Lord's Supper; and intreated them to send some of their divines. The Switzers thought it inconsistent to send any persons from them; but sent their confession of faith to Bucer and Capito, that they might present it to the synod. Bucer and Capito carried it to Eisenach, where the

the ministers, sent by the chiefs of Upper Germany, were assembled. Luther could not be there; and therefore they went to him at Wittenberg, where they arrived on the twenty-second of May, and had a conference with him. Luther required of them, that they would plainly acknowledge, that the bread and wine in the sacrament were the body and blood of our Lord, and that the good and bad receive them alike. When they met again, the next day, Luther asked them whether they would not revoke their opinion? Bucer answered them, that their faith and doctrine concerning the sacrament was, that, by the institution, and the operation of our Lord, and according to the natural sense of the words, the true body and true blood of Jesus Christ were made present, given, and received with the visible signs of bread and wine: That they also believed, that the body and blood of Jesus Christ are offered by the ministers of the church to all those that receive them: And that they are not only received by the heart and mouth of the godly for salvation, but by the mouth of the unworthy for their condemnation; which they yet desire may be understood of the members of the church. Luther replied, he did not believe the body and blood of Christ were united with the bread and wine by any natural union, nor that they were locally included in the bread and wine; but he admitted a sacramental union of the bread and body, and wine and blood. Then having consulted privately with the Saxon divines, he returned to Bucer and his brethren, and told them, that if they did believe, and would teach, that the true body and true blood of Jesus Christ, were offered, given, and taken in the Lord's Supper, and not mere bread and wine; and that this perception and exhibition were made really, and not after an imaginary manner, they were agreed among themselves, and he would acknowledge and embrace them as brethren in Jesus Christ.

This confession of faith was signed by the ministers of the cities of Upper Germany. Afterwards, on the twenty-fifth of May, they conferred with Pomeranus about images, the ceremonies of the mass, priests vestments, tapers, the elevation and adoration of the sacrament, which were yet used in Saxony. Pomeranus said, that Luther confessed these things were amiss: But that he had hitherto continued them up on account of the weak, and was thinking to abolish them on the twenty-seventh of the same month. Bucer and Capito delivered to Luther the confession of faith of the churches of Switzerland, that he might examine it.

He took notice of some words, which, as he said, might offend the weak. Nevertheless he declared, that he would acknowledge them for his brethren, if they would sign the form of the union, which had been drawn up. Bucer, having undertaken to cause it to be received by them, returned to Strasburgh, and made such an explication of the words, by softening them, that he reduced them to a sense, which was not contrary to the doctrine of the Sacramentarians. These articles were successful at Strasburgh; yet they had not the same fate in Switzerland, where Bucer had sent this form of union. It was there thought obscure, doubtful, and captious; and they would not subscribe to it; so that Bucer and Capito were obliged to go themselves to an assembly of the protestant cantons, which was held at Basil in September. Bucer there related, that Luther had not disapproved the confession of the Switzers: But both parties judged it convenient to draw up a form of union; and he undertook to shew, that the doctrine of it was not different from their confession of faith; and he exhorted them to sign it, that the union might be complete. The Switzers could not be prevailed on to do it; and all that Bucer could obtain was, that they would draw up a declaration of the opinions of the churches of Switzerland, in which they would explain the articles of the agreement, and send them to Luther.

In this declaration, which is very long, the articles of the form of union about the Lord's Supper are delivered in such expressions, as wholly favour the judgment of Zuinglius, and are opposite to the real presence. They there say, that Jesus Christ is the food of our souls, and that his body is really eaten, and his blood really drank, not carnally, substantially, and corporeally, but spiritually, and by faith, by believing the promises of God, that the elements of the bread and wine, in the administration of the Lord's Supper, are signs which represent Jesus Christ to us, and put us in mind of his mysteries: That his presence in the Supper is not a corporal presence, but a celestial one; and that his body is united to the bread only in a sacramental manner: That the bread and wine are figures of the body of Christ, which is discerned by the mind in the sacrament: That those who eat the bread at the Lord's Supper, by a sincere faith, receive the benefits which God hath promised; but that they, who eat without faith, receive their own judgment and condemnation. This declaration was composed in a synod at Zurick, held in October, and approved in another

another assembly, which met in November following at Basil, from whence it was sent to Luther, and presented by Bucer, at the assembly at Smalkald, in 1537. Luther approved all the articles, excepting that which contained the Lord's Supper.

The Switzers called a synod on purpose, in March 1538, to consult about an answer to Luther's letter; and Bucer and Capito were sent thither, to deliver his judgment. The ministers of Zurick alledged, that Luther, in his writings, and in the confession of Augsburg, had maintained the real presence, and positively condemned the opinion of the Zuinglians. That these writings of Luther were public, and the words clear; nor could they allow of his doctrine, unless they were certain he had altered his opinion, and embraced the truth. Bucer was much amazed at this objection, and answered, that it was very unfit to press it at this time, since they had long known what was contained in Luther's writings, and had never urged it before in the whole course of the treaty: That, now things were near an end, they had contrived to propound it, and revive the old quarrel to prevent the conclusion of the whole affair. The ministers of Zurick replied, they never desired the ministers of Strasburgh to concern themselves with the treaty: That Bucer and Capito came to find them, and assured them, that Luther's opinion about the sacrament agreed with theirs, and that they might unite with him, if they would frame a confession of faith, which should contain their opinion, and the conditions on which they would come to an agreement with Luther: That they had drawn up a confession at Basil, and delivered their opinion about the Lord's Supper fully: That if Luther had approved of their confession of faith, there would have needed no more to be done towards an agreement; but, instead of that, Bucer had brought them other articles from Wittenberg, and prayed them to sign thereto: That they had offered to do it, provided Luther liked the explication which Bucer gave of them: That at last, they had sent a declaration of their opinions, which they were resolved to abide by, and would not consent to any thing new or obscure. Bucer, the next day, made a long discourse in which he laboured to prove, that there was no other difference between the Lutherans and Zuinglians, about their opinion concerning the Lord's Supper, but in words, and expressions. However, the ministers of Zurick continued to declare, that they would keep close to the confession

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of Basil, and the dispute at Bern; that the words, which Luther had always used, were directly contrary to their opinions; that they could not explain themselves in any other terms without force, because they were clear and without ambiguity. That it was not reasonable to judge of the opinion of any man, rather by the declaration of another, than from his own words: That Luther, in his last letter, had named Bucer and Capito, for his interpreters; but it was to be feared that in the issue he would blame them for being too easy; and going too far, and so would not consent to the declaration they should make. Then the ministers of Zurick came to debate the matter with Bucer, and brought him to grant, that these words, *this is my body*, were figurative: That the sacramental union of the body of Christ with the bread, consisted only in this, that the bread signified the body: That the body of Jesus Christ is essentially at the right-hand of the Father, and after a spiritual manner in the sacrament: They disputed upon this question: Whether the presence of Jesus Christ, in the Lord's Supper, was miraculous? Luther had said, in his last letter, that the presence was inexplicable, and an effect of the divine omnipotence. The ministers of Zurick would not allow any miracle to be in the Lord's Supper, and maintained that it was easy to explain after what manner Jesus Christ was spiritually present by operation and efficacy. They urged Bucer to sign the articles, on which they were agreed: But he desired time; and drew up a long instrument, in form of a verbal process, containing what had been said on both sides, which was disapproved by the assembly.

The chancellor of Zurick, being sensible if they went on disputing there would be no end, turned his speech to the ministers of Zurick, and said; 'Do you believe that 'we receive the body and blood of Jesus Christ in the 'sacrament, or no?' They all answered, 'We believe 'it.' Then turning himself to Bucer and Capito, he said to them; 'Do you own that the body and blood of Jesus 'Christ is received into the souls of believers by faith 'and spirit?' They answered; "We believe, and con-"fess it." 'To what purpose then, (replied the chan-'cellor) are all your disputes, which have lasted these 'three days?' The ministers of Zurick added, that they held no other doctrine, than that which they had expressed in their confession of faith, and their declaration: And the ministers of Strasburgh solemnly declared, that they would not oblige them to embrace any thing contrary

trary to it; much less draw any person from that doctrine.

Upon these declarations it was agreed, that an answer should be sent to Luther, which was drawn up and read two days after in the assembly. The Switzers were very careful it should be expressed, that, in their joining with Luther, they would not change their opinion about the Lord's Supper; for they declared, they did not enter into that union, till they were assured, by Bucer and Capito, that Luther approved their confession of faith made at Basil, with the exposition they had given of it; and because he had declared to them, that Jesus Christ was at the right hand of his Father, and did not come down in any manner into the Lord's Supper; and that he did not grant any presence of Jesus Christ in the eucharist, nor any manducation contrary to the Christian faith. They also declared, that the body and blood of Jesus Christ were received and eaten in the Lord's Supper; but only so far as they were truly taken and received by faith; and that they would not recede from their confession of faith and their declaration: That as Luther was of the same opinion, they were filled with extreme joy, that they might live in peace and union with him, and keep up this agreement, and avoid all discord. This letter was dated the fourth of May, 1538.

Bucer was embarrassed between the opinions of Luther and Zuinglius concerning the Eucharist: One appeared to him too strong, the other too weak. The doctrine of the Lutherans seemed to him to attribute too much reality, to the presence of Jesus Christ in the sacrament of the eucharist. He could not digest the consequences of it: But he also thought that the opinion of the Zuinglians was too narrow, and did not come up to the ideas which the scripture and ancient tradition imprint on our minds. They gave him great uneasiness; and he wrote to John à Lasco, overseer of the churches of East Frieseland, to enquire, whether à Lasco, besides a power of signifying, acknowledged a power of exhibiting Christ himself; and that the Lord, in the communion of his body and blood, is given and received; whereby we are members of him in part, and flesh of his flesh, and bone of his bone; whereby we abide in him, and he in us; and that it is given and perceived, when the Lord himself operates in his ministry, and when the words and symbols are received as the Lord's, and as it were from the Lord himself, by free dispensation through his ministers, which they

they call an union, not sensual, local, or natural; but sacramental, and of the covenant on account of these texts of scripture, which speak of the mystery of the incorporation of the church, and of the communion, and eating and drinking of the flesh and blood of Christ.

Bucer also said, that Luther was satisfied, if the Zuinglians owned in the holy supper any thing more than bare signs of Christ absent. "I am grieved, says he, and not "without reason, that we, to whom the Lord hath so "bountifully revealed the other mysteries of his king-"dom, have not been able, now in thirty-four years, to "agree concerning this most sacred and most general "mystery, which all Christians ought to understand, as "well as use."

The Lutherans said, that Bucer died in the Calvinistical faith. Josias Simler, professor at Zurick, in an oration on the life and death of Peter Martyr, testifies that Bucer studied such expressions throughout the whole contest, as nothing certain could be concluded from, that so, pleasing both parties, he might gradually compose the difference. However, Bucer and Martyr continued good friends, and were fully persuaded of each other's orthodoxy.

Bucer has been accused of approaching too near the papistical doctrine of the merit of good works *; but this does

* The late Mr Toplady, in his *Hiſtoric Proof*, has defended Bucer from this imputation. See p. 363. His words are: 'It has been aſſum-'ed, that Bucer held the doctrine of juſtification by works, and believed 'human obedience to be meritorious in the ſight of God. 'That he 'was once of this opinion, is not at all wonderful, when we conſider that 'he was born and educated in the boſom of the Romiſh church, with 'whom the tenet of legal juſtification is a fundamental principle. 'And, for a conſiderable time after God had called him out of papal dark-'neſs, his improvements in divine knowledge were progreſſive. His ſpi-'ritual growth reſembled the gradual vegetation of an oak; not the rapid 'proficiency of a muſhroom. Bucer ſeems to have expreſſed himſelf the 'moſt incautiouſly, in the diſputation at Leipſic, A. D. 1539; yet, even 'then, he roundly declared, that "theſe GOOD WORKS, to which ſo great "a reward is given, ARE THEMSELVES THE GIFT OF GOD." And that 'paſſage, which Volu- quotes from Bucer, falls extremely ſhort of 'proving that the latter was, even at the early period in which he 'penned it, an aſſertor of juſtification by performances of our own. 'Impartiality obliges me to ſubjoin that celebrated paſſage, which ſo 'many Arminians and merit-mongers have ſince caught at, as if it 'made

does not appear in his dispute with Malvenda and other popish divines at the conference at Ratisbon in 1546, where (according to Sleidan) he maintained; "That a "man

'made for the popish doctrine of justification. "I cannot but wish," "said Bucer, in the year 1529, "a more sound judgment to some "persons, who have disturbed many in this our age with this para- "dox, That we are saved by faith only; Though they saw the thing "was carried so far, as to confine righteousness only to the opinion of the "mind, and excluding good works. Where is their charity, who refuse "to cure this evil, by one word or two? It is only to say, that, when "FAITH is formed, we are JUSTIFIED; and that, through faith, we ob- "tain a disposition to GOOD WORKS, and, consequently, a righteousness: "Or, that FAITH IS THE FOUNDATION AND ROOT OF A RIGHTEOUS LIFE, "as Augustine said." 'Is there a single sentence in this paragraph, to 'which the strictest Calvinist would not consent? Observe the order in 'which Bucer arranges faith, justification, and obedience. *Faith* goes be- 'fore; *justification* follows faith; and practical *obedience* follows justification: 'We first *believe*; we no sooner believe, than we are *justified*: and the 'faith, which justifies, disposes us to the after-performance of *good* 'works: Or, in other words, *justifying faith* "is the *root* and *foundation* of a "*righteous life*." Says not every Calvinist the same?

'As Bucer advanced in years and experience, he learned to express his 'idea of justification with still greater clearness and precision, than he had 'done on some past occasions. Finding that the enemies of grace had 'greedily lain hold of some inadvertent phrases, and taken ungenerous 'advantage of some well-meant concessions, which he had made, before 'his evangelical light was at the full; he deemed it necessary, to *retract* 'such of his positions as countenanced the merit of works; and to place 'justification on the scriptural basis of the Father's gratuitous goodness, 'and the Son's imputed righteousness: Still, however, taking care to in- 'culcate, that the *faith*, by which we receive the grace of God and the 'righteousness of Christ, is the certain source of all *good works*.—For be- 'ing thus honest to his convictions, he was loaded by his adversaries with 'accumulated slander and reproach. How modestly, and forcibly, he 'vindicated his conduct, may be judged from the following passage: "The Lord, (says Bucer) has given me to understand some places [*of* "*scripture*] more fully than I formerly did: Which, as it is so bountifully "given to me, why should I not impart it liberally to my brethren, and "ingenuously declare the goodness of the Lord? What inconsistency is "there, in profiting in the work of salvation? And who, in this age, or in "the last, has treated of the scripture, and has not experienced, that, even "in this study, one day is the scholar of another?"

'Indeed, no stronger proof need be given, of Bucer's soundness in 'the article of justification, than the rapture and admiration with 'which he mentions the English book of HOMILIES. No sooner, 'says Mr Strype, were the homilies composed, and sent abroad; but 'the news thereof (and the book itself, as it seemed, already trans- 'lated into Latin) came to Strasburgh, among the protestants there: 'Where it caused great rejoicing. And Bucer, one of the chief mi- 'nisters there, wrote a gratulatory epistle hereupon to the church of 'England, in November, 1547, which was printed in the year after. 'Therein that learned and moderate man shewed, "How these 'pious sermons were come among them, wherein the people were so

godlily

" man is not justified before God through his own works " or merits, but that he is freely justified through Christ " by faith, when he believeth, both that he is received " into grace, and that his sins are pardoned through " Christ: That Christ, by his death, made satisfaction " for our sins; and that God doth impute faith for righte- " ousness:" All which he proved and illustrated by testimonies from scripture, and confuted the arguments of Malvenda.

That Bucer was also, in the other points, a strict Reformer, let his own words testify: " Predestination, " (says he) is neither more nor less than pre-limitation, " or fore-appointment: And God, who consigns every " thing to its proper use, worketh all things agreeably " to its pre-determination; and, accordingly, separates " one thing from another, so as to make each thing " answer to its respective use. If you desire a more " extensive definition of this predestination, take it thus; " predestination is an appointment of every thing to its " proper use; by which appointment, God doth, before " he made them, even from eternity, destine all things " whatever to some certain and particular use. Hence " it follows, that even wicked men are predestinated. " For, as God forms them out of nothing, so he forms " them to some determinate end: For he does all things, " knowingly, and wisely. *The Lord hath made all things* " *for himself, even the wicked for the day of evil.* [Prov. " xvi. 4.] Divines, however, do not usually call this " *predestination;* but, *reprobation.*——It is certain, that " God makes a good use of evil itself: And every sin we " commit, hath something in it of the good work of " God.——Scripture does not hesitate to affirm, that " there are some persons, whom God delivers over to a " reprobate

" godlily and effectually exhorted to the reading of the holy scriptures; " and FAITH was so well explained, whereby we become Christians; " JUSTIFICATION, whereby we are saved; and the other chief heads of " Christian religion are soundly handled. And therefore, (as he added) " these foundations being rightly laid, there could nothing be wanting in " our churches, requisite towards the building hereupon sound doctrine " and discipline" He commended much the homilies of FAITH, the ' nature and force of which was so clearly discussed; and wherein it was ' so well distinguished from the faith that was dead. He much approved ' of the manner of treating concerning the misery and death, we are all ' lapsed into, by the sin of our first parent; and how we are rescued from ' this perdition, ONLY by the GRACE of GOD, and by the MERIT and resur- ' rection of his Son.'

" reprobate sense, and whom he forms for destruction : " Why, therefore, should it be deemed derogatory from " God, to assert, that he not only does this, but resolved " beforehand to do it ?"

Nothing can be more plain and nervous, than the following remarks of Bucer, respecting God's obduration of Pharaoh. Whether the remarks be, or be not, carried too far, is beyond my province to enquire. " The " apostle says, *Who may resist the will of God?* By the " word *will*, Paul gives us to understand, that God " actually willeth those very things, unto which men " are hardened by him. When Paul adds, *Who may* " *resist?* he, in fact, points out the necessity, which " they, whom God hardens, are under of doing those " things. When God would harden Pharaoh, in order " that he might not obey the commandment, it was the " actual will of God that Pharaoh should not obey. " Yea, God himself wrought in Pharaoh to oppose the " commandment sent to him. Pharaoh therefore did " what in reality he willed him to do ; yea, he did no more " than what God himself had wrought in him : Nor " was it in Pharaoh's power, to act otherwise than he " did." Such was the doctrine taught by this able and indefatigable divine. Willing, however, to obviate any exceptions, which those persons might raise, who had not studied these deep points so carefully and so extensively as he had been enabled to do ; he, presently after, shelters both his doctrine and himself under the following words, and the correspondent practice, of the great apostle whom he had quoted before : " *Nay but,* " *O man,* [*Who art thou that repliest against God?*] St " Paul does not accommodate, nor soften down, a single " syllable of what he had just asserted. The sacred pen- " man does not deny, that they, who are hardened by " God, perish according to the will of God. The " apostle does not admit it to be even possible, that a " person, who is hardened from above, can perform what " is good. Paul [instead of setting himself to answer " our reasonings on the matter] contents himself with " merely giving us a solemn caution, not to sit in judg- " ment on the decrees of God : Assuring us, that we " cannot arraign the Deity at our own bar, without " being guilty of the uttermost boldness and impiety." If Bucer was not a Calvinist, where shall we find one ? I cannot prevail on myself to defraud the Readers of a few more citations, which may be found in another

most

most valuable work of Bucer, entitled, "A continued "Interpretation of the Four Gospels." And they are the rather subjoined, as the book itself is exceeding scarce, and possibly may be in the hands of very few of our Readers. "They, who are at any time able to "fall quite away from Christ, did never really belong to "him. Consequently, they never truly believed, nor were "indeed pious, nor had the holy Spirit of adoption: On "the contrary, all their performances were nothing but "hypocrisy, how sanctified and ready soever unto good "works they, for a time, pretended to be. They, whom "Christ loves, are loved by him even unto the end: And "he doth not cast away those whom the Father giveth "him; neither can any snatch them from his hand. "Therefore, admitting that these may fall, yet they cannot fall utterly; for they are elect unto life: And God's "election cannot be made void by an creature whatever. "Seeing, then, that *the purpose of God, according to election, may stand, not of works, but of him that calleth:* [Rom. ix. 2.] He not only elected his own people, *before they were born, and had done either good or evil,* [Rom. ix. 11.] but even *before the very foundation of the world.* [Eph. i. 4.] Hence, our Lord said, concerning his apostles, *I pray not for the world, but for them whom thou hast given me; for they are thine:* That is, they were chosen by thee unto life.

"As, therefore, on the one hand, *Christ never knew* [i. e. never loved] the reprobate, whatever deceitful appearance of virtue they might have; so, on the other, he *always knew* [i. e. always loved] the elect, how ungodly soever they might seem for a time. Consequently, as these [i. e. the elect] are predestinated and called, they shall, sooner or later, be formed anew, according to the likeness of Christ: While those [i. e. the reprobate] shall be stripped of that artificial mask, under which they passed for children of God; and be made to appear in their own proper colours."—On those words of Christ, *ye believe not, because ye are not of my sheep;* Bucer thus remarks: "They were not of our Lord's sheep, i. e. they were not in the number of those who were given to him by the Father; they were not elected unto life. Therefore it was, that they were totally destitute of God's good Spirit, and were utterly immersed in flesh: Neither were they able to believe in our Lord, nor to embrace him as a Saviour."—A little farther on, we find

find this admirable commentator observing as follows: "*My sheep hear my voice, &c.* In these words, our Lord "expressly teaches, that all good things are dependent "on God's election: And that they, to whom it is once "given to be sheep, can never perish afterwards. Christ "here tells us, that they alone *hear his voice:* That is, "they who are indeed his sheep, are made partakers of "faith. Now, whence is it, that some people are "Christ's sheep, or susceptible of his doctrine, while "others are not? Undoubtedly, because the former are "inspired by the good Spirit of God, whereas the latter "are not inspired at all.—But whence is it that the "former are endued with the Holy Spirit, and not the "latter? For this reason: Because the former were "given to Christ to be saved by him; but the latter "were not given to him. Let us therefore allow "God the honour of being the bestower of his own "Spirit, without supposing him to need or receive any "of our assistance. Christ adds, *And I know them:* i. e. "They are committed to my trust; I have them in spe-"cial charge. And doubtless, from hence it is, that "his sheep follow him; and live the life which never "ends. The Father gave them to him, that he might "endue them with life eternal: And they can no more "be *plucked from* Christ's hand, than from the hand of "the Father, who is mightier and *greater than all.* Christ "and the Father are *one:* Their power and strength are "the same. Consequently, as none can pluck the elect "from the Father's hand, so neither from the hand of "Christ.——We are to observe, moreover, that it flows "only from God's election, that we are the sheep of "Christ, and follow him. We must observe too, that "such can never entirely fall away. For, the Father "and the Son being undivided, their hand, that is, their "power, must be undivided also: And out of their "hand, none shall ever snatch those whom that hand "has once laid hold on for salvation. Now, unto "whomsoever it shall be given to hear the voice of "Christ, and to follow him; they may be said to be "thus laid hold on [by the hand, or power, of divine "grace], seeing, none but the sheep are able to hear and "follow the Redeemer. And if they are sheep now, "they are so held in the hand of Christ and of the Fa-"ther, as never to perish, but to have eternal life."

Bucer was at the diet of Ratisbon, in 1541, with Melancthon and Pistorius: And he also accompanied Brentius,

Major, and Schneppius, at the conference of Ratisbon in 1545. He greatly distinguished himself on both occasions against Cochlæus, and the other disputants for the Romanists: But he was much troubled to see the dispute between the Lutherans and Zuinglians hotter than ever. He wrote to Luther, to pacify him. He told him, that these divisions would not advance the Reformation; and assured him, that the ministers of the imperial cities and Switzerland, held to the terms of the act of agreement.

Bucer, at the same time, drew up a new confession of faith about the eucharist, in which he asserted, that we ought to acknowledge, that the body and blood of Jesus Christ are given us in the Lord's Supper, for our nourishment and drink; and that the eucharist bread and wine are the communion of his body and blood; so that we not only receive the Holy Spirit, or the virtue of the body of Jesus Christ, but Jesus Christ himself. After this explication, he added several other considerations, to let us know, that manducation is not real, and is only done by faith: But he acknowledged, that the body and blood of Jesus Christ are really and truly given in the Lord's Supper, if it is celebrated according to the institution of Christ, and we have a firm faith in the words in which it was given.

Bucer, in his discourses and writings, always made profession of Lutheranism, accommodated to the establishment in England. It is false, that he made a separate sect. He continued always united with one of the protestant communions; though the stricter part of each party did not approve his remissness.

He offended Luther, by inserting some things in his ecclesiastical postill, which made for the Helvetic opinion, concerning the Holy Supper; therefore Luther, in his book '*de verbi institutione*,' vehemently complained of Bucer, that he had corrupted his book of homilies, which, he said, was the best of all that he had wrote, and which even pleased the papists. Bucer was at no loss for an excuse; and might have alledged the maxim which Erasmus attributed to him, "That a deceit which hurts "nobody, and is useful to many, is an action of piety." Erasmus endeavoured to refute him in this, on occasion of a work, which Bucer had dedicated to the Dauphin under a fictitious name.

Bucer had a great quarrel with Pomeranus, for having caused Luther's commentary on the Psalms to be printed with alterations. He was desirous to have his own commentaries

mentaries on the Psalms read by the Romanists, and published them under the name of Arethius, which is a Greek word, answering to Martin; and Felinus, a German word, expressing the signification of Bucer in Latin. If he had put his true name to them, which was hated by the monks, the reading of them would have been forbidden in the popish countries. The priests, in the inquisition in Spain, imagined that Bucer's book "*adversus merita bonorum operum*," was published as a work of the bishop of Rochester, *de miserecordiâ Dei.*

It is said, the first Reformers clamoured loudly against the peripatetic philosophy, which was founded by Aristotle, commonly called the prince of philosophers. We are told, that Thomas Aquinas made use of Aristotle's method, with such great success, in explaining the doctrines of the church of Rome, that Bucer, one of the greatest enemies to the Roman church, used to say, "Suppress Thomas's works, and I will destroy the church "of Rome." If he said this, he said it with but very little reason; as a cursory examination of Aquinas is sufficient to shew.

It is well known, that the doctrines of the sacraments was purified from the Roman idolatry, and from scholastical phrases, by Zuinglius and Oecolampadius; and that the loss which the canton of Zurick sustained in the fight, wherein Zuinglius was killed, broke the league lately concluded between the cantons of Switzerland, the city of Strasburgh, and the landgrave of Hesse. Whereupon Martin Bucer, being too timorous, was afraid that the whole party would sink, unless he strengthened, with a new alliance, the towns of Upper Germany, and particularly Strasburgh, where he taught. He cast his eye upon the potent duke of Saxony; and the better to gain him, he endeavoured to make every body believe, that the opinions of Luther and Zuinglius, concerning the Lord's Supper, were the same in the main, and that a mere dispute about words had prevented their agreement. He further said, that it was better to use the expressions of Luther than of Zuinglius; because the latter spoke too meanly of the eucharist, and the other in a sublime manner. He inspired the same thoughts into John Calvin, who had gone from France to Strasburgh. This intrigue of Bucer introduced the Lutheran expressions into the towns of Upper Germany, especially after the fatal concordate of Wittenberg. The divines, who taught in Saxony, under the elector Christian, used themselves to

those phrases of consubstantiation, *phrasibus illis synusiasticis assueverant*; so that being expelled after that prince's death, and retiring into the palatine, they took the ministers who used Zuinglius's expressions in that country to be heterodox, which occasioned a dissension; but it was so happily, and so quickly suppressed, that from that time forward there was visibly a better understanding between the divines of the university and the rest.

We are told, that Bucer repented of having mediated the formulary of concord in 1536. "*Bucerus dixit se* "*pœnas dare quod causam publicam homo privatus voluisset* "*componere, & tam multa prava dogmata conciliare.*" Peter Martyr, who heard him say so in England, told Bullinger of it; Daniel Tossanus had it from Bullinger, and Pozelius from Daniel Tossanus, in the presence of Scultetus, who inserted it in the history of his life. Calvin's friends accused Bucer of introducing a new kind of popery, which they called Bucerism, in opposition to Calvinism. This Bucerism consisted principally in his approving episcopacy. But Calvin denied that he ever laid this to Bucer's charge; and wished that he would not give a handle for calumny, while he followed the middle way, which was manifest from his writings, especially from the form of Reformation, prescribed to Herman, archbishop of Cologne, and what he wrote for the Reformation of England. As Bucer came nearer the church of Rome than Luther, Calvin departed farther from it than Luther; so that there arose two denominations besides Lutheranism; that is, Bucerism, and Calvinism. Calvin confessed that Bucerism was more tolerable than Calvinism, if the matter was not to be tried by the scriptures; and that Bucer studied peace too much: But he himself measured all things by truth. These are Calvin's words to Bucer: 'You have no occasion to make any excuse to me, that you are not erecting a new popery; but I would have your integrity so well known to all the world, that no room might be left for suspicion. It is also unnecessary for you to endeavour not to take in any thing of Calvinism: If we might vary from the scripture, I know very well how much more tolerable Bucerism is than Calvinism.'

Herman de Wida, archbishop of Cologne, having a mind to settle the Reformation in his diocese, sent for Martin Bucer in the year 1542. Most of the canons opposed the enterprize, and published a work, wherein they mixed a great

a great many invectives against Bucer. Melancthon, in confuting that piece, did not forget this article: He maintained, that the nun, whom Bucer had married for his first wife, did well in forsaking the church of Rome, after she had discovered the idolatry of its worship. He added, that she had led a very exemplary life, by her chastity, modesty, and piety; that she had been brought to-bed thirteen times; and that she died of the plague, which she might have escaped, if she would have left her husband. It would have been a pity so fruitful a woman should have remained in a nunnery: And as there are many others as fit to people the world, who are hindered by monasteries, one may easily judge of what prejudice these monastical vows are to the temporal good of the state. Bucer married a second time to a widow; which gave the canons of Cologne occasion to reproach him with another irregularity; because, according to St Paul, a bishop ought to be the husband of one wife only, that is, as they pretended, that he ought not to marry a second time, nor to marry a widow.

The word of God, say they, directs, that he who is called to the ministry, should be the husband of one wife, 1 Tim. iii. and Titus i. which the canons of the apostles, and apostolical fathers, have ever to this day understood in this sense, that he who enters into a second marriage, or marries a widow, cannot be one of those that serve in the holy ministry. Melancthon easily confuted this objection: But we are told, that Bucer was married a third time.

Martin Bucer, and Paulus Fagius, at the instance of archbisop Cranmer, were sent for by king Edward VI. from Strasburgh, to become professors in Cambridge. My author, a German, makes them to depart thence, *Magistratus Argentinensis voluntate et consensu*, whom the Jesuit Parsons will have both banished by that state. If so, the disgrace is none at all, to be exiled for no other guilt than preaching the gospel, and opposing the Augsburgh confession, which that imperial city embraced. Besides, the greater the providence, if, when commanded from one place, instantly to be called to another. They came to England, and were fixed at Cambridge, where Bucer was made professor of divinity, Fagius of Hebrew. The former had the ordinary stipend of his place tripled unto him, as well it might, considering his worth, being of so much merit; his need, having wife and children; and his condition, coming here a foreigner, and fetched from a far

country. So it was ordered, that Fagius should in Hebrew read the evangelical prophet Isaiah, and Bucer in Greek the prophetical evangelist St John.—But, alas! the change of air and diet so wrought on their temper, that both fell sick together. Bucer hardly recovered; but Fagius, that flourishing tree (nature not agreeing with his transplanting) withered away in the flower of his age, at scarce forty-five, and was buried in the church of St Michael.

Calvin exhorted Bucer to order matters in such a manner, that the Reformation of England might be well purged of all remains of popery. He lets him know, that if he does not take pains, he will never be able to wipe out the ill suspicions, which several had conceived of his inclining to both sides.

Calvin writes to him thus: 'I shall endeavour according to your desire, to advise the Lord protector as 'the present state of affairs require. It will be your 'business to press him every way, if you can but gain 'audience, as I am persuaded you do; but chiefly, that 'all ceremonies may be abolished, which any way savour 'of superstition. This particularly, I recommend to 'you, that you free yourself from envy, which you 'know you labour under, without cause, among several 'persons; for they always call you the author or approver 'of indifferent [or, moderate] councils. I know that 'this suspicion is so deeply rooted in the minds of some 'people, that you would scarce be able to remove it, though 'you omit nothing: And some there are who slander you, 'not out of mistake, but mere malice. In short, this evil 'is, as it were, destined for you, and you will hardly be 'able to escape it; but you must take care not to give 'the ignorant occasion to think ill of you, or a handle to 'the wicked to reproach you.' It does not appear that Bucer took any notice of these admonitions: Yet Calvin testifies, that he expected great things from him, if death had not taken him away so soon.

Archbishop Cranmer, who had settled Bucer at Cambridge, wrote to him, for his opinion upon the point in dispute between his grace and doctor Hooper, who accepted the king's nomination to the bishopric of Gloucester, yet refused to be consecrated in the episcopal habit; and Cranmer would not consecrate him without it. The archbishop suspended Hooper from preaching till he would conform himself to the laws. The king was then moved to write to Cranmer, and to discharge him from

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all penalties, and forfeitures, which his grace might otherwise be liable to, in dispensing with all these usual rites, to which Hooper had an objection. But as the archbishop could not comply with the king's request without violating the laws, and incurring a præmunire, so it was pushed no farther by his majesty, till Hooper had satisfied himself by consulting with Bucer and Peter Martyr, who told him, that, in the business of religious rites, they were for keeping as close as possible to the holy scriptures, and the most uncorrupt ages of the church: But, however, they could not go so far as to believe, that the substance of religion was affected by the clothes we wear; and they thought things of this nature altogether indifferent, and left to our liberty by the word of God. Hooper continued obstinate; and Martyr tells Bucer, in one of his letters, his business was now at that pass, that the best and most pious disapproved of it; and many were much provoked. Hooper afterwards died a martyr in the protestant cause, and more of this affair will be mentioned in the life of Peter Martyr.

Martin Bucer ended his life, at the age of sixty-one years, and was buried at St Mary's in Cambridge; several authors assigning sundry dates of his death. Martin Crusius, part 3. annal. Suev. lib. 11. cap. 25. makes him to die in 1551, on the second of February. Sleidan, on the 27th of February, 1551. Pantaleon, de Viris Illustribus Germaniæ, makes him expire about the end of April of the same year. Mr Fox, in his reformed Almanack, appoints the twenty-third of December, for Bucer's confessorship. A printed table, of the chancellors of Cambridge, set forth by doctor Perne, signe th March the tenth, 1550, for the day of his death. Nor will the distinction of old and new stile, had it been in use, help to reconcile the difference. It seems, by all reports, that Bucer was incontestably dead in or about this time. Parsons, the Jesuit, tells us, that some believed he died a Jew; merely, perhaps, because he lived a good Hebræan, citing Surius, Genebrand, and Lindan, for this report. But it is certain, none of them were near him at his death, as Mr Bradford, and others were: Who, when they admonished him in his sickness, that he should arm himself against the assaults of the devil, answered, "that he had nothing to do with the devil, be-"cause he was wholly in CHRIST. God forbid, says "he, that I should not now have experience of the

"sweet consolations of Christ."——He likewise said, "Cast me not off, O my God, in my old age, now "when my strength faileth me;" adding——"He hath "afflicted me sore, but he will never cast me off." And when Mr Bradford came to him, and told him that he must die, he answered, "*Ille, ille, regit, & moderatur "omnia;*" i. e. The Lord, the Lord alone rules and disposes all things; and so quietly yielded up his soul. He was a plain man in person and apparel, and therefore, at his own request, privately created doctor, without any solemnity; A skilful linguist, whom Vossius, a great critic, and of palate not to be pleased with a common gust, stileth, "*Ter maximum Bucerum,*" a commendation which he justly deserved. Calvin, whose testimony is equal at least to any of Bucer's contemporaries, said of him, in a letter to Virctus, that 'he never thought of the loss which 'the church of God had felt in Bucer, but his heart was 'rent with sorrow.'—*cor meum propè lacerari sentio.*

Bossuet says, that Bucer was a man pretty well learned, of a flexible spirit, and more fertile in distinctions, than the most refined scholastics. A fine preacher, somewhat heavy in his style; but was respected for his stature, and the sound of his voice. He had been a Jacobin, and married as others did, and, as one may say, more than others; for his wife dying, he married a second and a third time.—This is calm for a papist. Burnet says, 'that 'Bucer was inferior to none of all the reformers in learn-'ing; but superior to most of them in an excellent tem-'per of mind, and great zeal for preserving the unity of 'the church——a rare quality in that age, in which Me-'lancthon and he were most eminent. He had not that 'nimbleness of disputing, for which Peter Martyr was more 'admired; and the popish doctors took advantage from 'that to carry themselves more insolently towards him.'

Bucer's writing was so very bad, that the printers and he himself could hardly read it: But Muscules read it easily, and copied it elegantly. He transcribed for him, among many other things, his exposition of the prophet Zephaniah, which is in print: In the beginning of this are his verses, and that whole Psalter, which he published under the name of Aretius Felinus. Erasmus, Lipsius, and several other great authors, had the same defect as Bucer: and there were few learned men who could write so well as Musculus.

There is nothing more absurd, than to impute to him as particular errors, that the body of Jesus Christ is pre-

sent in the eucharist, only in the act of receiving: That baptism does not procure salvation to children: And that there is no sin in not believing, that priests are not obliged to celibacy. The first of these propositions is the common doctrine of the Lutherans: The second and fourth are the common doctrine of all protestants.

'When I consider, says Calvin, with myself, what a 'loss the church of God has suffered by the loss of this 'one man, I cannot but every now and then renew my 'grief. He would have done great service in England; 'and I hoped for something greater from his writings 'hereafter, than what he has hitherto published.'

Cardinal Pole kept a visitation in Cambridge, by his power legatine, whereby the bones of Bucer and Fugius were burnt to ashes, and many superstitions established. This cardinal was of the blood royal, and obtained the see of Canterbury when Cranmer was martyred. He was at enmity with the pope; and the English clergy wished him at Rome again, because he was not willing to indulge queen Mary, and the persecuting prelates, in their cruelties against the protestants: For he was a modest, humble, good-natured, and learned man. However, the next year, Pole sent his Italian friend Ormaneto, and several bishops, on a visitation to the university of Cambridge, of which he was chancellor in the room of Gardiner. The first thing which they did, was to put two churches under an interdict, because the bodies of Bucer and Fagius, two German heretics, were laid in them. They entered on a ridiculous process against the two dead bodies; of which sensible men, whose understanding was not devoured by their bigotry, must have been ashamed. The process being finished by the visitors, and a writ from the queen having been sent in consequence of their sentence, the bodies were taken out of their graves, tied to stakes with many of their books, and all the heretical writings they could find, and burnt all together.

Beza composed some excellent verses in celebration of his memory, and the duke of Suffolk wrote his epitaph; both of which are in Melchior Adam, but require too much room for insertion.

SEBASTIAN

SEBASTIAN MUNSTER.

SEBASTIAN MUNSTER, an eminent German divine, was born at Inghelheim, in the year 1489; and at the age of fourteen, was sent to Heidelberg to study. Two years after, he entered the convent of the Cordeliers, where he laboured assiduously; yet did not content himself with the studies relating to his profession, but applied himself also to mathematics and cosmography. He was the first who published a Chaldee grammar and lexicon, and gave the world, a short time after, a Talmudic Dictionary. He went afterwards to Basil, and succeeded Pellicanus, of whom he had learned Hebrew, in the professorship of that language. He was one of the first who attached himself to Luther; yet he seems to have done it with little or none of that zeal which distinguished the first Reformers; for he never concerned himself with their disputes, but shut himself up in his study, and busied himself in such pursuits as were most agreeable to his humour; and these were the Hebrew and other oriental languages, the mathematics, and natural philosophy. He published a great number of works on these subjects, of which the principal and most excellent is a Latin version from the Hebrew of all the books of the Old Testament, with learned notes, printed at Basil in 1534, and 1546. His version is thought much better, more faithful, and more exact, than those of Pagninus and Arias Montanus; and his notes are generally approved, though he dwells a little long upon the explications of the rabbins. For this version he was called the German Esdras, as he was the German Strabo, for an universal cosmography, in six books, which he printed at Basil in 1550. Munster was a sweet tempered, pacific, studious, retired man, who wrote a great number of books, but never meddled in controversy: all which considered, his going early over to Luther, may justly seem somewhat extraordinary. He died of the plague at Basil in 1552, aged sixty-three years.

CASPAR

CASPAR HEDIO.

THIS truly excellent and learned man was born at Etling, in the marquisite of Baden, and educated at Friburg, where he took his master of arts degree; from thence he went to Basil, where he studied divinity, and commenced doctor about the year 1520. He was called from this last station to the principal church at Mentz, but some of his hearers, not liking his plain and close preaching, were easily induced by the enemies of the faith to persecute him. Upon this account, he left Mentz, and went to Strasburgh, in the year 1523; and there afforded, under God, great assistance to Capito and Bucer in the Reformation of religion, by the command of the senate: And there also he married in 1533. Gerbelius, a writer of that time, said of him in a letter to a friend, that Hedio's success in preaching the gospel was wonderful; and that he was of vast service to his colleagues, and to the cause of truth, not only by the solidity of his discourses, but also by the integrity and purity of his life. The papists there likewise greatly persecuted him, notwithstanding which, he preached and wrote boldly against masses, indulgences, auricular confession, and the other flagrant enormities of the church of Rome. In the year 1543, Herman, archbishop of Colen, set on foot a Reformation, and sent for Bucer and Hedio to assist him in it; as both these excellent men were remarkable for their popular way of preaching, and consequently most likely, through the divine blessing, to succeed in the instruction of the people: But being exceedingly persecuted, and at length driven away by the emperor and the Spaniards who were then at Borin, he escaped through many difficulties and dangers, and returned to Strasburgh. All the time he could spare from his ministerial employments, he spent in writing commentaries upon the holy scriptures, or in compiling histories. For the latter he

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was extremely well qualified, being thoroughly versed in antiquities, and in almost every branch of human learning.

He had a great correspondence and strict concord with most of the great and good men of his time. He was remarkable for the sincerity of his attachments: And (as one of his dearest friends observed, in writing of him) the devil hates nothing more than cordial friendship and mutual love. He was particularly intimate with Oecolampadius.

This great man calmly resigned his breath on the 17th of October, in the year 1552, and was succeeded by the famous Jerom Zanchius in his pastoral duties at Strasburgh.

Hedio's writings were both theological and philological: And he was a great editor of the writings of others, having translated, from the learned languages into German, the works of many of the fathers and other useful authors. Upon the whole, though we can furnish our readers with no longer account of him, we may safely say, considering the great usefulness ascribed to him in promoting the Reformation, that he is one of those, who will surely be had *above*, and ought to be had *below*, in perpetual remembrance.

Boissard (according to Mr Leigh) enumerates Hedio's works in his Icones.

GEORGE, PRINCE OF ANHALT, &c.

AND

BISHOP OF MERSBURG.

WE are told by the apostle, *that not many wise men after the flesh, not many mighty, not many noble are called*, 1 Cor. i. 26. And the truth of this observation is confirmed by the experience of past and present ages. However,

However, blessed be God, it is not said—*not any.* A *few* of these, though *but* a few, in most generations, have been called to the enjoyment of a better treasure than that of earth; and have, with disciples of a lower order in the world, found the same *mercy to be faithful,* to be *rich in good works,* and to be *wise unto salvation.*

This excellent person was descended from the dukes of Saxony, and had in his family (what the world at large is glad to boast of) many great princes and honourable men. He was born on the 14th of August, in the year 1507. His immediate parent was prince Ernest of Anhalt, who gave him a very sober, as well as liberal education. His father seems to have been a religious man by his conduct towards his son; for he gave such persons the charge of his education, as were not only eminent for their knowledge of letters, but for religion and sacred learning. He studied at the university of Leipsig under George Forcheme, who had been the preceptor of Camerarius, Cruciger, and other eminent persons. Under this able tutor, the prince made a rapid progress in every branch of science, both human and divine.

His rank and probable destination in life made the study of the civil law highly expedient and necessary; and accordingly he was led to devote much attention to the attainment of it. But he abhorred the quibbles and sophistries practised by the professors of law, and discovered the utmost candour and ingenuousness of temper in his legal researches. Truth was his object in all things; and he used to say, with the wise prince of Israel, that *lying lips do not become a prince* above all men. Panormitan, the great civilian, was his favourite author in this branch of study.

He had made such attainments in every kind of knowledge, that, when he was scarce twenty-two years of age, he was chosen by Albert, elector of Mentz, to be one of his council; and, being very eloquent, was much employed and attended to by that prince in the discussion of state-affairs.

About this time, the great business of the Reformation attracted the attention of all men; and Luther's writings, 'concerning the difference between the law and the gos-'pel—of true repentance—of grace—of faith—of true 'prayer—of the use of the sacraments—of the distinction 'between divine and human laws, and between the dis-'pensation of the gospel and the civil power'—were dispersed and read every where. Prince George was no idle

spectator.

spectator. He sought truth like a philosopher, and loved it like a Christian. But distrusting his own judgment upon matters of such immense and important controversy, he began his investigations with prayer. Melchior Adam says, that he most constantly and ardently begged of God to incline his heart only to the truth, and frequently with tears used to repeat these pathetic words; *Deal with thy servant according to thy mercy, and teach, O teach me thy righteousness.* From this period, he sought for truth at the fountain of truth,—in the HOLY SCRIPTURES; and, for assistance in difficult passages, he read Augustine, Jerom, and Peter Lombard; using at the same time the learned conferences to his friend Forcheme. For this end, he also perfected himself in Greek and Hebrew, and is said to have been so great a master in the latter language, as to equal the most learned professors. Nor did he omit, in conversation with the ablest divines, not only to seek the truth for himself, but to induce and confirm it in others.

At length, not without the most mature consideration and hearty prayers, he openly embraced and professed the doctrines of the Reformation, and renounced all commerce with papists and popery. He lived upon the most affectionate terms with the princes his brothers, who concurred with him in planting the Reformation in the territories that belonged to them. He pulled down ignorant superstition, and set up seminaries of learning—the surest way, under God, of exterminating error and darkness from the earth. All this he accomplished without the least dispute or tumult; brought multitudes to the light of the gospel, and established many, through the divine grace, in the happy enjoyment of that light in their souls.

Such a burning and shining lamp was this pious and learned prince, that, by the persuasion of Luther, who wrote a book about this time upon Christian episcopacy, he was induced to accept of an ecclesiastical function, and became bishop of Mersburg, in Saxony, in the year 1545; at which time Nicholas Amsdorf was made bishop of Neoburg. His letter of episcopal ordination was dated on the third of August, in the forementioned year, and his style runs thus; 'The most reverend and illustrious 'GEORGE, prince in Anhalt, count of Ascania, and lord 'in Bernburg, &c. bishop of Mersburg;' and he is therein exhorted to comfort himself by several texts of scripture, and to be assured, 'that though his sacred office was 'attended with many and great dangers, to sustain which 'all

'all human capacity is uttery unequal, yet God is truly 'present with, and dwells in his church, and the voice of 'the gospel is under the protection and defence of God.' His was an episcopate of danger and difficulty for the truth of God, which no worldly man would covet, and no good man could condemn.

He entered upon this holy office with humble prayer, and he discharged it with the utmost care and assiduity. His whole time was from thence forward wholly employed, in preaching, writing, reading, and settling the affairs of the church. Knowingly, he never hurt any man; but profited all to the utmost of his power, both in public and private. He was a great promoter of peace among princes, settled many of their disputes, and, being far above all low ambition and revenge himself, he endeavoured to remove it from others. He bare many and very great insults with true Christian magnanimity, and shewed that he lived with God in his heart, and for God in his intercourse with men. He used frequently to say to people of agitated tempers; *Submit yourself to God, and pray to him; for the Lord is nigh unto them who are broken in heart, and will save those that are of an humble spirit.*

Most of his time, disengaged from the duties of his function, was passed with learned and pious men. With these he conversed, according to their several faculties, whether of law, physic, or divinity. For this last profession, his great colleagues were, Luther, Justus Jonas, Bugenhagius, and Camerarius, with whom he conferred freely upon the most profound and interesting topics in theology.

As his life, so his death, bespoke an heart full of resignation, faith, and love. He lingered under a painful disease for half a year, in which time he settled the affairs of his church, and gave himself up, in constant prayer, to such preparations, as became a Christian removing to his heavenly mansion. He frequently dwelt upon the divine promises, and particularly these; *God so loved the world, that he gave his only begotten Son, that whosoever believeth in him, should not perish, but have everlasting life;* and, *My sheep hear my voice, and I know them, and they follow me; and I give unto them eternal life, and they shall never perish, neither shall any pluck them out of my hand;* and, *Come unto me all ye that labour and are heavy laden, and I will refresh you.* He sweetly discoursed with his brethren and friends upon the blessings of Christ, upon the

hope

hope of eternal life, upon the wonderful gathering in of God's church from the race of mankind, and other heavenly doctrines; all demonstrating where his heart and treasure was, and where his spirit would shortly be. He ceased to breathe in this world, at Dessau, on the seventeenth of October, in the year 1553, and in the 47th year of his age.

Melancthon wrote two elegies upon his death, and speaks of him in terms of the highest esteem and respect. He held two synods of his clergy twice in every year, and delivered to them a proper charge in Latin, according to the exigencies of the church.

He wrote many tracts and sermons, which were published, either at the time they were written, or soon after his death. They are said to have been composed in a plain and perspicuous style. The principal of them were as follow: A consolatory oration upon the promise of Christ in John x. 29.—A sermon preached upon the marriage of Augustus duke of Saxony, with Anne daughter of the king of Denmark. Our prince-bishop united their hands at Torgau on the 14th of October, 1548.—Four sermons upon the two species of bread and wine in the sacrament.—A consolatory letter to his brother Wolfgang in his sickness.—Two sermons upon false prophets and the true use of Christian doctrine.—And several others, preached in the reformed churches, which were translated from the German into Latin.

JOHN ROGERS,

THE PROTO-MARTYR UNDER Q. MARY.

THIS brave champion for the truth, who had the honour of being PROTO-MARTYR, or the first that was burned for the gospel, in the reign of queen Mary, was educated at the university of Cambridge; where he attained

tained to a great proficiency in learning: From thence he was chosen by a company of merchants to be their chaplain at Antwerp; to whom he preached many years. He there happily became acquainted with William Tindale and Miles Coverdale, who fled thither from the persecution of the papists under king Henry VIII. in England; and, by their means, coming to the true knowledge of Jesus Christ, he joined heartily with them in the laborious and commendable work of translating the bible into English, and was thereby so much enlightened in the doctrines of the gospel, that he cast off the futile and idolatrous worship of the church of Rome. At Antwerp he married his wife, and from thence went to Wittenberg, daily increasing in knowledge, and became such a proficient in the Dutch language, that he was chosen pastor of a congregation there; which office he discharged with great diligence and faithfulness for some years. In king Edward's time, he was sent for home by bishop Ridley, and made prebendary and divinity lecturer of St Paul's, where he preached faithfully and zealously till the coming in of queen Mary. In the beginning of her reign, in a sermon at Paul's cross, he exhorted the people stedfastly and perseveringly to adhere to that doctrine which they had been taught, and to beware of pestilent popery, idolatry, and superstition. His zeal could not long be unnoticed; and accordingly he was soon called before the privy council, where he answered so scripturally, sensibly, and boldly, and at the same time in so becoming a manner, that, for that time, he was dismissed. But, after the queen's proclamation against the preaching of the truth came forth, he was again called before the popish bishops (who thirsted for his blood) and committed prisoner to his own house; from whence he might easily have escaped, and to which indeed he had many inducements; viz. his wife and ten children, his many friends in Germany, and the undoubted preferment he would there have met with; but being once called to answer in Christ's cause, he would not depart, though he stayed at the hazard, and (as will be seen) to the loss of his life.

After being confined a prisoner in his own house about six months, he was removed to Newgate, and there kept for a long time among thieves and murderers. At length, on the twenty-second, and several other days, of January, in 1555, he was examined before Dr Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, and others, in a very illiberal and cruel manner; they not permitting him to speak or answer for

himself, nor yet to defend his doctrines in writing: And on the twenty-ninth of the same month, Gardiner and others pronounced sentence against him in the following manner; 'In the name of God, Amen. We Stephen, 'by the permission of God, bishop of Winchester, &c. do 'find that thou hast taught, holden, and affirmed, and 'obstinately defended divers errors, heresies, and damnable opinions, contrary to the doctrine and determination of the holy church; as namely these; "That "the catholic church of Rome is the church of antichrist: *Item*, that, in the sacrament of the altar, there "is not, substantially nor really, the natural body and "blood of Christ." We do therefore judge thee and 'condemn thee, John Rogers, otherwise called Matthews, '(thy demerits and faults being aggravated through thy 'damnable obstinacy) as guilty of most detestable heresies, and as an obstinate and impenitent sinner, refusing 'to return to the lap and unity of the HOLY MOTHER 'CHURCH, and that thou hast been and art by law excommunicate; and do pronounce and declare thee to 'be an excommunicate person. Also we pronounce and 'declare thee, being an heretic, to be cast out from the 'church, and left unto the judgment of the secular 'power, by this our sentence definitive, which we here 'lay upon and against thee, with sorrow of heart.'

When the sentence was read, Mr Rogers again attempted to speak; but was not suffered. He then asked of them, to permit his wife, a poor stranger, to see him before he suffered; but this also was denied, and she was absolutely forbidden. When he was taken back to prison, after this and every preceding day's examination, he wrote down the questions put to him, and his answers, as far as they would allow him to speak, and also what he would have said, had he been permitted; which, because of their length, we cannot, consistent with our plan, insert; but must refer those who wish to see them at large to Fox's martyrology: Yet, on account of their excellency, we presume it will be acceptable to our Readers in general to see so much of them, as may serve for a specimen of the true wisdom, piety, and zeal of this great and good man.

"But here (says he) they will cry out; Lo, these men "will be still a John Baptist, an apostle, a prophet, &c. "—I answer, We make not ourselves like unto them, "in the gifts and power of God bestowed on them to "the working of miracles, and the like; but that we "are

" are like them in believing the same doctrine, and in " suffering persecution and shame for the same. We " preach their very doctrine, and none other: This we " are able to prove from their writings, which I have " proffered to do again and again by writing. And, for " this cause, we suffer the like reproach, shame, and " rebuke of the world; suffering the same persecution, " to the loss of our goods, and even of our lives; and " to the forsaking (as our Master Christ commandeth) " father, mother, sister, brethren, wives, children, &c. " being assured of a joyful resurrection, and to be crowned " in glory with them, according to the infallible pro- " mises made unto us in Christ, our only and all-sufficient " Mediator, Reconciler, Priest, and Sacrifice: Who, for " us, as well as them, hath pleased the Father, quieted " and pacified his wrath against our sins; and, by impu- " tation, hath made us without spot or wrinkle in his " sight; although we, of and in ourselves, are polluted " with many filthy sins, which if the measureless, un- " speakable mercy and love of God in Christ did not put " away, by not imputing them to us, would have brought " us to everlasting damnation, and death perpetual.—In " this, and in no other sense, do we affirm ourselves to " be like Christ our head, his apostles, prophets, martyrs, " and saints. And so far ought all Christians to be like " them, according to the measure of faith, and the di- " versity of the gifts of the Spirit, that God hath given " unto them.

" But let us now consider, that if it be God's good " will and pleasure to give the members of his beloved " church into the hands of their enemies, it is to chasten, " try, and prove them, to bring them to an unfeigned " acknowledgement of their natural perverseness and dis- " obedience towards God, and his commandments, as " touching their love of God, their brethren and neigh- " bours; and to shew them their natural inclination and " readiness to seek their own ease and pleasure; and to " desire that good from the creature which God has for- " bid, as only to be found in himself. And in order, " that having fallen into gross outward sins, like David, " Peter, and others, they may be brought to a true and " earnest repentance, and to sigh and cry for the forgive- " ness of the same, and for the aid of the Spirit, daily " to mortify and subdue all evil desires and affections in " future. And many other wise and gracious purposes " of the Lord concerning his people are answered by

" their being often put into the furnace of affliction.
" But let us also consider what he doth with those ene-
" mies into whose hands he giveth his tender darlings
" to be chastened and tried. In truth, he does but chas-
" ten and cross them for a little while, according to his
" fatherly love and good pleasure, as all fathers do their
" children, (Heb. xii. and Prov. iii.); but he utterly de-
" stroyeth, yea, and everlastingly damneth their impenitent
" enemies.

" Let Herod tell me what he got by killing James, and
" by persecuting Peter, and Christ's tender darlings and
" beloved spouse, his church? Verily God thought him
" not worthy to have death ministered by men or angels,
" or any other creature, than those small, filthy vermin,
" lice and worms, which were ordained to destroy his
" beastly, tyrannous body. Pharaoh and Nebuchadnezzar,
" with all their pride and might, must at length let
" God's favourite people go freely out of their land,
" from their bands and cruelty: For when they could
" obtain nothing but counterfeit mercies, like those of
" our day *, namely, extreme cruelties and death, then
" did God arise, as one awoke out of sleep, and destroyed
" those enemies of his flock with a mighty hand, and
" stretched out arm. When Pharaoh grievously oppressed
" the poor Israelites with intolerable labours and heavy
" burdens, his courtiers noised abroad his tender mercies
" towards them, in suffering them to live in the land,
" and in setting them to work, that they might get their
" livings; for if he should thrust them out of his land,
" they must be no better than vagabonds and runagates.
" Have we not the like examples now-a-days? O that
" I had now time to write certain things pertaining to
" the bishop of Winchester's mercy! I have not time to
" speak how merciful he hath been to me and to my good
" brethren, and to the duke of Suffolk's most innocent
" daughter, and her innocent husband: O that I had
" time to paint it in its proper colours! but there are
" many that can do it better than I, who shall live when
" I am dead. Pharaoh had his plagues; and his once
" most flourishing land utterly destroyed, on account of
" hypocrisy and counterfeit mercy, which was no other
" than cruelty and abominable tyranny. And think ye,
" that the bloody, butcherly, bishop of Winchester and
" his

* Alluding to their frequent expreſſions of great ſorrow and concern for him in the courſe of his examination, and in the ſentence pronounced againſt him.

" his bloody brethren, shall escape? Or that England, for " their offences, and especially for the maintenance of their " idolatry, and wilful following of them in it, shall not " abide as great brunts; yes, undoubtedly.

" If God look not mercifully upon England, the seeds " of utter destruction are already sown in it by these " hypocritical tyrants, and antichristian prelates, papists, " and double traitors to their country: And yet they " speak of mercy, of blessing, of the Catholic church, " of unity, of power, and of strengthening the realm. " This double dissimulation will appear in the day of the " Lord's visitation, when those crown-shorn captains, who " have shewn no mercy to the poor godly sufferers of this " realm, shall have judgment without mercy *."

Mr

* In the course of Mr Rogers's first day's examination, Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, asked him; 'What sayest thou? Make us a direct 'answer, whether thou wilt be one of this Catholic church or not, with 'us, in the state in which we are now?' To which Mr Rogers answered, " My Lord, I cannot believe, that ye yourselves do think in your hearts " that he [the pope] is supreme head in forgiving of sin, &c. as ye have " now said, seeing *you* and *all* the bishops of the realm have now for twenty " years long preached, and some of you also written, to the contrary; and " the parliament hath so long ago condescended unto it;"—Here he was interrupted, and not allowed to say any more. If men could subscribe to, and preach and write Protestant doctrines for twenty years together, and after that slaughter Protestants in the manner these men did; may it not from hence be justly inferred, that it is a very great mistake which at this time seems but too generally to prevail, viz. That the Roman Catholics may in time, (and those even now in England) have little or no bigotry, and nothing of a persecuting spirit, notwithstanding they stedfastly believe the same doctrines that their ancestors did, whose bigotry, cruelty and thirst for the blood of the Protestants, are beyond expression? Similar causes will always produce similar effects. This may be illustrated by a comparison of the experience of those that truly believe in the Lord Jesus Christ at this day, with all true believers in every age and place under the like circumstances. They of old believed in the Lord Jesus Christ, as reported in the word—they loved God—they kept his commandments as obedient children—they feared to offend their heavenly Father—they loved one another—they fought under the banner of Christ against the world, the flesh and the devil—they endured, seeing Him who is invisible—when called to it they took chearfully the spoiling of their goods—and many (of whom the Lord thought the world not worthy) sealed the truths of the gospel with their blood, and witnessed a good confession of their faith in the flames. Do not those, who, with the faith of God's elect, believe the same glorious truths with them, discover the same happy dispositions, which under the like circumstances, bring forth the same blessed fruits? If the believing of the doctrine of Jesus Christ does uniformly influence the heart and life of all true believers in every place and different period, and that contrary to flesh and blood, and all temporal interest and natural inclination: can we reasonably suppose, that the papists of the present day,

Mr Rogers, being sentenced to be burned, and remanded back to prison, was on Monday morning, the fourth day of February, 1555, awakened out of a very sound sleep, with great difficulty, by the keeper's wife, who suddenly warned him to make haste and prepare himself for the fire. If it be so, said he, I need not tie "my points."—He was then had down to bishop Bonner, who degraded him; of whom (he said) he had one favour to ask. Bonner asked what that should be: "Nothing, "answered Mr Rogers, but that I may speak a few "words to my wife before my burning." This request not being granted; he added, "You declare your cha- "rity, what it is." The time being come, he was brought out to Newgate, and delivered up to the sheriffs of London to be taken to Smithfield; one of whom said, 'Mr Rogers, will you revoke your abominable doctrine, 'and your evil opinion of the sacrament of the altar?' Mr Rogers answered, "That, which I have preached, "I will seal with my blood." 'Then, (said the sheriff,) 'thou art an heretic.' "That shall be known, (replied "Mr Rogers,) at the day of judgment." 'Well, (said 'the sheriff,) I will never pray for thee.' "But I will "pray for you," said Mr Rogers; and so they proceeded towards Smithfield; Mr Rogers saying the 51st Psalm, and the people exceedingly rejoicing and giving thanks to God for his constancy. His wife and ten children by her side, with one at her breast, met him by the way, being the only opportunity they had even of seeing one another any more in the flesh; but neither did this very affecting scene seem in the least to shake his confidence, so graciously was he supported, in the trying hour, by HIM, who hath promised, *I will never, never, leave thee; never, never, forsake thee.* When he came to the stake, he shewed great constancy and patience; but not being suffered to speak many words, he briefly exhorted the people steadily to remain in that faith and true doctrine, which he had before taught them, and for the confirmation of which he was not only content patiently to

day, who announce the same creed with their bloody fore-fathers, will not, whenever it is in their power, be found in their fore-fathers' cruel practices; especially when, through ignorance and superstition, they believe, *that while they kill you, they do God service?* In short; almost every doctrine, they hold, is framed to sooth the pride, and flatter the vanity of fallen man, and calculated to gratify those sensual passions and desires, which rule in a heart deceitful above all things and desperately wicked.

to suffer all such bitterness and cruelty, as had been already shewn him, but also most gladly to resign up his life, and to give his flesh to the consuming fire, for a testimony of the same. They then again brought him a pardon, upon condition that he would recant; but he, with the magnanimity of a true martyr, refused it; not preferring life upon such terms to the cruel death of burning; which he suffered with the greatest patience and fortitude; washing, as it were, his hands in the flames, and ejaculating with his last breath; "Lord, receive my "spirit!"

It is remarked of Mr Rogers, that, during the year and a half that he was imprisoned, he was always chearful, but very earnest and intent upon every thing he did. He wrote much, especially his examinations, which were wonderfully preserved: For they frequently made diligent search for his writings; and it is supposed, that they refused his wife visiting him, lest she should convey them away. And when he was taken out of Newgate and led to Smithfield, they again searched his room, but found nothing. They therefore readily admitted his wife and son Daniel into his apartment, upon their return from Smithfield, who looked in every corner, as they supposed, and were coming away, supposing others had been before hand with them, when Daniel spied something black in a dark corner under a pair of stairs, which proved to be his examinations and writings, to which the reader has been already referred in Fox's martyrology, where they are inserted at large.—He was charitable to the poor prisoners, agreeing with Mr Hooper and others, to take but one meal a day, and to give the rest to those on the other side of the prison, that were ready to die for hunger; but the cruel keeper withheld it from them. The Sunday before he suffered, he drank to Mr Hooper, being then underneath him, and desired them to commend him unto him, and to tell him, 'There was never a little fellow "would better stick to a man, than he would stick to "him;" supposing, contrary to what happened, that they should have been both burned together.—Thus died, triumphant in the faith, this blessed proto-martyr, and proved the reality of the ancient observation, 'that the 'blood of the martyrs is the seed of the church;' for instead of being intimidated, multitudes were encouraged by his example, and those, who had no religion before, were put upon inquiries; *What was the cause, for which such pious and learned men were contented to die;* and so,

from being atheists or papists, they were led, by God's blessing, to a knowledge and profession of that gospel, the darkening of which was the main end and design of all this bloody persecution.

LAURENCE SAUNDERS.

THIS gracious man, descended from an opulent family, and eminent as a scholar, but still more respectable for the grace given him of God; was educated at Eaton, and from thence chosen to King's-College, in Cambridge; where, for three years, he applied himself closely to study, and made a considerable proficiency in learning: But his mother, with a view to increase his plentiful fortune, bound him to a capital merchant, in the city of London, to be instructed in trade. The merchant, being a religious man, soon perceived that Saunders's natural bias was to learning, rather than trade; and, from his seriousness, presuming that the Lord had some employment for him, far more important than that of merchandize, he gave him his indentures. Upon this, Saunders returned again to Cambridge, where he made a further progress in his studies. He was a man, exercised with very severe temptations and inward conflicts, but graciously supported, and much comforted. These trials wrought in him such experience, as qualified him afterwards, in his ministerial labours, to administer comfort to others. He remained some considerable time in the university, after he had taken his master of arts degree; and in the reign of King Edward, he entered into holy orders, and was made lecturer of Fotheringhay; about which time he married. He was next made a reader in the cathedral of Litchfield; where he was very successful in winning souls to God; and, by his holy life and conversation, obtained a good report, even of his adversaries. He was from thence removed to Church-Langton in Leicestershire;

cestershire; and, lastly, to the rector of Allhallows, in Bread-Street, London.

He went down frequently to Church-Langton, intending to resign it; but queen Mary coming to the throne, he changed his mind, knowing that none but a papist would succeed him. In his way thither, he preached at Northampton, and, being filled with zeal for the truth, he bore a noble testimony against the errors of popery: Which (said he) are likely to spring up again, as a just visitation of God, for the little love that England hath borne to the truths and privileges of the gospel, so plentifully afforded her. He was apprehensive of the troubles that afterwards came to pass; and therefore applied himself, with all diligence, to confirm his people in the truth, (notwithstanding the proclamation to the contrary) and to arm them against all false doctrines; but he was at length opposed, and finally hindered by open violence. He was then much advised to leave the kingdom, which he positively refused, and went straight for London to visit his flock in Bread-street. In his way, pretty near to town, he was overtaken by Mordaunt, the queen's counsellor, who asked, If he did not preach at such a time in Bread-street: He answered, Yes: And will you, said Mordaunt, preach so again? Yes, said he, to-morrow you may hear me there; where I will confirm, by God's word, all I then preached. I would advise you, said Mordaunt, to forbear. Mr Saunders said, If you will forbid me by lawful authority, I must then forbear.—Nay, said the other, I shall not forbid you: So they parted. The next day being Sunday, he expounded the eleventh chapter of the second epistle to the Corinthians; and in the afternoon, designing to give his people another exhortation, he went again to church; but when he came there, the bishop of London's officers prevented him, by taking him before his lordship [Bonner,] Mordaunt, and some of the bishop's chaplains.

The bishop charged him with treason, heresy, and sedition, and required of him his opinion about transubstantiation in writing; which being obliged to comply with, he said, "You seek my blood, and you shall have "it: I pray God you may be so baptized in it, that you "may hereafter loath blood-sucking, and become a "better man." Bishop Bonner sent him to bishop Gardiner; where he was kept standing uncovered four hours at the door of the room, in which were sitting Mordaunt and some others; till at length the bishop, returning from

from court, ordered him into a proper place for examination; and then interrogated him in the following manner. 'How dare you to preach, notwithstanding 'the queen's proclamation to the contrary?' Mr Saunders answered, "he was moved in his conscience so to "do from the apostle's command, *to obey God rather than* "*man.*" 'A goodly conscience surely, said the bishop, 'which could make our queen a bastard, or misbegotten; 'is it not, I pray?' Mr Saunders said, "I do not say, "or go about to make the queen base or misbegotten; "but let those be careful about that matter, who have "published the same to the world, to their shame and re-"proach." (For it seems the bishop had prefaced the book of *true obedience*, in order to curry favour with Henry VIII. in which queen Mary was openly declared to be a bastard.) Mr Saunders added, "We do only preach in sincerity "the purity of the word; which although we are now "forbid to do with our mouths; yet I doubt not, but "that our blood hereafter shall more fully manifest the "same." Upon which the bishop cried out, to take away the frantic fool to prison. To which Mr Saunders said, "I thank God, who has at last given me a place of "rest and quietness, where I may pray for your lord-"ship's conversion."

Mr Saunders being sent to prison, and there confined a year and three months, wrote a letter to the bishop of Winchester, by way of answer to several particulars, with which the bishop had charged him. The following is all of the letter that has been preserved.

"Touching the cause of my imprisonment, I doubt "whether I have broken any law or proclamation. In "my doctrine I did not; for at that time it was per-"mitted by the proclamation to use, according to our "consciences, such service as was then established. "My doctrine was then agreeable to my conscience and "the same service then used. The act which I did "(alluding to his expounding the scriptures in his own "church in Bread-street) was such, as being indifferently "weighed, sounded to no breaking of the proclamation, "or at least no wilful breaking of it; as I caused no "bell to be rung, neither occupied I any place in the "pulpit, after the order of sermons or lectures. But "be it, that I did break the proclamation, this long im-"prisonment may be thought more than a sufficient pu-"nishment for such a fault.

"Touching

" Touching the charge against me as to my religion, " I say with St Paul, *this I confess, that after the way* " *which they call heresy, so worship I the God of my fore-* " *fathers; believing all things which are written in the law* " *and the prophets, and have hope towards God, &c.* And " herein I study to have always a clear conscience to- " wards God and towards man: So that I call God to " witness, I have a conscience. And this my conscience " is not grounded upon vain fantasy, but upon the in- " fallible verity of God's word, with the testimony of his " chosen church agreeable to the same.

" It is easy for them that take Christ for their true " pastor, and are the true sheep of his pasture, to discern " the voice of their true shepherd, from the voice of " wolves, hirelings, and strangers: For Christ saith, " *My sheep hear my voice:* And are thereby given to " know the voice of the true shepherd, and to follow " him; as our Saviour also saith. The sheep follow the " shepherd, for they know his voice: A stranger they " will not follow, but will flee from him; for they " know not the voice of a stranger. Such inward inspi- " ration doth the Holy Ghost put into the children of " God, being indeed taught of God, but otherwise unable " to understand the true way of their salvation. And al- " though (as Christ saith) the wolf cometh in sheep's " cloathing, he likewise adds, by their fruits ye shall know " them. For there are certain fruits by which the wolf " is bewrayed, notwithstanding, in outward appearances " of holiness, he seems to be ever so true a sheep. That " the Romish religion is ravening and wolfish, is evident " from a variety of considerations; and especially from " these three:

" First, it robbeth God of his due and only honour.

" Secondly, it taketh away the true comfort of con- " science, in obscuring, or rather burying of Christ and " his office of salvation.

" Thirdly, it spoileth God of his true worship and " service in spirit and truth, which he requires and com- " mands; and driveth men to that inconvenience, against " which both Christ and the prophet Isaiah speak very " sharply; *This people honoureth me with their lips; but* " *their heart is far from me. In vain do they worship me,* " *teaching, for doctrines the commandments of men.* And in " another place, *Ye cast aside the commandments of God, to* " *maintain your own traditions.*

" Wherefore

" Wherefore I in conscience, weighing the Romish " religion, and by a candid discussion thereof, finding " the foundation unstedfast, and the building upon it " but vain: And on the other hand, having my con- " science framed after a right and uncorrupt religion, " ratified and fully established by the word of God, and " the consent of his true church; I neither may, nor do " intend, by God's gracious assistance, to be pulled one " jot from the same; no, though an angel out of heaven " should preach another gospel than that, which I have " received of the Lord.

" And though I have neither that deep knowledge nor " profound judgment, nor that eloquence to utter what " I know and judge, as may be required in an excellent " clerk, in order sufficiently to answer and convince " the gainsayer: Yet nevertheless this my protestation " shall be premised, that with respect to the grounds and " causes before considered, notwithstanding I cannot " *explicitâ fide*, as they call it, conceive all that is to be " conceived, neither can discuss all that is to be dis- " cussed, nor express all that can be expressed, in the " discourse of the doctrine of this most true religion " which I profess; yet do I bind myself, as by my " humble sincerity, so by my *fidem implicitam*, that is, " by faith in general (as they call it) to wrap up my " belief in the credit of the same, that no authority of " that Romish religion, repugnant thereunto, shall by any " means remove me from the same, though it may come " to pass that our adversaries will labour to beguile us " through philosophy and deceitful vanity, after the tradi- " tions of men, and after the ordinances of the world, and " not after Christ, &c."

When Mrs Saunders went first to the prison to see her husband, the keeper told her he had strict charge not to suffer any body to speak to him; but that, if she chose to stay at the gate, he would take the child, which she had in her arms, to its father: She consented; and the father rejoiced to see his son; and said, " He had " rather have such a boy than two thousand pounds:" And to some that stood by, who admired the child, he said; " What man, that fears God, would not rather " lose his life, than bastardize such a child, make his " wife a whore, and himself a whore-monger? If there " were no other reason, why a man of my estate should " lose his life; yet who would not give it, to avouch " this

" this child to be legitimate, and his marriage to be law-
" ful and holy ?"

Mr Saunders, being confined a year and a quarter in prison, was at length sent for and examined before the queen's council, bishop Gardiner, Bonner, and others, in the following manner :

Gard. ' It is well known that you have been a prisoner ' for the abominable heresies and false doctrine that you ' have sown, and now it is thought good, that mercy be ' shewed to such as seek for it. Wherefore, if you will ' now conform, and come home again, mercy is ready. ' We must say, that we have all fallen, but now are we ' risen again, and returned to the catholic church : You ' must therefore rise with us, and come home unto it. Give ' us then a direct answer.'

Saund. " My lord, if it please your honours, give me " leave to speak with deliberation."

Gard. " Leave off your painting and pride of speech ; ' for such is the fashion of you all, to please yourselves ' in your glorious words. Answer yea, or nay."

Saund. " My lord, it is not a time for me now to " paint : And as for pride, I have no cause to be proud : " my learning I confess to be but little ; and as for " wealth, I have now none at all. Nevertheless, it be- " hoves me to answer your demand cautiously ; seeing that " one of these two extreme perils are likely to befal me : " The losing of a good conscience, or my life. And I " tell you the truth, I love both life and liberty, if I " could enjoy them without the hurt of my conscience."

Gard. ' Conscience ! you have none at all, but pride ' and arrogancy, dividing yourselves by singularity from ' the church.'

Saund. " The Lord knows all men's consciences. And " as to the charge of separation from the church, as I " understand your Lordship's meaning, I assure you I " live in the faith in which I have been brought up ever " since I was fourteen years of age ; being taught, that " the power of the bishop of Rome is but usurped, with " many consequent abuses. Yea, this I have received " from YOUR hands that are here present, as a thing " agreed upon by the catholic church and public autho- " rity."

Gard. ' Yea, marry, but I pray you, have you received ' by consent and authority all your heresies of the blessed ' sacrament of the altar ?"

Saund.

Saund. " My lord, it is less offence to cut off an arm, " hand, or joint of a man than to cut off the head; for " a man may live with the loss of any one of these; but " he cannot live without his head. But you, all the " whole sort of you, have agreed to cut off the su- " premacy of the bishop of Rome, whom you now will " have again to be the head of the church."

Bishop of London. ' My lord, I have his own hand- ' writing against the blessed sacrament. What say you ' to that, Saunders?"

Saund. " What I have written, I have written; and " further I will not accuse myself. You can lay no- " thing to my charge, for having broke any of your laws, " since they were in force."

Gard. ' Well, you are obstinate, and refuse liberty.'

Saund. " My lord, I may not buy liberty at such a " price: But I beseech your honours to obtain of the " queen such a pardon for us that we may live and keep " our consciences unclogged; and we shall live as most " obedient subjects. Or else, I must say for myself, " that, by God's grace, I will abide the greatest extremity " that man can do against me, rather than to act against " my conscience."

Gard. ' Ah, sirrah! you will live as you list. The ' Donatists desired to live in singularity; but indeed they ' were not fit to live upon the earth: No more are you, ' and that you shall know within these seven days; and ' therefore away with him.'

Saund. " Welcome be it, whatsoever the will of God " shall be, either life or death. And I tell you truly, I " have learned to die. But I exhort you to beware of " shedding innocent blood. Truly it will cry aloud " against you. The Spirit of God rest upon all your ho- " nours! amen."

Mr Saunders was then taken into an adjoining room, till some others were examined, that they might be all led to prison together: And where finding a great num- ber of people, he spake to them freely; declaring what they deserved on account of their falling from Christ to antichrist; and exhorted them to repent and turn, and with a stronger faith embrace Christ, and confess him to the end, in defiance of antichrist and sin, death and the devil; and so live in the love and favour of God. He was afterwards taken to the prison in Bread-street, out of which he preached to his parishioners, as he had for- merly done out of the pulpit.

On

On the fourth day of February, the bishop of London went to him in the prison, and degraded him; upon which he said; "I thank God, I am none of your "church." The next morning the sheriff of London delivered him up to some of the queen's guard, who were appointed to take him to Coventry, to be burned there. They travelled no farther than St Alban's the first night, where they were met by Mr Grimoald, a man of greater gifts than constancy; to whom Mr Saunders said, after giving him a lesson suitable to his revolting state, "Will "you pledge me out of this cup which I will begin to "drink of to you?" Grimoald, shrugging up his shoulders, answered, 'I will pledge you out of that cup, 'which is in your hand, with all my heart; but of that 'other which you mean, I will not promise you.' "Well, replied Mr Saunders, my dear Lord Jesus Christ "hath drank to me of a more bitter cup; and shall I "not pledge my most precious Saviour? Yes, I hope I "shall." At Coventry, he was put into the gaol amongst the common prisoners; where he slept very little, spending the night in prayer and in instructing others; and where to a friend he said, "pray for me, for I am the "most unfit for this high office of any one that was "ever appointed to it; but my gracious God and dear "Father is able to make me strong enough."

The next day, the eighth of February, 1555, they led him away to the place of execution, without the city; which when they were within sight of, the officer appointed to see the execution done, said to Mr Saunders, that he was one of the people that marred the queen's realm with false doctrine and heresy; and that therefore he deserved death: However, if he would revoke his heresies, he had orders with him for his pardon; but if not, he added, yonder is fire prepared for thee. To which Mr Saunders answered, "It is not I, nor my fellow-preachers of God's truth, "that have hurt the queen's realm, but it is yourself, "and such as you are, that have always resisted God's "holy word, that marr the queen's realm. I hold no "heresies, but the doctrine of God, the blessed gospel "of Christ; it is *that* I hold, it is *that* I believe, it is "*that* I have taught, and it is *that* I will never revoke." Upon this, the other rejoined, 'Away with him.' And Mr Saunders proceeded with much apparent comfort and resolution. When he came to the place, he fell to the ground, and prayed; and then arose and took the stake

in

in his arms, to which he was to be chained, and kissed it, saying, "Welcome the cross of Christ; welcome ever-"lasting life." He was fastened to the stake, and the fire was kindled; but the wood being green, they cruelly tormented him for a long time: Which gave an opportunity for a further proof of the covenant-faithfulness and love of HIM, who hath promised, that his grace *shall be sufficient*, and where afflictions abound, causeth the consolations of his Spirit much more to abound. This holy man, with the utmost fortitude and patience, endured his torments, and at length sweetly *fell asleep in* Jesus.

In the beginning of Q. Mary's reign, Mr Saunders met with Dr Pendleton, a man of learning and seeming zeal in preaching the gospel; and their conversation turning upon the times, and the probability of a very severe persecution, Mr Saunders appeared weak in faith, and very fearful that he should not remain stedfast: But Pendleton, with an air of courage and zeal, said, 'What, 'man! there is much more cause for me to fear than 'you; for I have a very big, fat body; yet will I see 'the utmost drop of this grease of mine melted away, 'and the last gobbet of this flesh of mine consumed 'to ashes, before I will forsake Jesus Christ, and his 'truth which I have professed.'—It was not long after, that they were both put to the trial; when poor, feeble, faint-hearted Saunders, always jealous of himself, by the power of divine grace, sealed the truth with his blood; and proud, self-sufficient Pendleton fell away and turned papist.——So true is it, that the most confident *in themselves*, are the nearest to apostacy; and that nothing can support the soul in trials, and carry it happily through them, but the omnipotent grace of an Almighty Redeemer.

It has been observed, that nothing discovers the temper and mind of a person more than his letters. The letters of Mr Saunders eminently discover the frame of his spirit; for which reason, we will add three or four of them.

A letter

A letter, written on the thirty-first of January, 1555, after his condemnation, addressed to his wife, and other faithful friends.

" THE grace of Christ, with the consolation of the " Holy Ghost, to the keeping of the faith and a " good conscience, confirm and keep you for ever vessels " to God's glory, amen.

" Oh! what worthy thanks can be given to our gra- " cious God for his unmeasurable mercies plentifully " poured upon us! And I, most unworthy wretch, can- " not but pour at this present, even from the bottom of my " heart, the bewailing of my great ingratitude and un- " kindness towards so gracious so good a God and loving " Father. I beseech you all, as for my other many sins, " so specially for that sin of my unthankfulness, crave " pardon for me in your earnest prayers, commending me " to God's great mercies in Christ.

" To number these mercies in particular, were to " number the drops of water which are in the sea, the " sands on the shore, and the stars in the sky. O my dear " wife, and ye the rest of my friends, rejoice with me; " I say, rejoice with thanksgiving for this my present " promotion, in that I am made worthy to magnify my " God, not only in my life, by my slow mouth and un- " circumcised lips, bearing witness unto his truth, but " also by my blood to seal the same, to the glory of my " God, and confirming of his true church: And as yet " I testify unto you, that the comfort of my sweet Christ " doth drive from my fantasy the fear of death. But if " my dear husband Christ doth for my trial leave me " alone a little to myself, alas! I know in what case I " shall be then: But if for my proof he do so, yet I am " sure he will not be long or far from me. Though he " stand behind the wall and hide himself, (as Solomon " saith in his mystical song,) yet will he peep in by a " crest to see how I do. He is a very tender-hearted " Joseph; though he speak roughly to his brethren, and " handle them hardly; yea, threaten grievous bondage " to his best-beloved brother Benjamin: Yet can he not " contain himself from weeping with us and upon us, " with falling on our necks, and sweetly kissing us. " Such, such a brother is our Christ unto all. Where- " fore hasten to go unto him as Jacob did with his sons " and family, leaving their country and acquaintance. " Yea, this our Joseph hath obtained for us, that Pha-

" raoh the infidel shall minister unto us chariots, wherein " at ease we may be carried to come unto him: As we " have experience how our very adversaries do help us " unto our everlasting bliss by their speedy dispatch; " yea, and how all things have been helpings thereunto; " blessed be our God. Be not afraid of fray-bugs which " lie in the way. Fear rather the everlasting fire: Fear " the serpent which hath that deadly sting, of which by " bodily death they shall be brought to taste which are " not grafted in Christ, wanting faith and a good con- " science, and so are not acquainted with Christ, the " killer of death. But oh, my dear wife and friends! " we, we whom God hath delivered from the power of " darkness, and hath translated us into the kingdom of " his dear Son, by putting off the old man, and by faith " putting on the new, even our Lord Jesus Christ, his " wisdom, holiness, righteousness, and redemption; we, " I say, have no triumph against the terrible, spiteful " serpent the devil, sin, hell, death, and damnation. For " Christ our brazen serpent hath pulled away the sting of " this serpent, so that now we may boldly, in beholding " it spoiled of its sting, triumph, and with our Christ, and " all his elect, say, *Death, where is thy sting? Hell, where " is thy victory? Thanks be to God, who hath given (us) the " victory, through our Lord Jesus Christ.*

" Wherefore be merry, my dear wife, and all my dear " fellow heirs of the everlasting kingdom; always re- " member the Lord. Rejoice in hope, be patient in " tribulation, continue in prayer, and pray for us now " appointed to the slaughter, that we may be unto our " heavenly Father a fat offering, and an acceptable sacri- " fice. I may hardly write to you: Wherefore let these " few words be a witness to my commendations to you and " all them which love us in the faith; and namely, unto " my flock, among whom I am resident by God's provi- " dence, but as a prisoner.

" And although I am not so among them, as I have " been, to preach to them out of a pulpit; yet doth God " now preach unto them by me, by this my imprison- " ment and captivity which now I suffer among them " for Christ's gospel sake, bidding them to beware of the " Romish antichristian religion and kingdom, requiring " and charging them to abide in the truth of Christ, " which is shortly to be sealed with the blood of their " pastor: Who, though he be unworthy of such a mi- " nistry, yet Christ their high pastor is to be regarded;

" whose

" whose truth hath been taught them by me, it witnessed
" by my chains, and shall be by my death, through the
" power of that high pastor. Be not careful, good wife;
" cast your care upon the Lord, and commend me unto
" him in repentant prayer, as I do you and our Samuel;
" whom even at the stake, I will offer as myself unto
" God. Fare ye well all in Christ, in hope to be joined
" with you in joy everlasting. This hope is put up in
" my bosom, Amen, Amen, Amen, pray, pray.

Another letter to his wife, &c.

" GRACE and comfort, &c. Wife, you shall do best
" not to come often unto the grate where the porter
" may see you. Put not yourself in danger where it
" needs not: You shall, I think, shortly come far enough
" into danger by keeping faith and a good conscience:
" Which, dear wife, I trust you do not slack to make
" reckoning and account upon, by exercising your in-
" ward man in meditation of God's most holy word, be-
" ing the sustenance of the soul, and also by giving your-
" self to humble prayer: For these two things be the
" very means how to be made members of our Christ,
" meet to inherit his kingdom.

" Do this, dear wife, in earnest, and not leaving off;
" and so we two shall, with our Christ and all his chosen
" children, enjoy the merry world in that everlasting
" immortality; whereas here will nothing else be found
" but extreme misery, even of them which most greedily
" seek this worldly wealth: And so, if we two continue
" God's children grafted in our Christ, the same God's
" blessing which we receive shall also settle upon our
" Samuel. Though we do shortly depart hence and leave
" the poor infant (to our seeming) at all adventures, yet
" shall he have our gracious God to be his God: For
" so hath he said, and he cannot lie; *I will be thy God*,
" saith he, *and the God of thy seed.* Yea, if you leave
" him in the wilderness, destitute of all help, being called
" of God to do his will, either to die for the confession
" of Christ, or any work of obedience: That God which
" heard the cry of the little poor infant of Agar, Sarah's
" hand-maiden, and did succour it, will do the like to the
" child of you or any other fearing him, and putting your
" trust in him.

" And if we lack faith, as we do indeed many times,
" let us call for it, and we shall have the increase both

" of it, and also of any other good grace needful for us:
" and be merry in God, in whom also I am very merry,
" and joyful. O Lord, what great cause of rejoicing
" have we, to think upon that kingdom which he vouch-
" safeth for his Christ's sake freely to give us, forsaking
" ourselves and following him. Dear wife, this is truly
" to follow him, even to take up our cross and follow
" him; and then, as we suffer with him, so shall we
" reign with him everlastingly, shortly. Amen.

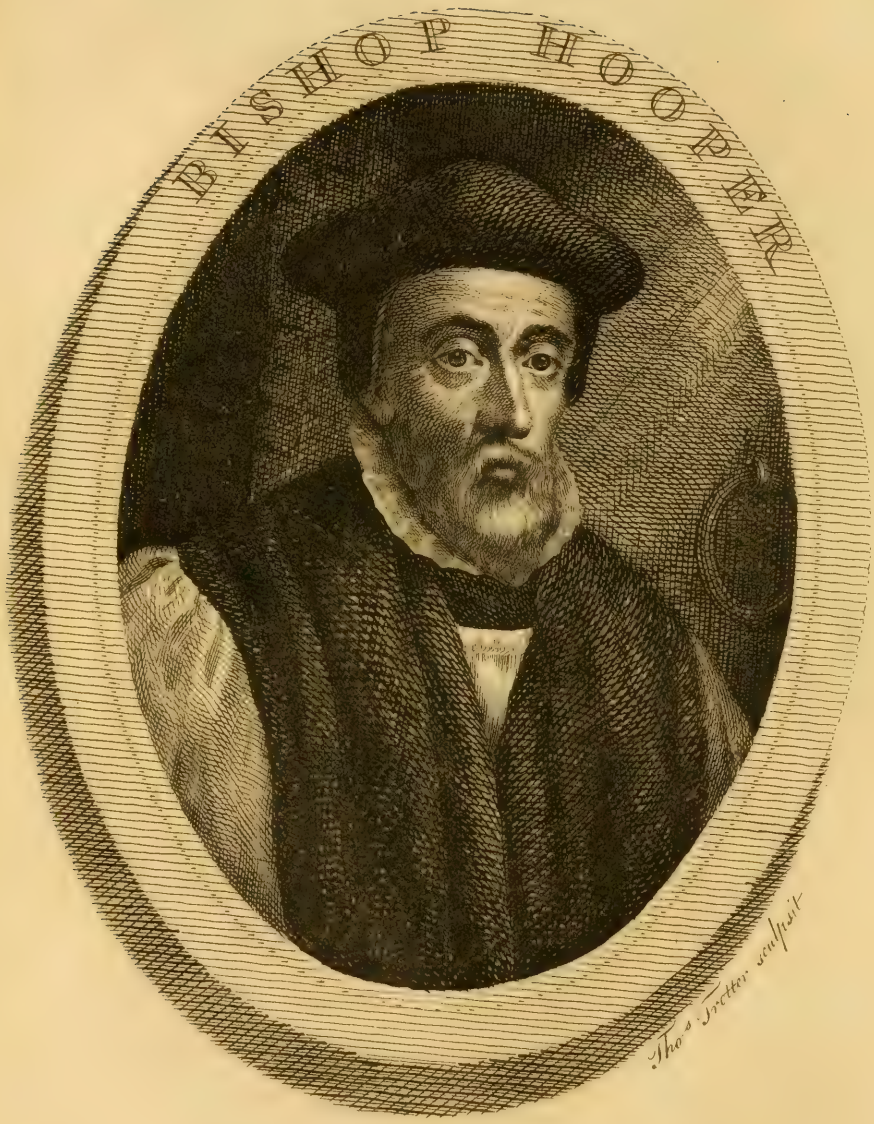
To his wife, a little before his burning.

" GRACE and comfort in Christ, Amen. Dear wife,
" be merry in the mercies of our Christ; and also
" ye my dear friends. Pray, pray for us every body.
" We be shortly to be dispatched hence to our good
" Christ; Amen, Amen. Wife, I would you sent me
" my shirt; which you know whereunto it is consecrated.
" Let it be sewed down on both sides, and not open.
" O my heavenly Father, look upon me in the face of
" thy Christ, or else I shall not be able to abide thy coun-
" tenance; such is my filthiness. He will do so, and
" therefore I will not be afraid what sin, death, hell and
" damnation can do against me. O wife, always re-
" member the Lord. God bless you; yea, he will bless
" thee, good wife, and thy poor boy also: Only cleave
" thou unto him, and he will give thee all things. Pray,
" pray, pray."

To Mr Robert and Mr John Glover; his last letter, written on the morning in which he was burnt.

" GRACE and consolation in our sweet Saviour Christ.
" Oh my dear brethren, whom I love in the Lord,
" being loved of you also in the Lord, be merry and
" rejoice for me, now ready to go up to that mine in-
" heritance, which I myself indeed am most unworthy
" of; but my dear Christ is worthy, who hath purchased
" the same for me with so dear a price. Make haste my
" dear brethren to come unto me, that we may be merry,
" *eo gaudio quod nemo tollet à nobis*; i. e. with that joy
" which no man shall take from us. O wretched sinner,
" that I am not thankful unto this my Father, who hath
" vouchsafed me to be a worthy vessel unto his honour.
" But, O Lord, now accept my thanks, though they
" proceed out of a not-enough circumcised heart. Sa-
" lute my good sisters your wives; and good sisters, fear
" the




BISHOP HOOPER
Thos Trotter sculpsit

" the Lord. Salute all other that love us in the truth.
" God's blessing be with you always, Amen. Even now
" towards the offering of a burnt sacrifice. O my Christ
" help, or else I perish!"

JOHN HOOPER.

BISHOP OF GLOUCESTER.

THIS great divine, who was born in 1495, was a native of Somersetshire, and received his academical education at Merton-College in Oxford, where he was sent in 1514, and placed under the tuition of his uncle John Hooper, who was made master-fellow of that house in 1513, and was also principal of St Alban's-Hall. In 1518, John Hooper, the nephew, was admitted batchelor of arts, which was the highest degree he took in this university, and about the same time completed it by determination. What became of him afterwards is not justly known: But it is reported, that he was one of the number of Cistercians, commonly called *white monks*, and continued so for some years, till he grew weary of a monastic life, and returned to Oxford, where he was converted by books brought from Germany, and soon became a zealous protestant.

In 1539, when the statute of the six articles was put in execution, he left Oxford, and got into the service of Sir Thomas Arundel, a Devonshire gentleman, to whom he became chaplain and steward of his estate. This gentleman was a Roman catholic knight, and was afterwards put to death with the protector, duke of Somerset, in the reign of Edward VI. He soon discovered that Hooper was a protestant, who thereby lost his protection, and was obliged to fly into France, where he continued some time among the reformed, till his dislike of some of their proceedings made him return to England. On his arrival in his native country,

country, he lived with a gentleman of the name of Seintlow, where he became known, and was sought after to be apprehended. Upon this, he disguised himself like a sailor, hired a boat, and went to Ireland, from whence he went to Holland, and so on to Switzerland. Bullinger was then at Zurick, where he succeeded Zuinglius in the chair. He likewise had been obliged to forsake his country on account of religion, and therefore gave a very friendly reception to Hooper, who was remarkable for his knowledge in the Greek and Hebrew languages, and who, by Bullinger's advice, married a Burgundian lady during his residence in that country.

Edward VI. came to the crown, in 1547, and Hooper came to England again, when he settled in London, where he frequently preached to the people on several reformed doctrinal heads, and particularly against pluralities. He had a great sweetness of temper, and was much regarded by all the party of the reformed, who inclined to a parity of church government. His residence in foreign parts, where Reformation bordered much upon levelling principles, had brought him into a train of thinking no way favourable to church discipline. He made the avoiding superstition a matter of conscience; but he run into the very extreme he shunned, by his zeal to avoid it; for he superstitiously declined usages, which he owned to be indifferent in themselves, only because they became important through the injunctions of superiors: However, it will appear, that he was flexible in those points, and that he could comply when he found the government was determined. He agreed perfectly well with Cranmer and Ridley in the main doctrines of the Reformation, and in zeal to promote it; yet they appear to have been very apprehensive of his principles. Hooper was a worthy conscientious man. In his life he was blameless; but somewhat too neglectful of those appearances, which are indispensable for giving reverence to power, either civil or ecclesiastic, in the eyes of those people, who see no farther than exteriors. He was a person of good parts, and well versed in the learned tongues: He was a good philosopher; but a better theologist, had not his principles been too rigid. He was now appointed chaplain to the duke of Somerset; and perhaps, was more severely treated on that account, when his great patron lost the protectorship. In 1549, he became an accuser of bishop Bonner, when he was to be deprived of his bishopric,

bishopric, which made him fare the worse when queen Mary came to the crown.

After Hooper had practised himself in his popular and common kind of preaching, he was called to preach before the king, who, in 1550, made him bishop of Gloucester, and, about two years after, he had the bishopric of Worcester given to him to keep in commendam with the former. The earl of Warwick recommended Hooper to this preferment, as a man who had all those virtues and qualities required by St Paul in a good bishop, in his epistle to Timothy. But Hooper, having resided in Switzerland, and imbibed some notions there, was the means of introducing those disputes about things indifferent, which have had since that time such a fatal consequence in the church. It was customary to wear such garments and apparel as the popish bishops used: First a chymere, and under that a white rochet; then a mathematical cap with four angles, dividing the whole world into four parts. The most sensible men are not without their weaknesses and whims. Hooper was a man of learning, and of parts; but he had taken into his head, that as these sacerdotal vestments were mere human inventions, brought into the church by custom or tradition, and invented chiefly for celebrating the mass, and consecrated for that use, so they were therefore among the ceremonies condemned by the apostle as beggarly elements. In answer to this, it was told him by archbishop Cranmer, and bishop Ridley, that though tradition in matters of faith was justly to be rejected; yet in rites and ceremonies which were indifferent, custom alone was a good argument for the continuance of that which had been long used. The archbishop therefore required Hooper to conform himself to the law: But he obstinately refused a rochet, and Cranmer refused to consecrate him without it. The earl of Warwick, who was then prevalent at court, wrote a letter to the archbishop, desiring him not to insist upon these ceremonies from the bishop elect of Gloucester; nor to 'charge him with an oath burdensome to his con-'science.' It is said by some writers, that this was the oath of supremacy; but others, with more reason, conceive it the oath of canonical obedience to the archbishop, which consequentially commanded such ceremonies as Hooper was willing to decline; for it is improbable, that the king would dispense with any person from taking the oath of supremacy, wherein his own dignity was so nearly concerned. Warwick also prevailed on the king to write

a letter to Cranmer in favour of Hooper, wherein his majesty told his grace, that 'he had chosen Hooper to be 'bishop of Gloucester as well for his great learning, deep 'judgment, and long study, both in the scriptures, and 'other profound learning; as also for his good discretion, 'ready utterance, and honest life for that kind of voca-'tion. From consecrating of whom, says the king, we 'understand you do stay, because he would have you 'omit, and let pass certain rites and ceremonies offen-'sive to his conscience, whereby ye think, you should 'fall in præmunire of laws: We have thought good to 'dispense, and discharge you of all manner of dangers, 'penalties, and forfeitures, you should run into, and be 'in any manner of way, by omitting any of the same.' This letter was dated the fifth of August, 1550, and was signed by Somerset, and five other lords of the council: But Cranmer insisted that Hooper should conform himself in all points, and denied him the liberty of the pulpit, while the council confined him to his house. Cranmer consulted Bucer and Martyr upon this occasion, who were also consulted by Hooper. Hooper continued strong in his prepossession; and many arguments were urged on both sides, which later ages have more amply enlarged and explained. Hooper then published a confession of his faith, in which he complained of the privy-council. Upon this he was committed to the custody of the archbishop, who used all his endeavours to bring Hooper off from his singularities, but without effect. His grace then informed the council, that his prisoner was not content with his non-conformity, but had offered to prescribe rules on this head to the public; whereupon the council ordered his grace to send him to the Fleet, and he continued there till the next year.

At last the earl of Warwick deserted his chaplain; and the affair of Hooper, which had slept from August to March whilst he remained in the Fleet was resumed. He was brought before the council to explain himself on the difficulties which he had started. The objection he made to the oath was, the "swearing by God, the saints, and "the holy gospels," when none but God himself ought to be appealed to in an oath. Upon this the king struck out those words with his own hand, and allowed that no creature ought to be sworn by. As to the point about the vestments, it was compromised on these conditions: He was to wear the episcopal habit which was prescribed, when he was consecrated, and when he preached before

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the king, or in his cathedral, and in any public place; and on other occasions he was dispensed with. On these terms he was consecrated in the usual form; by which he lost much of the popularity he had gained by his declamation against the established rites. Both parties had violently contended about this matter, which was the means of introducing a contention into England, that hath been pernicious to the interests of religion and the church.

Thus Hooper was consecrated bishop of Gloucester, on the eighth of March, 1551, and then preached before the king, in his episcopal habit. When he entered into his diocese, 'he left no pains untaken, nor ways unsought, 'how to train up the flock of Christ in the true word 'of salvation, continually labouring in the same.' He preached often, kept good hospitality for the poorer sort of people, and was beloved by all.

The see of Gloucester was looked upon as a poor pittance for so great a divine, and, on the twentieth of May, 1552, he was declared bishop of Worcester, in the room of Heath, who was then a prisoner in the Fleet, for refusing to agree with the book of ordinations. Hooper was permitted to hold Worcester in commendam with Gloucester; for which he was censured by the papists. 'But let such know, that the dioceses of Gloucester and 'Worcester lie contiguous: That many single bishoprics 'in England are larger than both, for extent in land, 'and number of parishes: That Dunstan had the bi'shopric of Worcester and London with it at the same 'time, being far more remote: That it is not having two 'bishoprics together, but the neglecting of one, is the 'sin; whereas Hooper, in preaching and visiting, afforded 'double diligence in his double diocese.'

The compliance of Hooper with the established religion was, at this time, of great service to the public: But this plurality conferred upon one prelate, is a proof how far the government began to deviate from the strict maxim it had laid down, of not suffering a bishop to keep even a parsonage in commendam. Hooper made a very good use of his power. He visited both sees, and did great services both to the church and state of England. He made to the king a deed of gift of his bishopric of Gloucester, and of all the lands and annuities he enjoyed by the same. Soon after, that bishopric was dissolved, or rather united with the see of Worcester, so that the jurisdiction of Gloucester ceased. In the act of his translation

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to Worcester, he was made bishop of the same, during his natural life, 'provided he behaved so long well.' But it is probable, the new bishop enjoyed only a small part of the revenues, considering the daily growing practice of courtiers begging for ecclesiastical revenues.

When king Edward died, in 1553, religion was subverted, and this good bishop was one of the first that was sent for by queen Mary to be at London, to answer Heath the deprived bishop, and Bonner bishop of London, for being one of his accusers. Hooper was seasonably advised to make his escape: But he was determined to bear the storm, and said, "once I fled, and took me to "my feet; now I will continue to live and die with my "sheep." He was brought up to London by a pursuivant in August, and was very opprobriously received by the bishop of Winchester, who committed him prisoner to the Fleet on the first of September following. He remained there several months, during which time he was examined many times, and required to recant his opinions: But he stood constant and resolute to the articles of his faith. Cranmer, Ridley, Latimer, and Ferrar, were also imprisoned. The archbishop of York, and the bishops of Bristol, Chester, and St David's, were deprived of their bishoprics, for having been married. The sees of Lincoln, Hereford, and Gloucester, were declared void, because those bishops had misbehaved themselves. Thus were seven bishops turned out all at once, by the authority which the bigotted queen herself thought sinful and schismatical; and their sees were filled with men in whom she confided.

The council proceeded with vigour in matters of heresy, and removed Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer, to dispute with some members of the convocation at Oxford, where they all suffered martyrdom. There was a design of the same nature to be executed at Cambridge, over some other bishops and eminent clergy, who were in the several prisons of Newgate, the Fleet, and the King's-bench: But the prisoners set forth a declaration, signed by Hooper, Ferrar, Coverdale, bishop of Exeter, and seven divines, that they would not dispute unless in writing, except it were before the queen and her council, or one of the houses of parliament. To this declaration they added a summary of their belief; for which, they said, they were ready to offer up their lives to the halter, or the fire, as it should please God to appoint. This prevented any farther public conferences in religion; and it was determined

mined to silence the Protestants more effectually in another manner.

It would be disagreeable to particularise the numerous deprivations, hardships, expulsions, and imprisonments, which the Protestants, both clergy and laity, women as well as men, underwent. The government had the parliament on its side, and drove on as furiously as could be wished. Nothing was to be heard but declamations, from their most florid preachers, in favour of their religion. Nothing was to be seen in the streets, but pageants exposed by papists, and pillories occupied by Protestants: Yet no pomp could amuse, no severity could damp the spirit of the people.

Gardiner chearfully undertook to put the laws in execution against heretics: But as the people could not be intimidated by his threats, or worked upon by his promises, the council sent for the most popular preachers that were in custody, to begin the severities upon them, according to Gardiner's plan. It was resolved that Hooper, as the most obnoxious to the government, if not the most popular, should be the leading sacrifice to popery. They called him before them on the twenty-first of January, 1555, and offered him a pardon by the name of John Hooper clerk, not acknowledging him to have been a bishop, if he would confess his heresies, and return to the church; which he absolutely refused. Three articles were then exhibited against him, for marrying, for allowing a divorce and second marriage in the case of fornication, and for denying the corporal presence of Christ in the sacrament. Hooper owned himself guilty of the accusation; but offered to defend himself against all who should maintain the contrary. He behaved with all humility to the bishops, who treated him with the utmost insolence, and remanded him back to prison.

The two bloody bishops of London and Winchester had a personal hatred to Hooper, who behaved with all the constancy of a primitive martyr. He had kept up a correspondence with Bullinger, and others of the reformed abroad, to whom he sent his wife Anne, and her children, who was herself a foreigner; and he was at very little pains to conceal his sentiments, none having been more active, or more successful, than he was in the cause of Reformation. Bullinger wrote him a long letter from Zurick, dated the tenth of October, 1554, wherein he desires Hooper to commend him to the most reverend fathers and holy confessors of Christ, Cranmer, Ridley, and

and Latimer. He exhorts them all to be strong in the Lord, to fight a good fight, and to be faithful unto the end; as Christ was their captain; and all the prophets, apostles, and martyrs, their fellow soldiers.

The commissioners had declared that Hooper ought to be deprived of his bishopric, and he was brought before them again, on the twenty-second of January, at the bishop of Winchester's house at St Mary Overy's. He was then asked to acknowledge the pope to be head of the church; which he denied, as the pope taught a doctrine directly contrary to the doctrine of Christ: Therefore, he would not condescend to any such usurped jurisdiction; neither esteemed he the church, of which they call him head, to be the Catholic church of Christ: "For the church only "heareth the voice of her spouse Christ, and fleeth the "strangers." He was commanded back to the Fleet, and brought before the commissioners again on the twenty-eighth of January, together with Mr John Rogers, vicar of St Sepulchre's and reader of St Paul's. They were both examined, and sent away to be brought into court the next morning, to see if they would relent. They were conducted to the Compter in Southwark, by the sheriffs of London; and Hooper said to Rogers, as they walked through the street surrounded by the populace: "Come, "brother Rogers, must we two take this matter first in "hand, and begin to fry these faggots?" Rogers answered: 'Yes, sir, by God's grace.' "Doubt not, replied "Hooper, but God will give grace."

The next morning they were brought again before the commissioners, who sat in judgment in St Mary Overy's church. Hooper would by no means condescend to the commissioners, who condemned him, to be degraded, and ordered him to be carried to the Clink, a prison near the bishop of Winchester's house; from whence he was removed to Newgate the same night.

The people prayed for him as he was guarded through the streets; and he was kept close prisoner in Newgate six days. During this time he was frequently visited by Bonner and his chaplains, who vainly endeavoured to make him a convert to their church. They offered him wealth and preferment, which he despised; and then they spread a report that he had recanted. This report soon came to his ears, at which he was greatly grieved; and, on the second of February, wrote a letter to disprove that false and malicious story; and to assure the world that he was more than ever confirmed in the Protestant faith, saying,

saying, " I have taught the truth with my tongue and " with my pen heretofore, and hereafter shortly shall con- " firm the same, by God's grace, with my blood."

The bishop of London came to Newgate, and degraded Hooper, after reading the sentence of his degradation, wherein Hooper is called a Presbyter, under the jurisdiction of the bishop of Winchester, by whose definitive sentence he was pronounced, ' an open, obstinate, and incor- ' rigible heretic ;' and, as such, was to be degraded from his order, and for these demerits to be delivered to the secular power. ' In degrading this blessed bishop, they did ' not proceed against him as a bishop, but only as against ' a priest, as they termed him ; for such as he was, these ' Balaamites accounted no bishop."

Rogers was degraded at the same time, and died a martyr in Smithfield : But Hooper was impolitically sent by the government to die at Gloucester, that the hearers of his doctrine might be the witnesses of his sufferings. By the order that was sent to burn him at Gloucester, the sheriff was directed to call in some of reputation in the county to assist at his execution : And because he was, says the order, ' a vain glorious person, as all heretics ' are,' he was neither suffered to speak at large in going to his execution, nor at the place, for avoiding further infection. He was much pleased at being carried to Gloucester, that he might confirm with his death the truth which he had taught there in his life ; not doubting but the Lord would give him strength to perform the same to his glory.

On the fifth of February, before daylight, he was brought by the sheriffs from Newgate, to a place appointed near St Dunstan's church in Fleet-street, where he was received by a body of the queen's guards, who were to carry him to Gloucester. He eat a hearty breakfast, and leapt chearfully on horseback without help. On the seventh he arrived at Gloucester, where he found all the citizens assembled to see him, who cried and lamented for his condition.

The next morning some of his friends were permitted to see him, among whom was Sir Anthony Kingston, who found the good bishop at his prayers, and burst forth into tears, as he spoke in this manner : ' I understand ' you are come here to die : But, alas ! consider that life ' is sweet, and death is bitter : Therefore, seeing life ' may be had, desire to live, for life hereafter may do ' good.' The bishop answered, " Indeed, I am come

" here

" here to end this life, and to suffer death, because I " will not gainsay the former truth that I have taught " in this diocese, and elsewhere. I do not so much re- " gard this death, nor esteem this life; but have settled " myself, through the strength of God's Holy Spirit, pa- " tiently to pass through the torments and extremities of " the fire now prepared for me, rather than deny the truth " of his word." The same night he was committed by the guard to the custody of the sheriffs of Gloucester, who, with the mayor and aldermen, attended him with great respect. He thanked them for their civility, and request- ed the sheriffs, that " there might be quick fire, shortly " to make an end." He told them, " he was not come " there as one compelled to die; for it was well known " he might have had his life with worldly gain: But as " one willing to offer and give his life for the truth; " rather than consent to the wicked papistical religion of " the bishop of Rome, received and sent forth by the ma- " gistrates in England, to the high displeasure and dis- " honour of God: and he trusted, by God's grace, the " next day to die a faithful servant of God, and true obe- " dient subject to the queen." He was not carried to the common jail of the city called North-gate; but lodged in the house of Mr Robert Ingram, where he spent the night in devotion.

About eight the next morning, the commissioners, ap- pointed to see the execution, came to the house; and at nine the bishop was brought down from his chamber by the sheriffs, and led to the stake between them like a lamb going to the slaughter. It was market-day, and about seven thousand people were assembled on the occasion, which made him say, " Alas! why are these people here? " Perhaps they think to hear something of me now, as " they have in times past; but, alas! speech is prohibited " me. Notwithstanding the cause of my death is well " known unto them. When I was appointed here to be " their pastor, I preached unto them true and sincere doc- " trine out of the word of God: Because I will not now " account the same to be heresy and untruth, this death " is prepared for me."

He was drest in a gown of his hosts; a hat on his head; and a staff in his hand to support him; as the sciatica, which he had contracted in prison, made him halt. The people mourned for him all the way, and he looked very chearfully upon such as he knew. He fre- quently lifted up his eyes towards heaven as he passed along;

along; and he was never known, since his being their bishop, to look with so lively and ruddy a countenance as he did at that time.

When he came to the stake, which was opposite the college of priests, where he used to preach, he beheld the preparation for his death with a composed and smiling countenance. When the iron work was brought to fasten him to the stake, he took an iron hoop and put it about his waist; and bidding them take away the rest, he said, "I doubt not but God will give me strength to abide "the extremity of the fire without binding." The place was surrounded with spectators, and the priests of the college were in the chamber over the college-gate. As the bishop was not permitted to speak to the people, he kneeled down to prayer, and beckoned to Mr Bridges, whom he knew, to hear it, which he did with great attention, and reported that the prayer was made upon the whole creed, wherein the bishop continued about half an hour, and declared his faith in the form of a prayer. When he was in the middle of this prayer, a box was brought, and laid before him on a stool, with his pardon from the queen, if he would recant. When he saw it, he cried, "If you love my soul, away with it; if you "love my soul, away with it." He was then permitted to proceed in prayer, which he concluded in these words: "Lord, I am hell; but thou art heaven. Thou "art a gracious and merciful Redeemer: Have mercy "therefore upon me, a most miserable and wretched "offender, after thy great mercy, and according to thy "inestimable goodness. Thou art ascended into hea-"ven; receive me to be a partaker of thy joys there, "where thou sittest in equal glory with thy Father. "For well thou knowest wherefore I am come hither to "suffer, and why the wicked do persecute thy poor "servant; not for my sins and transgressions committed "against thee, but because I will not allow of their "wicked doings, to the contaminating of thy blood, and "the denial of the knowledge of thy truth, in which it "pleased thee, by thy Holy Spirit, to instruct me. "With as much diligence as so poor a creature could, "being thereto called, I have set forth thy glory. Thou "well seest, O Lord my God, what terrible torments "and cruel pains are prepared for thy poor creature; "even such, Lord, as without thy strength, no one is "able to bear, or patiently to pass. But that which is

"impossible

" impossible with man, is possible with thee: Therefore, " strengthen me of thy goodness, that in the fire I break " not the rules of patience; or else assuage the terror of " the pains, as shall seem fittest for thy glory."

When prayer was done, he prepared himself for the stake, and was undrest to his shirt, which he trussed between his legs, where he had a pound of gunpowder in a bladder, and under each arm the like quantity delivered him by the guard. A flood of tears burst from the eyes of the spectators as he was fastened to the stake, from whence he directed the executioner where to place the fire, which was soon kindled: But the wood burning ill, and the wind blowing away the flame that it did not rise up and suffocate him, nor destroy his vitals, he was for a long time in the utmost torment. He frequently called to the people for the love of God to bring him more fire: which, though it was renewed, was prevented by the wind from putting him out of his misery, till he had been near three quarters of an hour in burning, During this space, he frequently said, " O Jesus, thou " son of David, have mercy on me, and receive my " soul!" The last words he was heard to utter, were, " Lord Jesus, receive my spirit!" The account given by Fox of his long excruciating torments is terrible to hear, who says, he patiently bore the extremity of the fire, 'neither moving forwards, backwards, or to any 'side; but having his nether parts burnt, and his bowels 'fallen out, he died as quietly as a child in his bed: And 'he now reigneth as a blessed martyr in the joys of hea-'ven, prepared for the faithful in Christ before the foun-'dations of the world: For whose constancy all Chris-'tians are bound to praise God.'

This learned and pious prelate was thus cruelly martyred, like Polycarp, bishop of Smyrna, to whom he has been justly compared, on the ninth of February, 1555, and in the sixtieth year of his age.

In one of his letters, whilst he was in prison, he used these words; " Imprisonment is painful: but liberty " upon evil conditions is worse. The prison stinks; yet " not so much as the sweet houses, where the fear of " God is wanting. I must be alone and solitary: It is " better so to be, and have God with me, than to be in " company with the wicked. Loss of goods is great; " but the loss of grace and God's favour is greater. I " cannot tell how to answer before great and learned

" men

" men: Yet it is better to do that, than to stand naked " before God's tribunal. I shall die by the hands of " cruel men. He is blessed, that loseth his life, and " findeth life eternal. There is neither felicity nor ad- " versity in this world, that is great, if it be weighed with " the joys and pains of the world to come." Soon after he added, " I am a precious jewel now, and daintily kept, " never so daintily before; for neither my own man, nor " any of the servants of the house, may come to me, " but my keeper only, who is a simple rude fellow: " But I am not troubled thereat."

He wrote twenty-four books and treatises when in prison: Besides he wrote of the Sacraments, the Lord's Prayer, and the Ten Commandments. His writings are mostly these: Answer to Gardiner's book, entitled, A Detection of the Devil's Sophistry: A Declaration of Christ and his Office: Lesson of the Incarnation of Christ: Sermons on Jonas: A godly Confession and Protestation of the Christian Faith: Homily to be read in the time of the Pestilence. All these were wrote from 1549, to 1553: and he afterwards wrote, *Epistola ad Episcopos*, &c. An Exhortation to Patience, sent to his wife: Sentences wrote in Prison: Comfortable Expositions on the twenty-third, sixty-second, seventy-third, and seventy-seventh Psalms: Annotations on the thirteenth Chapter to the Romans: Twelve Lectures upon the Creed: Declaration of the Ten Holy Commandments of Almighty God: And he also translated Tertullian's second book to his wife, concerning the choice of a husband or wife.

The manner of his death being so very severe, very uncharitable reflections were made upon it; as though he, who had kindled the fire of dissention about the vestments, had suffered thus uncommonly for that reason. Ridley and Hooper were not fully reconciled till the reign of Mary, when Hooper had the honour to offer the first agreement, which Ridley embraced with a brotherly love, and several letters passed between them on that occasion. They acknowledged their mutual faults in carrying things of such indifference to so great a length, and assured each other of their sincere love and affection. Happy would it have been for England, and much to the interest of religion, if the fires which consumed these pious men had put an end to such frivolous and idle contests! And if those who have since engaged in them with a furious zeal, would reflect more on the sense which

these good bishops had of them when they were on the verge of another world, than on the heats into which they put them, while they were in ease and security, it is probable they might be persuaded to a little more humility and moderation.

ROWLAND TAYLOR, D. D.

'OF whom the world was not worthy'—is an observation made by the Divine Spirit of God's people, in general; but it is particularly said of those, who have had the invincible courage to suffer for his truth. It is eminently applicable to the excellent martyr, some account of whom we are to submit to the Reader.

Rowland Taylor, doctor both in civil and canon laws, was a very uncommon man both for grace and gifts: He had the piety of Calvin, the intrepidity of Luther, and what was orthodox in both. He was rector of Hadley, in Suffolk; which was one of the first towns in England that received the gospel, by the preaching of Mr Thomas Bilney: 'By whose industry, says Mr Fox, the gospel of 'Christ had such gracious success, and took such root 'there, that a great number in that parish became ex-'ceedingly well learned in the holy scriptures, as well 'women as men:' So that one might have found amongst them many, who had often read the whole bible through, and who could have said great part of St Paul's epistles by heart; and very well and readily have given a scriptural and judicious answer in any matter of controversy. Their children and servants were also brought up with such care, and so diligently instructed in the right knowledge of God's word, that the whole town seemed rather an university of the learned, than a town of cloth-making, or labouring people: And, what is most to be commended, they were, for the most part, faithful followers of God's word in holiness of life and conversation.

Dr Taylor was no sooner presented to this benefice of Hadley, than he went and resided upon it; though he had the happiness of living at Lambeth with archbishop Cranmer. He not only laboured abundantly in preaching the pure

pure doctrines of the gospel of Jesus Christ; but as becomes every true pastor, he was an example to the believers, in word, in conversation, in charity, in spirit, in faith, in purity; that in a little time the people resorted to him as a father. 'To the poor, says Mr Fox, 'that were blind, lame, sick, bed-rid, or that had many 'children, he was indeed a father, a careful patron, and 'diligent provider; and stirred up such parishioners as 'had it in their power, to make a general provision for 'them; while he himself (beside the continual relief they 'always found at his house) gave most liberally every 'year to the common alms-box. His wife also was an 'honest, discreet, and sober matron; and his children well 'nurtured, and brought up in the fear of God and good 'learning.' He was of a meek and humble spirit, yet bold and faithful in reproving sin, even in the greatest: And thus he continued, as a faithful and good shepherd, feeding, governing, and leading his flock through the wilderness of this evil world, all the days of good king Edward.

When queen Mary ascended the throne, one Foster, a steward and keeper of courts, and John Clerk, of Hadley, two papists, agreed together, by violence, to build up an altar in Dr Taylor's church, and to have mass said in it; and accordingly engaged John Averth, minister of Aldam, a dissembling papist, to come with all the popish implements and garments, and to be their priest, having a band of papists with drawn swords to defend them. They proceeded to Hadley church in a body, and rang the bell; which Dr Taylor hearing, as he sat at his studies, thought it was some parish-business that required his attendance, and therefore went to church; where to his great surprise, he saw Averth, in all his popish vestments, with a broad new shaved crown, ready to begin his popish sacrifice; and surrounded with armed men, lest any body should approach to disturb him; whom he thus addressed:

"Thou devil, who made thee so bold to enter into this "church, to profane and defile it with this abominable "idolatry? I command thee, thou popish wolf, in the "name of God, to avoid hence, and not to presume "thus to poison Christ's flock." Then said Foster, 'Thou traitor, what dost thou here, to let and disturb 'the queen's proceedings?' Dr Taylor answered, "I am no traitor, but I am the shepherd, that God my "Lord Christ hath appointed to feed his flock; there-"fore I have very good authority to be here." Mrs

Taylor, who had followed her husband into the church, kneeled down, and lifting up her hands, cried with a loud voice, 'I beseech God, the righteous judge, to 'avenge this injury, which this popish idolater doth this 'day to the blood of Christ.' They then thrust both the Doctor and her out of the church; and, in a day or two after, wrote to Gardiner, bishop of Winchester and lord chancellor, lodging in his court many false and heavy charges against him.

The bishop no sooner heard of it, than he sent letters missive to Dr Taylor, commanding him within a certain time to come and appear before him, upon his allegiance, to answer such complaints as were made against him. When his friends knew this, they earnestly entreated him to fly; for there was no reason to expect he would meet either with justice or favour, but, on the contrary, imprisonment and death. To these he answered; "I "know my cause to be so good and righteous, and the "truth so strong on my side, that I will, by God's "grace, appear before them, and to their face resist their "false doings; for I believe I shall never be able to do "God so good service as now; and that I shall never "have so glorious a calling, nor so much of the mercy "of God preferred me, as I have now: Therefore, pray "for me; and I doubt not but God will give me strength, "and his Holy Spirit, that all my adversaries shall be a-"shamed of their doings." And when they further urged, that he had sufficiently done his duty, and borne witness to the truth, both in his sermons and in resisting the popish priest; that our Saviour Christ says, *when they persecute you in one city, flee unto another;* and that, in fleeing from the present persecution, he might reserve himself for better times; he replied, "I am old, and have already lived too "long to see these terrible and wicked days. You may "act according to your consciences; but I am resolved "not to fly: God shall hereafter raise up teachers, who "shall teach with more diligence and faithfulness than I "have done; for God will not forsake his church, though "for a time he trieth and correcteth us, and that not with-"out just cause."

Dr Taylor set out for London, attended by his own servant, John Hull, who, by the way, laboured to persuade his master to fly, proffering him his service, though at the hazard of his life, in all the perils and dangers that might attend his flight. "Oh John! (answered the "good Doctor) shall I give place to this thy counsel "and

" and worldly persuasion, and leave my flock in this dan-
" ger? Remember the good shepherd Christ, who not
" only fed his flock, but also died for it: Him I must,
" and, by the grace of God, will follow. Therefore, good
" John, pray for me; and if, at any time, thou seest me
" weak, comfort me; but discourage me not in this my
" godly enterprize and purpose."

Dr Taylor, upon his arrival at London, waited on the bishop, who, according to custom, reviled him, calling him *knave*, *traitor*, *heretic*, and much more of the same kind of language, which was usual with him; all which the doctor heard with great patience; and then said, " My lord, I am neither a traitor nor a heretic, but a " true subject, and a faithful Christian man; and am " come, according to your command, to know your " lordship's pleasure in sending for me." Then said the bishop, ' Art thou come, thou villain? How darest thou ' look me in the face for shame? Knowest thou not who ' I am?'—" Yes, (answered the doctor) I know who ' you are. You are Dr Stephen Gardiner, bishop of ' Winchester, and lord chancellor; and yet but a man, I " trow. But (continued the doctor) if you expect that " I should be afraid of your lordly looks; why do you " not fear God, the Lord of us all? How dare you for " shame look any Christian man in the face, seeing you " have forsaken the truth, denied our Saviour Christ and " his word, and have done contrary to your own oath " and writing? With what countenance will you appear " before the judgment-seat of Christ, and answer to your " oath made, first unto King Henry VIII. and afterward " unto King Edward his son?"—' Tush, tush, (cried the ' bishop) that was an Herod's oath, unlawful; and there- ' fore worthy to be broken: I have done well in breaking ' it;—and, I thank God, I am come home again to our ' mother, the Catholic church of Rome; and so I would ' thou shouldest do.'

" But (said Dr Taylor) you will not be discharged " before Christ, who doubtless will require it at your " hands, as a lawful oath made to our liege and sove- " reign lord the king, from whose obedience the pope nor " any other man can absolve you."—' I see, (said the bi- ' shop) thou art an arrogant knave, and a very fool.'—" My " lord, (said the doctor) leave your unseemly railing at " me; it is unbecoming a man in authority as you are. " I am a Christian man; and you know, that *he that saith* " *to his brother, Racha, is in danger of the council; and*

" *he*

" *he that saith, Thou fool, is in danger of hell-fire.*"—' Ye ' are false, (said the bishop) and liars all the sort of you.' —" Nay, my lord, we are true men, (replied Taylor) and " know that it is written, *The mouth that lieth, slayeth the " soul;* And again, *Thou Lord God shalt destroy all that " speak lies.* And therefore we abide by the truth of " God's word, which you, contrary to your consciences, " deny and forsake."

' Thou art a married man,' said the bishop. " Yes, " my lord, (said the doctor) I thank God I am, and " have had nine children, all in lawful matrimony; " and blessed be God who has ordained matrimony, and " commanded that every man, that had not the gift of " continency, should marry a wife of his own, and not " live in adultery or whoredom."—' But thou hast re- ' sisted the queen's proceedings, in not suffering the ' minister of Aldam to say mass in Hadley.'—" My lord, " I am the minister of Hadley: And it is against all " right, conscience, and law, that any man should come " into my charge, and presume to infect the flock, com- " mitted to my care, with the venom of the popish " idolatrous mass." With that, the bishop grew very angry, and said, ' Thou art a blasphemous heretic in- ' deed, that blasphemest the blessed sacrament, [and put ' off his cap] and speakest against the holy mass, which ' is made a sacrifice for the quick and the dead.'—" Nay, " (says Taylor) I blaspheme not the blessed sacrament " which Christ instituted; but I reverence it as a Chris- " tian ought to do, and confess, that Christ ordained " the holy communion in remembrance of his death and " passion: which, when we keep according to his ordi- " nance, we, through faith, eat the body of Christ, and " drink his blood, giving thanks for our redemption. " That sacrifice, oblation, and atonement, which Christ " made and offered in his own person once for all, was " full, perfect, and sufficient for all them that believe in " him; so that no priest can offer him again; nor need " we any more propitiatory sacrifice: Therefore I say, " with Chrysostom, and all the doctors, ' Our sacrifice is ' only memorative, in the remembrance of Christ's death ' and passion, a sacrifice of thanksgiving;' and therefore " the fathers called it *eucharistia*: And any other sacrifice " the church knows nothing of."—' True, (said the ' bishop) the sacrament is called *eucharistia*, a thanks- ' giving, because we there give thanks for our redemp- ' tion;

'tion; but it is also a sacrifice propitiatory for the quick 'and dead, which thou shalt confess ere thou and I 'have done.'—Then the bishop called his men, and said, 'Have this fellow hence, and carry him to the King's 'Bench, and charge the keeper that he be close confined.' Upon which Dr Taylor kneeled down, and holding up both his hands, said, "Good Lord, I thank thee; and "from the tyranny of the bishop of Rome, and all his "detestable errors, idolatries, and abominations, good "Lord deliver us;"—and added, "God be praised for "good king Edward!"

Dr Taylor being sent to prison, was confined almost two years; during which time he was frequently examined respecting his faith, and as often witnessed a good confession before his adversaries. But, as his examinations are substantially the same, we will lay before the Reader the following letter, written by the doctor to a friend, in which he gives an account of his examination on the twenty-second of January, before the chancellor and other commissioners.

A letter of Dr Taylor, containing a conversation between him and the lord chancellor and other commissioners, the twenty-second of January.

"WHEREAS you would have me to write the talk "between the king and queen's most honour-"able council and me, on Tuesday the twenty-second "of January, so far as I remember: First, my lord "chancellor said, 'You among others are at this present 'time sent for, to enjoy the king and queen's majesties 'favour and mercy, if you will now rise again with us 'from the fall which we generally have received in this 'realm, from the which (God be praised) we are now 'clearly delivered, miraculously. If you will not rise 'with us now, and receive mercy now offered, you shall 'have judgment according to your demerit.' To this I "answered, that so to rise, should be the greatest fall "that ever I could receive: For I should so fall from "my dear Saviour Christ to antichrist. For I do believe "that the religion set forth in king Edward's days, was "according to the vein of the holy scripture, which "containeth fully all the rules of our Christian religion, "from the which I do not intend to decline so long as I "live, by God's grace.

"Then master secretary Bourn said, 'Which of the 'religions mean ye of in king Edward's days? For ye

'know there were diverse books of religion set forth in 'his days. There was a religion set forth, in a cate- 'chism by my lord of Canterbury. Do you mean that 'you will stick to that?'

"I answered, my lord of Canterbury made a catechism "to be translated into English, which book was not of "his own making: Yet he set it forth in his own name; "and truly that book for the time did much good. But "there was, after that, set forth by the most innocent king "Edward (for whom God be praised everlastingly) the "whole church-service, with great deliberation, and the "advice of the best learned men in the realm, and "authorised by the whole parliament, and received and "published gladly by the whole realm: Which book was "never reformed but once, and yet by that one refor- "mation it was so fully perfected, according to the rules "of our Christian religion in every behalf, that no "Christian conscience could be offended with any thing "therein contained; I mean of that book reformed.

"Then my lord chancellor said, 'Didst thou never 'read the book shat I set forth of the sacrament?'

"I answered, that I had read it.

"Then he said, 'How likest thou that book?' With "that one of the council (whose name I know not) said, 'My lord, that is a good question: For I am sure, that 'book stoppeth all their mouths.' Then said "I, My "lord, I think many things be far wide from the truth "of God's word in that book.

"Then my lord said, 'Thou art a very varlet.' To "that I answered, That is as ill as *racha* or *fool*. "Then my lord said, 'Thou art an ignorant beetle- 'brow.

"To that I answered, I have read over and over "again the holy scriptures, and S. Augustine's works "through, S. Cyprian, Eusebius, Origen, Gregory Nazi- "anzene, with divers other books through once; there- "fore, I thank God, I am not utterly ignorant. Besides "these, my lord, I professed the civil laws, as your lord- "ship did, and I have read over the canon law also.

"Then my lord said, 'With a corrupt judgment 'thou readest all things: Touching my profession, it is 'divinity, in which I have written divers books.' Then "said I, My lord, ye did write one book, *De verâ obe- "dientiâ*; I would you had been constant in that: For "indeed you never did declare a good conscience that I "heard of, but in that one book.

"Then

" Then my lord said, 'tut, tut, tut, I wrote against 'Bucer in priests marriages: But such books please not 'such wretches as thou art, which hast been married many 'years.'

" To that I answered, I am married indeed, and I " have had nine children in holy matrimony, I thank " God: And this I am sure of, that your proceedings " now at this present in this realm against priests mar- " riages is the maintenance of the doctrine of devils, " against natural law, civil law, canon law, general coun- " cils, canons of the apostles, ancient doctor's, and God's " laws.

" Then spake my lord of Durham, saying, 'You have 'professed the civil law, as you say. Then you know that 'Justinian writeth, that priests should at their taking of 'orders swear, that they were never married; and he 'bringeth in to prove that, *Canones Apostolorum.*

" To that I answered, that I did not remember any " such law of Justinian. But I am sure, that Justinian " writeth in *Tiulo de indicta viduitate*, in cod. that if " one would bequeath to his wife in his Testament a " legacy, under a condition that she should never marry " again, and take an oath of her for accomplishing the " same, yet she may marry again if he die, notwithstand- " ing the aforesaid conditions, and oath taken and made " against marriage: And an oath is another manner of " obligation made to God, than is a papistical vow made " to man.

" Moreover, in the pandects it is contained, that if a " man doth manumit his handmaid, under a condition " that she shall never marry; yet she may marry, and her " patron shall lose *Jus patronatus*, for his adding of the " unnatural and unlawful condition against matrimony.

" Then my lord chancellor said, 'thou sayest that 'priests may be married by God's law. How provest 'thou that?'

" I answered, by the plain words and sentences of St " Paul, both to Timothy, and to Titus, where he speaks " most evidently of the marriage of priests, deacons, and " bishops. And Chrysostom, writing upon the epistle to " Timothy, saith, it is an heresy to say that a bishop may " not be married.

" Then said my lord chancellor, 'thou lyest of Chry- 'sostom. But thou dost, as all thy companions do, bely 'ever without shame both the scriptures and the doctors. 'Didst thou not also say, that by the canon law priests

may

'may be married? which is most untrue, and the contrary is most true.'

"I answered, we read in the decrees, that the four "general councils, Nicene, Constantinopolitan, Ephesine, "Chalcedone, have the same authority that the four evan- "gelists have. And we read in the same decrees (which "is one of the chief books of the canon law) that the "council of Nice, by the means of one Paphnutius, did "allow priests and bishops marriages: Therefore, by the "best part of the canon law, priests may be married."

Then my lord chancellor said, 'Thou falsifiest the 'general council; for there is express mention in the 'said decree, that priests should be divorced from their 'wives, which be married.'

"Then said I, if those words be there, as you say, "then am I content to lose this great head of mine. "Let the book be fetched.

"Then spake my lord of Durham, 'though they be 'not there, yet they may be in *Ecclesiastica Historia*, 'which Eusebius wrote, out of which book the decree 'was taken.'

"To that said I, it is not like that the pope would "leave out any such sentence, having such authority, "and making so much for his purpose.

"Then my lord chancellor said, 'Gratian was but a 'patcher, and thou art glad to snatch up such a patch 'as maketh for thy purpose.'

"I answered, my lord, I cannot but marvel that you "do call one of the chief papists that ever was, but a "patcher.

"Then my lord chancellor said, 'nay, I call thee a 'snatcher and patcher. To make an end, wilt thou not 'return again with us to the catholic church?' And 'with that he rose.'

"And I said, by God's grace I will never depart "from Christ's church. Then I required that I might "have some of my friends to come to me in prison: "And my lord chancellor said, thou shalt have judg- "ment within this week; and so was I delivered again "unto my keeper. My lord of Durham would that I "should believe as my father and mother did. I "alleged St Augustine, that we ought to prefer God's "word before all men."

On the last day of January, Dr Taylor was examined, for the last time, before the bishops of Winchester, London, Norwich, Salisbury, and Durham, who charged him with heresy

heresy and schism; requiring at the same time a determinate answer, whether he would submit himself to the Roman bishop, and abjure his errors; or else they would proceed according to their laws [*ex post facto*, made since his confinement] to his condemnation. Dr Taylor answered, with a great deal of courage and stedfastness, that he would not depart from the truth which he had preached in king Edward's days, neither would he submit himself to the Romish antichrist; but thanked God, who had so honoured him, as to call him to suffer for his word and truth's sake. When the bishops saw him so bold, constant and immoveable, they read the sentence of death upon him; which when he had heard, he said, with a remarkable degree of fortitude, "I doubt not, but that God, the "righteous judge, will require my blood at your hands, "and that the proudest of you all shall repent this re-"ceiving again of antichrist, and the tyranny you now "shew against the flock of Christ."

He was remanded to prison; and the keeper was charged to confine him closer than ever. In his way back, the people crowded to see him; to whom he said, "God be "praised, good people, I am come away from them "undefiled, and will, by God's grace, confirm the truth "with my blood."

After he had been condemned about a week, Bonner, bishop of London, went to the prison to perform upon him the ceremony of degradation; and because the Dr refused to put on the popish vestments, the bishop ordered those, who accompanied him, to put them on him by force; which done, he set his hands on his sides, and walking up and down the room, said, "How say you, "my lord; am I not a goodly fool? How say you, my "masters; if I were in Cheapside, should I not have boys "enow to laugh at these apish toys, and toying trum-"pery?" Upon which the bishop fell to scraping his fingers, and thumbs, and the crown of his head; and cursed him again and again. "Though you curse me "(said the doctor) God doth bless me. I have the wit-"ness of my conscience, that ye have done me wrong "and violence: Nevertheless, I pray God, if it be his "will, to forgive you. But from the tyranny of the "bishop of Rome, and his detestable enormities, good "Lord deliver us."

After his degradation he was sent to the King's Bench, where he soon experienced (what at that time was remarkable) the difference between the keepers of the bishop's prisons,

prisons, and those of the kings; the former were wicked and cruel, like their merciless masters; but the latter were humane, and generally shewed all the favour in their power. Therefore Dr Taylor obtained leave, through the courtesy of his new keeper, to have his wife, his son Thomas, and his servant John Hull, to sup with him the evening before he suffered. They came to him before supper-time, when he prayed with them, beginning with the litany. After supper, walking up and down the room, he gave God thanks for his grace, and for his effectual calling, and that he had given him strength to abide by his holy word: And then turning to his son Thomas, he thus addressed him:

"My dear son, (said he) Almighty God bless thee, and "give thee his Holy Spirit, to be a true servant of Christ, "to learn his word, and constantly to stand by his truth "all thy life long. And, my son, see that thou fear "God always. Flee from all sin and wicked living: Be "virtuous, serve God with daily prayer, and apply thy "book. In any wise see that thou be obedient to thy "mother; love her and serve her: Be ruled by her now "in thy youth, and follow her good counsel in all things. "Beware of lewd company, of young men that fear not "God, but follow their lewd lusts and vain appetites. "Fly from whoredom, and hate all filthy living, remem-"bering, that I thy father do die in the defence of holy "marriage. Another day, when God shall bless thee; "love and cherish the poor people, and count that thy "chief riches is, to be rich in alms: And when thy "mother is waxed old, forsake her not; but provide for "her to thy power, and see that she lack nothing: For "so will God bless thee, and give thee long life upon "earth, and prosperity: Which I pray God to grant "thee."

Then turning to his wife, "my dear wife, (said he) "continue stedfast in the fear and love of God; keep "yourself undefiled from their popish idolatries and su-"perstitions. I have been unto you a faithful yoke-"fellow, and so have you been unto me; for the which "I pray God to reward you; and doubt not, dear wife, "but God will reward it.

"Now the time is come that I shall be taken from "you, and you discharged of the wedlock-bond towards "me; therefore I will give you my counsel what I think "most expedient for you. You are yet a child-bearing "woman, and therefore it will be most convenient for

"you

" you to marry. For doubtless you shall never be at a " convenient stay for yourself and your poor children, nor " out of trouble till you be married; therefore, as soon " as God will provide it, marry with some honest faith- " ful man that feareth God. Doubt you not, God will " provide an honest husband for you, and he will be a " merciful father to you and to my children: Whom I " pray you to bring up in the fear of God, and in learn- " ing, to the uttermost of your power, and keep them " from this Romish idolatry."

Having thus finished his last, parting advice, with the utmost tenderness and affection; they prayed together, embraced, and wept over each other, in a very affecting manner. He then gave his wife a book of Common Prayer published by king Edward, which he had taken with him to prison, and occasionally used: And to his son Thomas he gave a Latin book of remarkable sayings of the ancient martyrs, gathered out of ecclesiastical authors; and in the end of it wrote his last will: And so they took their leave of him.

The next morning, at two o'clock, came the sheriff and his officers, and led the doctor away to the sign of the Woolpack, without Aldgate. His wife, suspecting that in the night they would take him away somewhere or other, had watched all night in St Botolph's church-porch beside Aldgate, with two children; one called Elizabeth, thirteen years of age, an orphan that they had brought up as their own from three years old; the other Mary, their own daughter. When the sheriff with his prisoner came opposite the church, Elizabeth cried out, 'O my dear 'father; mother, mother, here is my dear father led away.' Then cried Mrs Taylor, 'Rowland, Rowland, where art thou?' [for it was very dark, being in the month of February] Dr Taylor answered, "Dear wife, I am here;" and stood. The sheriff's men were for making him go on; but the sheriff said, 'stay a little, and let him speak 'to his wife.' He then took up his little daughter Mary in his arms, and kneeled down with his wife and Elizabeth, and prayed, saying the Lord's prayer, &c. which was so affecting a scene, that the sheriff and his officers melted into tears.

When they rose up from prayer, the doctor kissed his wife, and shook her by the hand, saying, " Farewell, my " dear wife, be of good comfort; for I am quiet in my " conscience.—God will raise up a father for my chil- " dren." He then kissed his daughter Mary, and said,

" God

" God bless thee and make thee his servant:" And kissing Elizabeth, he said, " God bless thee. I pray you all " stand strong and stedfast unto Christ and his word, and " keep you from idolatry." Then said his wife, ' God ' be with thee, dear Rowland; I will, with God's help ' meet thee at Hadley.' But she following them to the inn, and the sheriff, seeing her there, ordered her to be taken away and confined, till he returned from the execution: So that she saw not her suffering husband, nor he her, any more in this vale of tears.

The doctor was put into a chamber, with a guard of four men, where he gave himself wholly to prayer, till eleven o'clock, when they put him on horseback in the inn yard, and then opened the gates and led him forth. At the gates stood waiting his trusty servant John Hull, with his son Thomas; whom, when the doctor saw, he said, " come hither, my son Thomas;" and setting the child before him on his horse, and taking off his hat, he said to the numerous spectators, " Good people, this is " my own son, begotten of my body in lawful matrimony; " and God be blessed for lawful matrimony." He then lifted up his eyes to heaven and prayed for his son, and blessed him, and delivered him to John Hull, whom he took by the hand and said, " Farewel John Hull, the " faithfulest servant that ever man had."

At Burntwood, by the way, they stopped and had a close hood made for him, with holes for his eyes, and one for his mouth. This was done to him and many others, because it was understood that the meekness, patience and fortitude, which appeared in their countenances, tended very much to strengthen the protestants in the faith of God's word, and to increase their abhorrence of the cruelties of popery.

Notwithstanding this kind of treatment, the doctor was exceeding cheerful on the road; more like one going to a marriage-supper, than one going to be burnt alive. He exhorted the sheriff and his men to repent and forsake their wicked courses of life in so earnest and pathetic a manner, that they frequently wept. In the evening they were met by the sheriff of Suffolk, at Chelmsford; where they all supped together. After supper, the sheriff of Essex, supposing he could persuade Dr Taylor by fair words to abjure, thus addressed him:

' Good master doctor, we are right sorry for you, con-
' sidering what the loss is of such a person as you are,
' and might be, if you would. God hath given you great
' learning

'learning and wisdom, wherefore you have been in great 'favour and reputation in times past with the council, 'and people of the highest rank, in this realm. Besides 'this, you are a man of goodly personage, in your best 'strength, and by nature like to live many years; and 'without doubt, you would, in time to come, be in as 'good reputation as ever you was, or rather better. For 'you are well-beloved of all men, as well for your vir-'tues as for your learning; and methinks it were great 'pity you should cast away yourself willingly, and so 'come to such a painful and shameful death. You would 'do much better to revoke your opinions, and return to 'the catholic universal church of Rome, acknowledge the 'pope to be head of the church, and reconcile yourself 'to him. You may do well yet, if you will: Nor need 'you doubt, but you will find favour at the queen's 'hands; and I and all these your friends will be suitors 'for your pardon. This counsel I give you good master 'doctor, of a good heart, and a good will towards you; 'and thereupon I drink to you.'—'Upon that condition '(said the others) we will all drink to you.'

When it came to the doctor's turn to drink, he took the cup, and, after pausing a little, he said, "Master "sheriff, and my masters all, I heartily thank you for "your good-will; I have hearkened to your words, and "marked well your counsels. And to be plain with you, "I do perceive, that I have been deceived myself, and "am like to deceive a great many at Hadley of their ex-"pectation." The sheriff, hoping these words referred to a recantation, said, 'God's blessing be on your heart, 'that is the most comfortable word we have heard you 'speak yet—but pray explain yourself.' The doctor did so, by saying, "I am a man of a very great carcase, "which, I hoped would have been buried in Hadley "church-yard: but I see, I am deceived: And there is "a great number of worms there, which should have "had jolly feeding upon this carrion. But now both I "and they shall be deceived of our expectation; for this "carcase shall be burnt to ashes." The sheriff was asto-nished at such an instance of fortitude in the approach of so shocking a death.

The sheriff of Suffolk stopped two days at Lanham, and was met by the magistrates and principal gentlemen of the county, who all laboured to bring Dr Taylor over to the Romish religion; promising him great promotion, even a bishopric, if he would accept of it: But he had not so

learned

learned Christ. Within two miles of Hadley, he desired to alight, and being accordingly permitted, he fetched a leap or two, as men do in dancing; which was observed by the sheriff, who said, 'Well, master doctor, how do 'you do now!' "Very well, never better;"—and added, "God be praised, I am now almost at home, and have "not more than two stiles to go over, before I am at my "father's house." Being told he should go through Hadley, he said, "O good Lord, I thank thee, I shall "yet once, e'er I die, see my flock, whom, thou Lord "knowest, I have most heartily loved, and truly taught. "Good Lord, bless them, and keep them stedfast in thy "word and truth!"

The streets of Hadley were lined with men and women, both of the town and from the country round about, weeping, and lamenting their loss, and praying to God to strengthen and comfort him in the trying hour; to whom he frequently said, as he rode along; "I have "preached to you God's word and truth, and am come "this day to seal it with my blood." Passing the alms-houses, where he was well-known, he distributed what little money he had left, taking his leave of them, with his prayers to God for them.

When he was come to Aldham-common, the place where he was to suffer, he said, "Thanked be God, I am even "at home;" and alighting from his horse, with both hands rent the hood from his head; when it appeared that he, who, with the utmost propriety, is called BLOODY Bonner, when he degraded Dr Taylor, had with feminine envy endeavoured to disfigure him by clipping off in places his fine hair, and by tying other parts of it into knots; which notwithstanding when the people saw again his venerable countenance with his long white beard, they burst out into tears and prayers, that God for Christ's sake, would strengthen, help, and comfort him. He then attempted to speak to the people, but as soon as he opened his mouth, immediately one or other thrust a tipstaff into it: He asked leave of the sheriff, but he denied him; bidding him remember his promise. "Well, said the "doctor, promise must be kept *." He then put off his cloaths to his shirt, and gave them away; and with a loud voice cried out, "Good people, I have taught you "nothing but God's holy word, and those lessons that I "have

* The promise was supposed to be given in consequence of a threat to cut out his tongue, if he attempted to speak.

" have taken out of God's blessed book, the holy Bible." With that, *Holmes*, one of the guard, who had behaved the most cruelly to the doctor all the way down, gave him a severe blow on the head with a waster, [or bludgeon], and said, 'Is this the keeping thy promise, thou 'heretic?

He then saw, that they would not allow him to speak; and therefore he kneeled down and prayed. Rising from prayer, he went to the stake and kissed it, and stood in a pitch barrel, set for that purpose, with his back upright against the stake, with his hands clasped together, and his eyes lifted up to heaven; and so continued praying. One of the men, employed to make the fire, threw a faggot at him, which so wounded him that the blood ran down his face: To whom the doctor said, " Friend, I " have harm enough: What need of that?" Another, hearing him say the psalm *Miserere*, in *English*, struck him on the mouth; saying, 'Knave, speak *Latin*, or I 'will make thee.' The fire being kindled, he continued in the same posture, without moving at all, praying unto God, and saying, " Merciful Father of heaven, for *Jesus* " *Christ* my Saviour's sake, receive my soul into thy " hands!" At last one with a halbert struck out his brains, and his body fell into the fire. Thus did this gracious man render his soul into the hands of his merciful God and Saviour, whom he most dearly loved, faithfully and zealously preached, obediently followed in his life, and constantly glorified in his death.

The last will and testament of doctor *Rowland Taylor*, parson of *Hadley*.

" I Say to my wife, and to my children; the Lord gave
" you unto me, and the Lord hath taken me from you,
" and you from me: Blessed be the name of the Lord.
" I believe that they are blessed which die in the Lord.
" God careth for Sparrows and for the hairs of our heads.
" I have ever found him more faithful and favourable,
" than is any father or husband. Trust ye therefore in
" him by the means of our dear Saviour *Christ*'s merits:
" Believe, love, fear, and obey him: Pray to him, for he
" hath promised to help. Count me not dead, for I shall
" certainly live, and never die. I go before, and you
" shall follow after, to our long home. I go to the rest
" of my children, *Susan*, *George*, *Ellen*, *Robert*, and *Za-*
" *chary*: I have bequeathed you to the only Omnipo-
" tent.

" I say to my dear friends of *Hadley*, and to all others " which have heard me preach; that I depart hence with " a quiet conscience, as touching my doctrine, for the " which I pray you thank God with me. For I have, " after my little talent, declared to others those lessons " that I gathered out of God's book, the blessed Bible. " Therefore if I or an angel from heaven should preach " to you any other gospel than that ye have received, " God's great curse upon that preacher.

" Beware for God's sake that ye deny not God, neither " decline from the word of faith, lest God decline from " you, and so ye do everlastingly perish. For God's sake " beware of popery; for though it appear to have in it " unity, yet the same is vanity and antichristianity, and " not in *Christ*'s faith and verity.

" Beware of the sin against the Holy Ghost, now after " such a light opened so plainly and simply, truly, tho- " roughly, and generally to all *England*.

" The Lord grant all men his good and holy Spirit, " increase of his wisdom, contemning the wicked world, " hearty desire to be with God and the heavenly company, " through *Jesus Christ*, our only mediator, advocate, " righteousness, life, sanctification, and hope: Amen, " Amen. Pray, pray."

ROBERT FERRAR,

BISHOP OF ST DAVID's.

WE cannot omit, in these memoirs of illustrious champions for the truth, some account of this great and good man; though history furnishes us with but little more of him, than the circumstances which occasioned, or immediately preceded his death.

Mr *Ferrar* received his education at *Oxford*, and was a canon regular of St *Mary*'s in that university. He also proceeded to the degree of batchelor in divinity.

It appears, that the great duke of *Somerset*, lord protector in the reign of *Edward* the sixth, and friend to the Reformation, was the patron of Mr *Ferrar*, and thought him a proper instrument to assist in carrying on that important

portant work. Accordingly, he procured for him the bishopric of St *David*'s, in *Wales*; to which he was consecrated on the ninth of *September*, 1547; where his zeal soon procured him many enemies among the papists and their adherents. And his patron soon after falling by the designs of an opposite party, these people gave him a great deal of trouble, and artfully and villainously (by means of two ungrateful officers of his own see) procured an attachment against him, by which, some time before the king's death, he was committed to prison under a debt, pretended to be due from his bishopric to the crown.

It may easily be supposed, that *such* a man could not expect a release in *such* a reign as immediately followed. On the contrary, instead of the pretence of a *præmunire*, with which he had been before charged by those, who wished to displace him from his bishopric; he was now attacked upon the score of heresy by others, who hunted for his life.

On the fourth of *February*, 1555. he was brought, in the company of bishop *Hooper*, Mr *Bradford*, Mr *Rogers*, Mr *saunders*, and others, before that zealous persecutor, *Gardiner*, bishop of *Winchester* and lord chancellor; who, according to his custom, treated him and them with great asperity and very ill manners. He frequently taunted at this venerable man, though of his own rank and order in the church, and descended to such gross vulgarities, as to call him by the name of—*froward fellow—false-knave—froward knave*, &c.—terms, more scandalous to those who use them, than to those to whom they are given. He also threatened to make *short work with him*; and, in this case, he was as good as his word; for the suffering bishop was hurried away to death, with very little formality or examination.

Under the liberty, both civil and religious, which we now enjoy, it may seem surprising, that men were suffered to be condemned so arbitrarily and unformally, as we find them, in particular, throughout the short and bloody reign of queen *Mary*. But religious bigotry swallowed up all other considerations; and the powers of the crown were not so bounded and curtailed, as they have been in succeeding reigns. The general liberties of the subject were far less understood than they are at present; and the shackles of ecclesiastical tyranny were not thoroughly broken. The *abuse* of power led (as it always leads) to the due examination of its *foundation*: And men

never suffer extremities, but they set their wits, at least, to work for the discovery of some relief. Thus, the severe persecution by the papists tended much more to the destruction of popery, than to the demolition of the protestant doctrine. Where brutal force is thought necessary, there must be a very low apprehension of the existence and power of truth.

To complete their enormous proceedings, *Gardiner* and his colleagues sent this worthy bishop down to his diocese, in order to be condemned—and can it be read without surprize?—by his *successor*, whose *interest* it was to condemn him. This new bishop's name was *Morgan*; and he seconded his friend's ideas of making *short work* with *Ferrar*, by all the diligence in his power. He condemned him, after two or three short examinations (for the sake of a plausible pretence) upon the articles—"of allowing "the marriage of priests—of denying *Christ*'s corporal "presence in the sacrament—of affirming, that the mass "is not a sacrifice propitiatory for the quick and dead—"of declaring, that the host ought not to be elevated or "adored—and, of asserting, that man is justified by faith "alone;" all which *Morgan* pronounced to be damnable errors, heresies, and false opinions. He next degraded him from his ecclesiastical functions, and then delivered him to the secular power, the scandalous tool of their abominable malice and persecution.

The secular power, ready to follow the spiritual direction of the popish authority, soon brought this martyr forth, as a lamb to the slaughter. He was burned, on the south-side of the market-cross at *Carmarthen*, on *Saturday*, the thirtieth of *March*, in the year 1555.

A little before this good bishop suffered, a Mr *Richard Jones*, a young gentleman of family in the country, lamented to him the severity and painfulness of the kind of death, which he was to undergo. The bishop, with all the firmness which was celebrated in the primitive martyrs of the church, immediately answered in these words: "If "you see me once to stir, while I suffer the pains of burning, then give no credit to the truth of those doctrines, "for which I die." Undoubtedly, it was by the grace and support of God, he was enabled to make good this assertion; 'for (says Mr *Fox*) so patiently he stood, that 'he never moved; but even as he stood holding up his 'stumps, so still he continued, till one *Richard Gravell*, 'with a staff, dashed him upon the head, and so struck 'him down.'

Bishop

Bishop Ferrar was one of the committee (according to bishop Burnet) nominated to compile the English liturgy *. He also signed the brief Confession of faith, in conjunction with other protestant bishops and martyrs imprisoned in London; which is composed in the following words:

'First, We confess and believe all the canonical books 'of the Old Testament, and all the books of the New 'Testament, to be the very true word of God, and to 'be written by the inspiration of the Holy Ghost, and 'are therefore to be heard accordingly, as the judge in 'all controversies and matters of religion.

'Secondly, We confess and believe, that the catholic 'church, which is the spouse of Christ, as a most obedient 'and loving wife, doth embrace and follow the doctrine 'of these books in all matters of religion, and therefore 'is she to be heard accordingly: So that those who will 'not hear this church, thus following and obeying the 'word of her husband, we account as heretics and schis-'matics, according to this saying, *If he will not hear the 'church, let him be unto thee as a heathen.*

'Thirdly, We believe and confess all the articles of 'faith and doctrine set forth in the symbol of the apostles, 'which we commonly call the creed, and in the symbols 'of the council of Nice, kept A. D. 432; of Constantino-'ple, A. D. 384; of Ephesus, kept A. D. 432; of Chalce-'don, kept A. D. 454; of Toletum, the first and fourth. Al-'so in the symbols of Athanasius, Irenæus, Tertullian, and 'of Damasus, which was about the year of our Lord 376. 'We confess and believe, (we say,) the doctrine of the 'symbols

* Probably the *correction* of the liturgy in the time of Henry the Eighth, about the year 1540. For as to the composition of a *new* liturgy, in 1547, in the first year of Edward the Sixth, the committee appointed were, 1. Thomas Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury; 2. Thomas Goodrich, bishop of Ely; 3. Henry Holbech, bishop of Lincoln; 4. George Day, bishop of Chichester; 5. John Skip, bishop of Hereford; 6. Thomas Thirlby, bishop of Westminster; 7. Nicholas Ridley, bishop of Rochester; 8. Dr William May, dean of St Paul's; 9. Dr John Taylor, dean of Lincoln; 10. Dr Simon Haynes, dean of Exeter; 11. Dr John Redmayne, master of Trinity College, Cambridge: 12. Dr Richard Cox, dean of Christchurch, Oxon; 13. Mr Thomas Robertson, archdeacon of Leicester. This Liturgy was revised in the first year of Q. Elizabeth, by 1. Dr Matthew Parker afterwards archbishop of Canterbury; 2. Dr Richard Cox, afterwards bishop of Ely; 3. Dr May; 4. Dr Bill; 5. James Pilkington, afterwards bishop of Durham; 6. Sir Thomas Smith; 7. Mr David Whitehead; 8. Mr Edmund Grindall, afterwards bishop of London, and then archbishop of Canterbury; 9. Dr Edwin Sandys, bishop of Worcester; 10. and the learned Edward Guest, afterwards a bishop. See Whately's Illustration of the Common Prayer, p. 25. 4th edit.

'symbols, generally, and particularly; so that whosoever 'doth otherwise, we hold the same to err from the truth.

'Fourthly, We believe and confess, concerning justi-'fication, that as it cometh only from God's mercy 'through *Christ*, so it is perceived and had of none, who 'be of years of discretion, otherwise than by faith only: 'Which faith is not an opinion, but a certain persuasion 'wrought by the Holy Ghost in the mind and heart of 'man; where through, as the mind is illuminated, so the 'heart is supplied to submit itself to the will of God un-'feignedly; and so sheweth forth an *inherent* righteous-'ness, which is to be discerned in the article of justifi-'cation from the righteousness which God endueth us 'withal in justifying us; although inseparably they go 'together. And this we do, not for curiosity, or con-'tention sake; but for conscience sake, that it might be 'quiet; which it can never be, if we confound, without 'distinction, forgiveness of sin and *Christ*'s justice im-'puted to us, with regeneration and inherent righteous-'ness. By this, we disallow the papistical doctrine of 'free-will, of works of supererogation, of merits, of the 'necessity of auricular confession, and satisfaction to 'God-ward.

'Fifthly, We confess and believe, concerning the 'exterior service of God, that it ought to be according 'to the word of God. And therefore in the congrega-'tion, all things public ought to be done in such tongue 'as may be most to edify: And not in *Latin*, where the 'people understand not the same.

'Sixthly, We confess and believe, that God only, 'through *Jesus Christ*, is to be prayed unto and called 'upon. And therefore we disallow invocation or prayer 'to saints departed this life.

'Seventhly, We confess and believe, that as a man 'departeth this life, so shall he be judged in the last day 'generally; and in the mean season is entered, either into 'the state of the blessed for ever, or damned for ever: 'And therefore is either past all help, or else needeth no 'help of any in this life. By reason whereof we affirm 'purgatory, masses of *Scala Cœli*, trentals, and such suf-'frages, as the popish church doth obtrude as necessary, 'to be the doctrine of antichrist.

'Eighthly, We confess and believe the sacraments of '*Christ*, which be Baptism and the Lord's Supper, that 'they ought to be ministered according to the institution 'of *Christ*, concerning the substantial parts of them:

'And

'And that they be no longer sacraments than they be 'had in use, and used to the end for which they were 'instituted.

'And here we plainly confess, that the mutilation of 'the Lord's Supper, the subtraction of one kind from the 'lay people, is antichristian. And so is the doctrine of 'transubstantiation of the sacramental bread and wine 'after the words of consecration, as they be called. Item, 'the adoration of the sacrament with the honour due unto 'God, the reservation and carrying about of the same. 'Item, the mass to be a propitiatory sacrifice for the quick 'and dead, or a work that pleaseth God. All these we 'confess and believe to be antichrist's doctrine: As is 'the inhibition of marriage, as unlawful, to any state.

'And we doubt not, by God's grace, but we shall be 'able to prove all our confession here, to be most true by 'the verity of God's word, and consent of the catholic 'church; which followeth, and hath followed the go-'vernance of God's Spirit, and the judgment of his 'word. And this through the Lord's help we will do, 'either in disputation by word before the queen's high-'ness and her council, either before the parliament 'houses (of whom we doubt not to be indifferently 'heard), either with our pens, whensoever we shall be 'thereto, by them that have authority, required and 'commanded.

'In the mean season, as obedient subjects, we shall 'behave ourselves toward all that be in authority, and 'not cease to pray to God for them; that he would go-'vern them all, generally and particularly, with the 'spirit of wisdom and grace. And so we heartily desire, 'and humbly pray all men to do, in no point consenting 'to any rebellion or sedition against our sovereign lady 'the queen's highness: But, where they cannot obey, 'but they must disobey God, there to submit themselves 'with all patience and humility, to suffer as the will and 'pleasure of the higher powers shall adjudge. The Lord 'of mercy endue us all with the spirit of his truth, and 'grace of perseverance therein unto the end. Amen.'

This remarkable confession was dated the eighth day of May, in the year 1554, and subscribed by

ROBERT FERRAR, late bishop of St David's.
ROWLAND TAYLOR, JOHN PHILPOT,
JOHN BRADFORD, LAURENCE SAUNDERS,
JOHN HOOPER, late bishop of Worcester and Gloucester,
EDWARD CROME, JOHN ROGERS,
EDMUND LAWRENCE. And J. P.—J. M.

To

To which was annexed the following declaration:

'To these things above said, do I, *Miles Coverdale*, late 'bishop of *Exeter*, consent and agree, with these mine af-'flicted brethren, being prisoners. Mine own hand.

M. C.'

JOHN BRADFORD.

DIVINE grace works in the souls of the faithful, and particularly of faithful ministers, a great variety of gifts and qualifications, suited to the work and business in the world, which they are appointed to fulfil. Though, perhaps, it gives no new faculty to the animal nature; yet it certainly corrects and improves whatever is bad in it, according to the measure of the heavenly gift. And if it does not absolutely destroy perverse dispositions and wrong habits, it keeps them down and will not suffer them to triumph and prevail. Some have boldness of natural spirit, as *Luther* had, which will appear even in the life of grace, and carry the man the more strenuously onward in what he conceives to be his duty. Others have a softness and meekness of heart, which seem more calculated to conciliate friends and build up professors in the faith, than to war against the powers of darkness, or attack the strong holds of error. Both have their use, under the divine agency; and God makes use of both to accomplish his designs of salvation towards his people.

Of this last character was the subject of the present memoir. For the kindness and benevolence of his spirit, and for the circumspect purity of his life, he obtained the name of *Holy John Bradford*. His worst enemies could object nothing to his life and conversation; and they were obliged to give almost as poor an account of their fury against him, as the *Jews* had given before against his Saviour, *That they had a law, and by their law he ought to die.* They had indeed a *power*, but as to law, or the right use of that power, in slaying men like *Bradford*, we must examine ordinances very different from the word and will of God.

John



From an original Painting in the Possession of [illegible]

John Bradford was born at *Manchester*, in *Lancashire*. His parents brought him up in learning from his infancy, and when he had attained to good knowledge in the *Latin* tongue, being apt and ready at his pen, he became fit for such business as might procure him an honest livelihood. He soon afterwards was employed by Sir *John Harrington*, knight, who was treasurer to the king's camps and buildings, in the reigns of king *Henry* VIII. and *Edward* VI. Sir *John* had such early proofs of the dexterity and faithfulness of *Bradford*, both at home and abroad, that he trusted him with the management of the most weighty affairs, and owned they were better done than he could have transacted them himself.

Mr *Bradford* continued in this situation for several years, in which he prospered, and gave such general satisfaction, that he was in the way to get an estate easily and honestly: But God set his heart upon the things of another world; and he had no sooner tasted that the Lord was gracious, than he was for publishing the gospel-salvation to all people. And therefore, after he had given a just and clear account to his master of all he was intrusted with, he forsook all worldly affairs, and the fair prospect of getting riches, and went from the temple in *London*, (where he had begun the study of the law), to the university of *Cambridge*, to meditate upon the word of God, and to study divinity; where he made such an uncommon progress in learning, and so pleased all by his godly and blameless conversation, that in less than a year the university thought proper to confer the degree of master of arts upon him.

Immediately after, the master and fellows of *Pembroke-hall* chose him to a fellowship in their college: And, that great and good man *Martin Bucer* so highly valued him, that he used many persuasions with him to preach; but Mr *Bradford* for some time declined it, saying, that he had not learning enough. To which *Bucer* replied, 'If 'you have not fine manchet-bread, yet give the poor 'people barley-bread, or such as thou hast.' And while Mr *Bradford* was thus persuaded to enter into the ministry, Dr *Ridley*, bishop of *London*, made him a prebend of St *Paul*'s. He continued three years preaching in a most pathetic and godly manner, in reproving sin sharply, yet sweetly preaching *Christ* crucified, and defending the truth against errors and heresies. And even after queen *Mary* came to the crown, he still went on preaching as before,

before, till those in power unjustly persecuted him, and sent him prisoner to the tower of London.

On Sunday, the thirteenth of August, in the first year of queen Mary's reign, Dr Bourne, then bishop of Bath and Wells, made a sermon at Paul's cross, in which he railed against pious king Edward, then deceased, and so reviled the Reformation and Reformers, that the common people began to lose their patience, and from a great murmuring, there arose a greater uproar among the multitude, in so much, that the lord mayor and all his officers could not silence the tumult, which was so enraged, that one of the people threw a dagger at the preacher's head, which narrowly missed him; and, we are told, that the mob would certainly have torn him in pieces, had not this Mr Bradford, who then sat behind him, stood up at the earnest entreaty of Dr Bourne himself, to appease the people: And the people heard him gladly, while Bourne was glad to sit down, and hide his head to save his life. Mr Bradford preached so long upon peace and quietness, that the multitude became quiet; and when the sermon was ended, they went peaceably away. Yet, notwithstanding the mob was greatly dispersed, Dr Bourne was still afraid to shew his head, till Mr Bradford and Mr Rogers, vicar of St Sepulchre's, undertook to conduct him, at the hazard of their own lives, to the grammar-school, which was hard by; which they did by screening him with their gowns. For which charity they were soon afterwards rewarded by popish gratitude, with fire and faggot.

Among the company at St Paul's cross at that time, there was one who said these words; 'Ah, Bradford, 'Bradford, thou savest him that will burn thee; I give 'thee his life: If it were not for thee, I would, I assure 'thee, have run him through with my sword.' The same day in the afternoon, Mr Bradford preached at Bow-church in Cheapside, and sharply reproved the people for their seditious behaviour.

Yet, notwithstanding this benevolent conduct, about three days after he was sent to the tower of London, where the queen then resided, and was ordered to appear before the council. He was charged with sedition at Paul's-cross, though he had been the means of saving Bourne, and also for preaching. He was first committed to the tower as aforesaid, and was afterwards harrassed about almost two years, from prison to prison, till the flames

flames deprived him of his body, and dismissed his soul to heaven.

Mr *Bradford* was sent from the *Tower* to the *King's Bench* in *Southwark:* And after his condemnation he was sent to the *Poultry-Compter* in *London:* And while he remained in each of these two last places he preached twice a-day, unless prevented by sickness. In the same places, he would often celebrate the Lord's supper; and the keepers were so kind as to permit many people to come both to the sermon and the sacrament; so that his chamber was on these occasions commonly filled with serious Christians. Preaching, reading, and praying, was the chief business of his whole life. He did not eat more than one meal a-day, and that a sparing one, and his continual study was upon his knees. In the midst of his dinner he was wont to meditate with his hat over his eyes, from whence would often shed abundance of tears. Very gentle he was both to man and child, and in so good credit with his keeper, that he had liberty to go abroad any evening without any guard, on his promise that he would return again the same night; which he always punctually did, and rather before than after the hour appointed.

He was of person somewhat tall and slender, spare of body, of a faint sanguine colour, with a dark-brown beard. He would seldom sleep above four hours in the night. He would never waste his time in any sort of gaming, but his chief recreation was in Christian conversation with his family; wherein he usually spent some time after dinner at his table; and then to prayer and his book again. He accounted that time lost, which was not spent in doing good, either with his pen, study, or in exhorting of others, &c. He was no niggard of his purse, but would liberally communicate a part of what he had to his fellow-prisoners. And commonly once a-week he visited the thieves, pick-pockets, and such others as were with him in prison; to whom he would give pious exhortations, and afterwards distribute money among them for their subsistence.

While he was in the *King's Bench*, and Mr *Laurence Saunders* in the *Marshalsea*, both prisoners, and afterwards martyrs; on the back-side of these two prisons they met many times, and conferred together as often as they would: And Mr *Bradford* was so trusted by his keeper, and had such liberty in the backside of the prison, that any

any day he might easily have escaped if he would; but the Lord had another work for him to do.

One of his old friends once came to him in prison, and said, 'Suppose I should make intercession for you, and 'get you out of prison, what would you do, or whither 'would you go?' To which he answered, as though he did not care whether he had his liberty or no: But being further pressed to know what he would do, if such a thing should be brought about; he then said that he would marry, and still abide in *England*, teaching the people secretly, till the Lord's providence should so order it, that he should do it in a more public manner.

He was so well respected by all good men, that many who knew no more of him than the report only, much lamented his death: yea, and great numbers of the papists themselves also heartily wished, that he might have been spared. Bishop *Ridley* spoke of him in these terms; 'In 'my conscience, says he, I judge Mr *Bradford* more wor-'thy to be a bishop, than many of us, who are bishops al-'ready, to be parish priests.'—This character was given of him by *Ridley* in the days of king *Edward*, upon recommending him to preferment.

The Lord was pleased so to bless his company to others, that there were but few to be found in the prisons where he had been, who had not received some advantage from his pious conversation: A singular and eminent instance of which here follows. Bishop *Ferrar* being prisoner in the *King's-Bench*, was prevailed upon by the papists to receive the sacrament in one kind. But, by the providence of God, Mr *Bradford* was brought to the same prison the very day before he was to have done it; and he was made instrumental in saving the good bishop from such a base and unworthy action.

The night before he was removed to *Newgate*, he was somewhat disturbed in his sleep, by dreaming that the chain for his burning was brought to the *Compter-gate*; that the next day he must go to *Newgate*; and, that the day after he was to be burnt in *Smithfield*: Which came to pass accordingly.

One afternoon, as he and his bed-fellow were walking together in the keeper's chamber, the keeper's wife came up in much grief, and said, 'Oh Mr *Bradford*, I come 'to bring you heavy news!' "What is that?" said he; 'Indeed, quoth she, to-morrow you are to be burned. 'Your chain is now preparing: And you must presently 'go

'go to *Newgate*.' On this Mr. *Bradford* put off his cap, and lifting up his eyes to heaven, said, "I thank God "for it; I have looked for this a long time, and there- "fore it cometh not unexpectedly, but as a thing waited "for daily and hourly; the Lord make me worthy of "it!" And, after thanking her for her good-will, he repaired to his chamber, and prayed in secret for a long time; which when he had done, he came to his friend, and took several writings and papers, and told him what he would have to be done with them; and having thus settled his affairs in the afternoon, at night, half-a-dozen of his friends came to see him; with whom he spent all the evening in prayer, and devout exercises.

A little before he went out of the *Compter*, he prayed very affectionately, which produced a number of tears, and greatly affected the hearts of the hearers. And when he stripped himself to his shirt, in which he was to suffer, he made another excellent prayer upon the wedding-garment. When he went out of the chamber, he prayed again; and gave money to every servant and officer in the house; exhorting them all to serve and fear the Lord. And the prisoners, to all of whom he had been profitable in one shape or other, were in tears on their parting with him.

About eleven or twelve o'clock in the night, when they thought no body would be stirring, the officers carried him to *Newgate*; but, contrary to their expectations, the streets between the *Compter* and *Newgate* were crouded with people, who waited to see him, and bid him farewell with prayers and many tears; and he took his leave of them in the same affectionate manner, praying that the Lord would bless them and keep them in his truth.

Whether it was a command from the queen and her council, or from Bonner and his adherents, or whether it was devised by the lord mayor, aldermen, and sheriffs of *London*, or not; there was a strong rumour all over the city the night before, that Mr *Bradford* was to be burnt the next morning at four o'clock in *Smithfield*. There were different opinions about this report: Some thought that it was for fear of a tumult; others conjectured, that the papists were afraid that his behaviour would so work upon the minds of the people, as to do their cause much damage. However the true cause of this contrivance never came to light.

At four o'clock in the morning *Smithfield* was full of people, though Mr *Bradford* was not brought thither before

before nine. Going through Newgate, he espied an old friend, to whom he called, and gave him his velvet cap, an handkerchief, &c. And when he departed, one Mr Roger Beswick, brother-in-law to Mr Bradford, came up and shook him by the hand; for which Mr Woodrooffe the sheriff, like a rough rude man, broke Mr Beswick's head, so that the blood flew about; and as they could not change many words together, Mr Bradford took his leave of him, desiring to be recommended to his mother and his friends, and advised him to go directly to a surgeon.

He was taken into Smithfield with a strong guard of armed men. When he came to the place where he was to suffer, he fell on his face and prayed. After which he took a faggot and kissed it, and the stake likewise. Then having put off his clothes, he stood by the stake, and lifting up his eyes and hands towards heaven, said, "O "England, England, repent of thy sins, repent of thy "sins, beware of idolatry: Beware of antichrists; take "heed they do not deceive thee!" Then he turned his face to *John Leaf*, a young man about twenty years old, who suffered with him, and said, "Be of good comfort, "brother, for we shall sup with the Lord this night." He then embraced the reeds, and said, "Strait is the "gate, and narrow is the way that leadeth to life eternal, "and few there be that find it." After which he was fastened to the stake and burnt, on the first of July, in the year of our Lord 1555. He ended his life like a lamb, without the least alteration of countenance, and in the prime of his days.

We shall now give some farther account of the troubles and examination of this worthy martyr, Mr John Bradford, which began on the twenty-second of January, 1555, when he was commanded to appear before Stephen Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, and other commissioners appointed by the queen for that purpose.

When he came into the presence of the council, the lord chancellor told him, 'that he had been a long time 'in prison for his seditious behaviour at Paul's-cross, and 'for his false preaching and arrogancy, in taking upon 'him to preach without authority. But the time of 'mercy is come, if you will accept it on the queen's 'terms. If you will do as we have done, you shall find 'as we have found, I warrant you.'

After reverent and lowly obedience first made, Mr Bradford thus answered: "My lord, and lords all, I "confess

" confess that I have been long imprisoned, and, with " humble reverence be it spoken, unjustly; in so much " that I did nothing seditiously, falsely, or ignorantly, " by word or fact, by preaching or otherwise; but " rather sought truth, peace, and godly quietness, as " an obedient faithful subject, both in saving the life " of him who is now bishop of *Bath*, namely, Dr *Bourne*, " who was then preacher at the cross, and in preaching " for quietness accordingly."

At these words the lord chancellor, the famous *Gardiner*, bishop of *Winchester*, gave him the lye; 'for, said 'he, the fact was seditious, as my lord of *London*, can bear 'witness.'

Bonner. 'You say true, my lord, I saw him with my 'own eyes, when he took upon him to rule and head the 'people impudently, thereby declaring that he was the 'author of the sedition.'

Bradford. " My lords, notwithstanding my lord bi- " shop's seeing and saying; yet the truth I have told, as " one day the Lord God Almighty shall reveal to all the " world, when we shall all stand before him. In the " mean season, because I cannot be believed by you, I " must and am ready to suffer as now your sayings be, " whatsoever God shall permit or license you to do " to me."

Lord Chancellor. 'I know thou hast a glorious tongue, 'and goodly shews thou makest; but all is lies thou 'speakest. And again, I have not forgot how stubborn 'thou wast, when thou wast before us in the *Tower*, 'whereupon thou wast committed to prison concerning 'religion: I have not forgotten thy behaviour and talk, 'for which cause thou hast been kept in prison, as one 'who would have done more hurt than I will speak on.'

Bradford. " My lord, as I said, I say again; that I " stand, as before you, so before God, and one day we " shall all stand before him: The truth then will be " the truth, though we will not so take it. Yea, my " lord, I dare say that my lord of *Bath*, Dr *Bourne*, " will witness with me, that I sought his safeguard with " the peril of mine own life: I thank God therefore."

Bonner. 'That is not true: For I myself did see thee 'take upon thee too much.'

Bradford. " No, I took nothing upon me undesired, " and that of Dr *Bourne* himself; as, if he were present, " I dare say he would affirm. [However *Bourne* had the " ingratitude to keep out of the way.] For he desired

" me

" me to help him, to pacify the people, and also not to " leave him, till he was in safety. And as for my beha- " viour in the Tower, and talk before your honours; if I " did or said any thing that did not beseem me, if your " lordship would tell me wherein it was, I would shortly " make you an answer."

Lord Chancellor. ' Well, to leave this matter: How ' sayest thou now? wilt thou return again, and do as we ' have done, and thou shalt receive the queen's mercy ' and pardon?'

Bradford. " My lord, I desire mercy with God's " mercy; but mercy, with God's wrath, God keep me " from: Although, I thank God, therefore, my con- " science doth not accuse me, that I did speak any thing " that I should not receive the queen's mercy or pardon. " For all that ever I did or spake, was both agreeable to " God's laws, and the laws of the realm at present, and " did make much to quietness."

Lord Chancellor. ' Well, if thou make this babbling, ' rolling thy eloquent tongue, and yet being altogether ' ignorant and vain-glorious, and wilt not receive mercy ' offered to thee; know for truth, that the queen is ' minded to make a purgation of all such as thou art.'

Bradford. " The Lord, before whom I stand, as well " as before you, knoweth what vain-glory I have sought, " and seek in this behalf: His mercy I desire, and also " would be glad of the queen's favour, to live as a sub- " ject without a clog of conscience. But otherwise, the " Lord's mercy is better to me than life; and I know to " whom I have committed my life, even into his hands " who will keep it, so that no man may take it away " before it be his pleasure. There are twelve hours in " the day, and as long as they last no man shall have " power thereon. Therefore, his good-will be done; life " in his displeasure is worse than death; and death, with " his favour, is true life."

Lord Chancellor. ' I know well enough, that we shall ' have glorious talk enough, with thee: Be sure, that as ' thou hast deceived the people with false and devilish ' doctrine, so shalt thou receive.'

Bradford. " I have not deceived the people, nor taught " any other doctrine, than by God's grace I am, and " hope shall be, ready to confirm with my life. And " as for the devilishness and falseness of the doctrine, I " should be very sorry if you could prove it."

Durham.

Durham. 'Why, tell me; what say you by the minis-
'tration of the communion, as now you know it is?'

Bradford. "My lord, here I must desire of your lord-
"ship and all your honours a question, before I dare make
"you an answer to any interrogatory or question, where-
"with you now begin. I have been six times sworn,
"that I shall in no wise consent to the practising of any
"jurisdiction, or any authority, on the bishop of Rome's
"behalf, within this realm of England. Now, before
"God, I humbly pray your honours to tell me, whether
"you ask me this question by his authority, or no? If
"you do, I dare not, nor may answer you any thing in
"his authority, which you shall demand of me, except
"I would be forsworn, which God forbid!"

Secretary Bourne. 'Hast thou been sworn six times?
'what office hast thou borne?'

Bradford. "Forsooth, I was thrice sworn in Cambridge,
"when I was admitted master of arts, when I was ad-
"mitted fellow of Pembroke-hall; and when I was there,
"the visitors came thither and sware the university.
"Again, I was sworn when I entered into the ministry,
"when I had a prebend given me, and when I was sworn
"to serve the king a little before his death."

Lord Chancellor. 'Tush! Herod's oaths a man should
'make no conscience at.'

Bradford. "My lord, these were no Herod's oaths, no
"unlawful oaths, but oaths according to God's word,
"as you yourself have well affirmed in your book, *De*
"*verâ obedientiâ* *"

Secretary Bourne. 'Yea, it was reported this parlia-
'ment time, that he hath done more hurt by letters, and
'exhorting those that have come to him in religion, than
'ever he did when he was abroad by preaching. In his
'letters, he curseth all that teach any false doctrine (for
'so he calleth that, which is not according to that he
'taught), and most heartily exhorteth them, to whom
'he writeth, to continue still in that they have received
'by him, and such like as he is.' All which words several
of the council affirmed, to which he added, saying; 'How
'say you, sir, have you not thus seditiously written and
'exhorted the people?'

Bradford.

* This book *Of true Obedience*, was written by *Gardiner* in the time of Henry VIII againſt the pope's ſupremacy, and prefaced with a recommendation by *Bonner*.—Both theſe gentlemen perceived, that, at that time, ſuch opinions opened the way for preferment.

Bradford. " I have not written nor spoken any thing " seditiously ; neither (I thank God therefore) have I ad- " mitted any seditious thought, nor I trust ever shall do."

Secretary Bourne. ' Yea, thou hast written letters.'

Lord Chancellor. ' Why speakest thou not ? hast thou ' not written as he saith ?'

Bradford. " That I have written, I have written."

Southwell. ' Lord God ! what an arrogant and stubborn ' boy is this, that thus stoutly and dallyingly behaveth ' himself before the queen's council !'

Bradford. " My lords and masters, the Lord God, who " is, and will be judge to us all, knoweth, that as I am " certain, I now stand before his majesty ; so with re- " verence in his sight I stand before you, and to you " accordingly in words and gesture I desire to behave " myself. If you otherwise take it, I doubt not but God " in his time will reveal it : In the mean season, I shall " suffer with all due obedience your sayings and doings " too, I hope."

Lord Chancellor. ' These be gay and glorious words of ' reverence, but as in all other things, so herein also thou ' dost nothing but lie.'

Bradford. " Well, I would God the author of truth " and abhorror of lies, would pull my tongue out of " my mouth before you all, and shew a terrible judg- " ment on me here present, if I have purposed, or do " purpose to lie before you, who either can lay my " letters to my charge or no : If you lay any thing to " my charge that I have written, and if I deny it, then " I am a liar."

Lord Chancellor. ' We shall never have done with thee, ' I perceive now : Be short, be short, wilt thou accept ' of mercy now ?'

Bradford. " I pray God give me his mercy, and if " therewith you will extend yours I will not refuse it ; " but otherwise I will have none."

Here arose a great noise ; some said one thing, and some another ; while others again accused him of arrogancy in refusing the queen's pardon, which her majesty in her great clemency had reached towards him.

To this proposal of life, Mr Bradford answered meekly and plainly thus : " My lord, if I may live as a quiet " subject without clog of conscience, I shall heartily " thank you for your pardon ; if I behave myself other- " wise, then am I in danger of the law : In the mean " time, I ask no more than the benefit of a subject till I " be

" be convinced of trangressions; if I cannot have this, " as hitherto I have not had, God's good will be done."

Upon these words, the lord chancellor began a tedious tale about the false doctrine in king *Edward*'s days, and how the people were deceived thereby; and at the conclusion he turned to Mr *Bradford* and said, how sayest thou?

Bradford. " My lord, the doctrine taught in king Ed- " ward's days was God's pure religion; [the first book " of homilies in the church of England was then made " and confirmed] which, as I then believed, so do I now " more believe it than ever I did, and therein I am more " confirmed, and ready to declare it by God's grace, " even as he will, to the world, than I was when I first " came into prison."

Durham. ' What religion mean you in king Edward's ' days? What year of his reign?'

Bradford. " Forsooth even the same year, my lord, " that the king died, and I was a preacher."

After some small pause, the lord chancellor began again to declare, that the doctrine taught in king Edward's days was heresy, though he pretended not to prove his assertion either by scripture or reason; but cunningly made use of this observation, that it ended with treason and rebellion, so that said he, the very end were enough to prove that doctrine to be naught.

Bradford. " Ah, my lord! that you could enter into " God's sanctuary, and mark the end of this present doc- " trine that you so magnify."

Lord Chancellor. ' What meanest thou by that? I am ' of opinion we shall have a snatch of rebellion even now.'

Bradford. " My lord, I mean no such end as you " would gather: I mean an end which no man seeth, " but such as enter into God's sanctuary. If a man " look on present things, he will soon destroy himself."

Here my lord chancellor offered mercy; and Mr Bradford answered as before: " Mercy with God's mercy, " should be welcome; but otherwise he would have none."

Whereupon the chancellor rang a little bell to call somebody in; for there were but very few present at that time besides the bishop of Worcestor.—And when one was come in, Mr Secretary Bourne said, ' it is best for you, my ' lord, to give the keeper an extraordinary charge of this ' fellow.' Then the under marshal was called in.

Lord Chancellor. ' Ye shall take this man to you, and ' keep him close without conference of any man, but by ' your knowledge, and suffer him not to write any letters, &c.

'&c. for he is of another manner of charge to you than 'he was before.'

And so they departed, Bradford looking as chearful as any man could do; declaring thereby how willing he was even to give his life for the confirmation of his faith and doctrine.

On the twenty-ninth of January, 1555, the lord chancellor and other bishops were in St Mary-Overy's church in Southwark, when Mr Bradford was sent for; and they proceeded to a second examination of him, but he by his proper answers manifested, that he was well established in the truths of the gospel. Mr Bradford was several times examined by the lord chancellor and the bishops, by two Spanish friars who came to him in the Compter, and by Dr Westen, dean of Westminster, who came to visit Mr Bradford in prison, and had much conversation with him; but in his conferences with them all, he answered in a steady and uniform manner, becoming a man who knew in whom he believed, and like a Christian champion for the truths of God; though, naturally, he was (as Mr Edward Leigh says of him) 'a man of a humble, melting 'spirit.'

He lived under so strong a sense of his corruptions, that he subscribed some of his letters from prison in the following words:—"The most miserable, hard-hearted, "unthankful sinner, John Bradford. The sinful John "Bradford."

We are informed by Mr Fox, that he wrote many treatises, especially during his confinement, of which the following have been published.—Two sermons; the first of repentance, on Matt. iv. 17. the second of the Lord's Supper. 2. Letters to his fellow martyrs. 3. An answer to two letters, upon the lawfulness of attending mass. 4. The danger of attending mass. 5. His examination before the officers. 6. Godly meditations made in prison, called his short prayers. 7. Truth's complaints. 8. A translation of Melancthon upon prayer. 9. A dialogue of predestination and free-will.

It is no wonder that Bradford's letters made such a noise among the papists, since they were highly spiritual, and tended to establish the people of God under the severity of their persecution. They are so truly excellent, that, notwithstanding the rude style of those times, they are read with delight and edification even to this day. We will select two or three of them for our readers, to shew his manner and spirit, and refer them for the rest to Fox's Acts and Monuments.

"To

" To my dear fathers, Dr Cranmer, Dr Ridley, and
" Dr Latimer.

" *JESUS Emmanuel!* My dear fathers in the Lord,
" I beseech God, our sweet Father through Christ, to
" make perfect the good he hath begun in us all. Amen.
" I had thought that every of your staves had stood next
" the door, but now it is otherwise perceived. Our dear
" brother Rogers hath broken the ice valiantly, as this
" day (I think) or to-morrow at the uttermost, hearty
" Hooper, sincere Saunders, and trusty Taylor, end their
" course, and receive their crown. The next am I, which
" hourly look for the porter to open me the gates after
" them, to enter into the desired rest. God forgive me
" mine unthankfulness for this exceeding great mercy,
" that amongst so many thousands it pleaseth his mercy
" to chuse me to be one, in whom he will suffer. For
" although it be most true, that *justè patior*, i. e. I justly
" suffer (for I have been a great hypocrite, and a griev-
" ous sinner, the Lord pardon me, yea, he hath done it,
" he hath done it indeed) yet *hic autem quid mali fecit?*
" i. e. what evil hath he done? Christ, whom the prelates
" persecute, his verity which they hate in me, hath done
" no evil, nor deserveth death. Therefore ought I most
" heartily to rejoice of this dignation and tender kindness
" of the Lord's towards me, who useth remedy for my
" sin as a testimonial of his testament, to his glory, to
" my everlasting comfort, to the edifying of his church,
" and to the overthrowing of antichrist and his kingdom.
" Oh what am I, Lord, that thou shouldest thus magnify
" me, so vile a man and wretch, as always I have been?
" Is this thy wont, to send for such a wretch and an hy-
" pocrite as I have been, in a fiery chariot, as thou didst
" for Helias? Oh dear fathers, be thankful for me, that
" I still might be found worthy in whom the Lord would
" sanctify his holy name. And for your part, make you
" ready: For we are but your gentlemen-ushers. *Nuptiæ*
" *Agni paratæ sunt, venite ad nuptias:* i. e. the marriage of
" the Lamb is prepared; come unto the marriage. I now
" go to leave my flesh there, where I received it. I shall
" be conveyed thither, as Ignatius was at Rome, Leopar-
" dis; by whose evil I hope to be made better. God
" grant, if it be his will that I ask, it may make them
" better by me. Amen.
" For my farewel therefore, I write and send this unto
" you, trusting shortly to see you where we shall never
" be

" be separated. In the mean season I will not cease, as " I have done, to commend you to our Father of heaven; " and that you would so do by me, I most heartily pray " every one of you: You know now I have most need. " But *fidelis est Deus, que nunquam sinet nos tentari suprà id* " *quod possumus;* i. e. faithful is God, which will not " suffer us to be tempted above our strength. He never " did it hitherto, nor now; and I am assured he will " never. Amen. *A dextris est mihi, non movebor. Propter* " *hoc lætabitur cor meum, quia non derelinquet animam meam* " *in inferno, nec dabit me, sanctum suum, per gratiam in* " *Christo, videre corruptionem. E carcere raptim, expectans* " *omni momento carnificem;* i. e. he is on my right hand, " therefore I shall not fall: Wherefore my heart shall " rejoice, for he shall not leave my soul in hell; neither " shall suffer me his holy one, by his grace in Christ, to " see corruption. Out of prison in haste, looking for the " tormentor, the eighth of February, 1555."

To a faithful Woman in her heaviness and trouble.

" GOD our good Father, for his mercies sake in Christ, " with his eternal consolation so comfort you, as I " desire to be comforted of him in my most need: Yea, " he will comfort you (my dear sister) only cast your care " upon him, and he never can nor will forsake you. For " his calling and gifts be such, that he can never repent " him of them Whom he loveth, he loveth to the end; " none of his chosen can perish: Of which number I know " you are, my dearly beloved sister. God increase the " faith thereof daily more and more in you; may he give " unto you to hang wholly on him and on his providence " and protection: For whoso dwelleth under that secret " thing, and help of the Lord, he shall be cock-sure for " evermore. He that dwelleth, I say; for if we be flit- " ters and not dwellers, as was Lot a flitter from Segor, " where God promised him protection, if he had dwelled " there still; we shall remove to our loss, as he did into " the mountains.

" Dwell therefore; that is, trust, and that finally unto " the end, in the Lord, (my dear sister) and you shall be " as mount Sion. As mountains compass Jerusalem, so " doth the Lord all his people. How then can he forget " you, which are as the apple of his eye, for his dear " Son's sake? Ah dear heart, that I were now but one " half hour with you, to be a Simon to help to carry your

" cross

" cross with you. God send you some good Simon to be
" with you, and help you.

" You complain in your letters of the blindness of your
" mind, and the troubles you feel. My dearly beloved,
" God make you thankful for that which God hath given
" unto you ; may he open your eyes to see what and how
" great benefits you have received, that you may be less
" covetous, or rather impatient, for so (I fear me) it should
" be called, and more thankful. Have you not received
" at his hands sight to see your blindness, and thereto a
" desirous and seeking heart to see where he lieth in the
" mid-day, as his dear spouse speaketh of herself in the
" Canticles? Oh Joyce, my good Joyce, what a gift is this?
" Many have some sight, but none this sobbing and sigh-
" ing, none this seeking which you have, I know, but
" such as he hath married unto him in his mercies. You
" are not content to kiss his feet with the Magdalen, but
" you would be kissed even with the kiss of his mouth,
" Canticles i. You would see his face with Moses, for-
" getting how he biddeth us seek his face, Psalm xxvii.
" Yea, and that for ever, Psalm cv. Which signifieth
" no such sight, as you desire to be in this present life,
" which would see God now face to face; whereas he
" cannot be seen, but covered under something, yea,
" sometime in that which is (as you would say) clean
" contrary to God ; as to see his mercy in his anger. In
" bringing us to hell, faith seeth him to bring us to
" heaven ; in darkness it beholdeth brightness ; In hid-
" ing his face from us, it beholdeth his merry counte-
" nance. How did Job see God, but (as you would say)
" under Satan's cloak? For who cast the fire from heaven
" upon his goods? Who overthrew his house, and stirred
" up men to take away his cattle, but Satan? and yet
" Job pierced through all these, and saw God's work, say-
" ing, *The Lord hath given, the Lord hath taken away*, &c.

" In reading of the Psalms, how often do you see that
" David in the shadow of death saw God's sweet love?
" And so, my dearly beloved, I see that you in your
" darkness and dimness by faith do see clarity and bright-
" ness. By faith, I say, because faith is of things absent,
" of things hoped for, of things which I appeal to your
" conscience, whether you desire not. And can you de-
" sire any thing which you know not? And is there of
" heavenly things any other true knowledge than by
" faith?

" Therefore

" Therefore (my dear heart) be thankful, for (before " God I write it) you have great cause. Ah, my Joyce, " how happy is the stay wherein you are? Verily you " are even in the blessed state of God's children; for they " mourn, and do not you so? And that not for worldly " weal, but for spiritual riches, faith, hope, charity, &c. " Do you not hunger and thirst for righteousness? And " I pray you, saith not Christ, who cannot lie, that happy " are such? How should God wipe away the tears from " your eyes in heaven, if now on earth ye shed no tears? " How could heaven be a place of rest if on earth ye " find it? How could ye desire to be at home, if in your " journey you found no grief? How could you so often " call upon God, and talk with him, as I know you do, " if your enemy should sleep all the day long? How " should you elsewhere be made like unto Christ, I mean " in joy, if in sorrow you sobbed not with him? If you " will have joy and felicity, you must first needs feel " sorrow and misery. If you will go to heaven, you " must sail by hell. If you would embrace Christ in his " robes, you must not think scorn of him in his rags. " If you would sit at Christ's table in his kingdom, you " must first abide with him in his temptations. If you " will drink of his cup of glory, forsake not his cup of " ignominy.

" Can the head corner-stone be rejected, and the other " more base stones in God's building be in this world set " by? You are one of his lively stones; be content there- " fore to be hewn and snagged at, that you might be made " more meet to be joined to your fellows which suffer " with you Satan's snatches, the world's wounds, con- " tempt of conscience, and threats of the flesh, where- " through they are enforced to cry, Oh wretches that we " are, who shall deliver us? You are of God's corn, " fear not therefore the flail, the fan, millstone, nor oven. " You are one of Christ's lambs, look therefore to be " fleeced, haled at, and even slain.

" If you were a market-sheep, you should go in more " fat and grassie pasture. If you were for the fair, you " should be stall-fed, and want no weal. But because " you are of God's own occupying, therefore you must " pasture on the bare common, abiding the storms and " tempests that will fall. Happy, and twice happy are " you (my dear sister) that God now haleth you whither " you would not, that you might come whither you would. " Suffer a little and be still. Let Satan rage against you,

" let

" let the world cry out, let your conscience accuse you,
" let the law load you and press you down, yet shall
" they not prevail, for Christ is Emmanuel, that is, God
" with us. *If God be with us, who can be against us?*
" The Lord is with you; your Father cannot forget you;
" your Spouse loveth you. If the waves and surges arise,
" cry with Peter, *Lord, I perish;* and he will put out
" his hand and help you. Cast out your anchor of hope,
" and it will not cease for the stormy surges, till it take
" hold on the rock of God's truth and mercy.

" Think not that he who hath given you so many
" things corporally, as inductions of spiritual and hea-
" venly mercies, and that without your deserts or desire,
" can deny you any spiritual comfort, desiring it. For
" if he give to desire, he will give you to have and en-
" joy the thing desired. The desire to have, and the
" going about to ask, ought to certify your conscience,
" that they be his earnest of the thing which, you asking,
" he will give you; yea, before you ask, and whilst you
" are about to ask, he will grant the same, as Isaiah saith,
" to his glory and your eternal consolation. He that
" spared not his own Son for you, will not, nor cannot
" think any thing too good for you, my heartily beloved.

" If he had not chosen you, (as most certainly he hath)
" he would not have so called you; he would never have
" justified you; he would never have so glorified you
" with his gracious gifts, which I know, praised be his
" name therefore; he would never have so exercised your
" faith with temptations, as he hath done and doth; if
" (I say) he had not chosen you. If he hath chosen you
" (as doubtless, dear heart, he hath done in Christ, for
" in you I have seen his earnest, and before me and to
" me you could not deny it, I know both where and
" when) if, I say, he hath chosen you, then neither can
" you, nor ever shall you perish: For if you fall, he put-
" teth under his hand. You shall not lie still; so care-
" ful is Christ your keeper over you. Never was mother
" so mindful over her child, as he is over you. And
" hath not he always been so?

" Speak, woman, when did he finally forget you?
" And will he now, trow you, in your most need do
" otherwise, you calling upon him, and desiring to please
" him? Ah (my Joyce) think you God to be mutable?
" Is he a changeling? Doth not he love to the end them
" whom he loveth? Are not his gifts and calling such,
" that he cannot repent him of them? For else were he

" no

" no God. If you should perish, then wanted he power; " for I am certain his will towards you is not to be " doubted of. Hath not the Spirit, which is the Spirit " of truth, told you so? And will you now hearken with " Eve to the lying spirit which would have you not to " despair (no, he goeth more craftily to work, howbeit " to that end, if you should give ear unto it, which God " forbid) but to doubt and stand in a mammering, and " so should you never truly love God, but serve him of " a servile fear, lest he should cast you off for your un- " worthiness and unthankfulness; as though your thank- " fulness or worthiness were any cause with God, why " he hath chosen you, or will finally keep you.

" Ah mine own dear heart, Christ only, Christ only, " and his mercy and truth. In him is the cause of your " election. This Christ, this mercy, this truth of God, " remaineth for ever, is certain for ever; I say, for ever. " If an angel from heaven should tell you the contrary, " accursed be he. Your thankfulness and worthiness are " fruits and effects of your election; they are no causes. " These fruits and effects, shall be so much more fruitful " and effectual, by how much you waver not.

" Therefore (my dearly beloved) arise, and remember " from whence you are fallen. You have a shepherd " who never slumbereth nor sleepeth; no man nor devil " can pull you out of his hands. Night and day he com- " mandeth his angels to keep you. Have you forgotten " what I read to you out of the Psalm, *The Lord is my* " *shepherd, I can want nothing.* Do you not know that " God spared Noah in the ark on the outside, so that he " could not get out? So hath he done to you (my good " sister) so hath he done to you. Ten thousand shall fall " on your right hand, and twenty thousand on your left " hand, yet no evil shall touch you. Say boldly there- " fore, *Many a time from my youth up have they fought* " *against me, but they have not prevailed*, no, nor never " shall prevail; for the Lord is round about his people. " And who are the people of God, but such as hope in " him? Happy are they that hope in the Lord, and you " are one of those, my dear heart, for I am assured you " have hoped in the Lord; I have your words to shew " most manifestly, and I know they were written un- " feignedly. Indeed not to say, that even before God " you have simply confessed to me, and that oftentimes " no less. And if once you had this hope, as you doubt- " less had it, though now you feel it not, yet shall you

" feel

" feel it again: For the anger of the Lord lasteth but a
" moment, but his mercy lasteth for ever. Tell me (my
" dear heart) who hath so weakened you? Surely not
" a persuasion which came from him who called you.
" For why should you waver, and be so heavy hearted?
" Whom look you on? On yourself? On your worthi-
" ness? On your thankfulness? On that which God re-
" quireth of you; as faith, hope, love, fear, joy, &c.?
" Then can you not but waver indeed: For what have
" you as God requireth? Believe you, hope you, love
" you, &c. as much as you should do? No, no, nor ever
" can in this life. Ah, my dearly beloved, have you so
" soon forgotten that which ever should be had in me-
" mory? Namely, that when you would and should be
" certain and quiet in conscience, then should your faith
" burst throughout all things not only that you have in
" you, or else are in heaven, earth or hell, until it come
" to Christ crucified, and the eternal sweet mercies and
" goodness of God in Christ? Here, here is the resting
" place; here is your Spouse's bed; creep into it, and in
" your arms of faith embrace him: Bewail your weak-
" ness, unworthiness, your diffidence, &c. and you shall
" see he will turn to you. What said I, you shall see?
" Nay, I should have said, you shall feel he will turn to
" you. You know that Moses, when he went to the
" mount to talk with God, he entered into a dark cloud;
" and Helias had his face covered when God pased by.
" Both these dear friends of God heard of God, but they
" saw him not; but you would be preferred before them.
" See now (my dear heart) how covetous you are. Ah
" be thankful, be thankful. But God be praised, your
" covetousness is Moses's covetousness. Well, with him
" you shall be satisfied: But when? Forsooth when he
" shall appear. Here is not the time of seeing, but as it
" were in a glass. Isaac was deceived, because he was
" not content with hearing only.

" Therefore to make an end of these many words,
" wherewith I fear me I do but trouble you from better
" exercises; inasmuch as you are indeed the child of God,
" elect in *Christ* before the beginning of all times; inas-
" much as you are given to the custody of Christ, as one
" of God's most precious jewels; inasmuch as Christ is
" faithful, and hitherto hath all power, so that you shall
" never perish, no, one hair of your head shall not be
" lost: I beseech you, I pray you, I desire you, I crave
" at your hands with all my very heart; I ask of you with

" hand

" hand, pen, tongue and mind, in Christ, through Christ, " for Christ, for his name, blood, mercies, power and " truth's sake, (my most entirely beloved sister) that you, " admit no doubting of God's final mercies towards you, " howsoever you feel for yourself; but to complain to " God, and crave of him, as of your tender and dear " father, all things; and in that time which shall be " most opportune, you shall find and feel far above that " your heart or the heart of any creature can conceive, " to your eternal joy. Amen, Amen, Amen.

" The good Spirit of God always keep us as his dear " children; may he comfort you, as I desire to be com- " forted, my dearly beloved, for evermore. Amen.

" I break up thus abruptly, because our common prayer " time calleth me. The peace of Christ dwell in both " our hearts for ever. Amen.

" As for the report of W. Po. if it be as you hear, " you must prepare to bear it. It is written on heaven's " door, *Do well, and hear evil.* Be content therefore to " hear whatsoever the enemy shall imagine to blot you " withal. God's Holy Spirit always comfort and keep " you. Amen, Amen. This eight of August, by him " that in the Lord desireth to you, as well and as much " felicity as to his own heart.

His last letter to his Mother, a little before he was burned.

" GOD's mercy and peace in Christ, be more and more " perceived of us. Amen.

" My most dear mother, in the bowels of Christ, I " heartily pray and beseech you to be thankful for me " unto God, who thus now taketh me unto himself: " I die not, my good mother, as a thief, a murderer, an " adulterer, &c. but I die as a witness of Christ, his gos- " pel and verity, which hitherto I have confessed (I thank " God) as well by preaching, as by imprisonment; and " now even presently I shall most willingly confirm the " same by fire. I acknowledge that God most justly might " take me hence simply for my sins (which are many, " great, and grievous: But the Lord for his mercy in " Christ, hath pardoned them all, I hope) but now dear " mother, he taketh me hence by this death, as a con- " fessor and witness, that the religion taught by Christ " Jesus, the prophets, and the apostles, is God's truth. " The prelates do persecute in me Christ whom they hate, " and his truth which they may not abide, because their " works are evil, and may not abide the truth and light,

" lest

" lest men should see their darkness. Therefore, my good " and most dear mother, give thanks for me to God, that " he hath made the fruit of your womb to be a witness " of his glory, and attend to the truth, which (I thank " God for it) I have truly taught out of the pulpit of " Manchester. Use often and continual prayer to God " the Father, through Christ. Hearken, as you may, to " the scriptures: Serve God after his word, and not after " custom: Beware of the Romish religion in England; " defile not yourself with it: Carry Christ's cross as he " shall lay it upon your back: Forgive them that kill " me: Pray for them, for they know not what they do: " Commit my cause to God the Father: Be mindful of " both your daughters, and help them as you can.

" I send all my writings to you and my brother Roger; " do with them as you will, because I cannot as I would: " He can tell you more of my mind. I have nothing to " give you, or to leave behind me for you: Only I pray " God my Father, for his Christ's sake, to bless you, and " keep you from evil. May he give you patience, may he " make you thankful, as for me, so for yourself, that he " will take the fruit of your womb to witness his verity: " Wherein I confess to the whole world, I die and depart " this life, in hope of a much better: Which I look for " at the hands of God my Father, through the merits of " his dear Son Jesus Christ.

" Thus, my dear mother, I take my last farewel of you " in this life, beseeching the almighty and eternal Father " by Christ, to grant us to meet in the life to come, where " we shall give him continual thanks and praise for ever " and ever. Amen. Out of prison the twenty-fourth " of June, 1555. Your son in the Lord."

JUSTUS JONAS.

THIS famous German divine, was born at *Northausen* in Thuringia, on the fifth of June, 1493, where his father was chief magistrate; who, falling sick of the plague, and having applied an onion to the sore, took it off and laid it by; which young Jonas, coming in, took up and eat; but, through the goodness of God, received

no hurt. He applied himself first to the study of the civil law, and made good proficiency in it; but, quitting that study, he devoted his whole attention to theology, and proceeded to the degree of doctor immediately. This was about the first dawning of the true light of the gospel, of which Jonas was not only an hearer and observer, but soon afterwards a principal instrument in promoting. For he was almost always present at the several synods and meetings of divines, which were held to settle the matters of religion, in those days. He united in one person the characters of a most able divine and learned civilian; and as the state of religion at that time was unavoidably connected with human politics, he became a very necessary man to the protestants, in being a skilful politician. He assisted Luther and Melancthon in the assembly at Marpurg, in 1529, and was afterwards with Melancthon at the famous convention at Augsburg, in which he was a principal negotiator. With these two great men he was extremely intimate, and particularly with Melancthon.

In the year 1521, he was called to a pastoral charge at Wittenberg, and made principal of the college and professor in that university. He, with Spalatinus and Amsdorf, was employed by the elector of Saxony to reform the churches in Misnia and Thuringia: From thence he was called to Hall in Saxony, where he also exceedingly promoted the work of the Reformation. Luther sometimes resorted thither to him; and took him with him in his last journey to Isleben, where he died in his arms.

After Luther's death, he continued some time in the duke of Saxony's court, and was a constant companion of John Frederick's sons in all their afflictions. He was at length set over the church in Eisfield, where he ended his days in much peace and comfort, on the ninth of October, in the year 1555, and in the sixty-third year of his age.

He was one of those, who might be called moderate Reformers, wishing to make no further alteration in the established modes of worship, and even doctrine, than was absolutely necessary for the introduction of piety and truth. Hence the Lutheran churches have departed least of any, in external ceremonies, from the corruptions of the church of Rome. The motive of Luther, Jonas, and other Reformers of that cast, was undoubtedly good; but the effect was not answerable. The danger, in such cases, is, that the great bulk of the people, seeing such stress laid upon outward observances, will fall into the error of leaning entirely upon them, and so make that, which

perhaps

perhaps might be originally intended for an *help* to devotion, the whole *end* and *purpose* of their attention.

Jonas's death was exceedingly regretted by all the good men of that time; for such a loss to the church of Christ was not easily to be repaired. None but almighty grace could effect it; which has promised not to leave the church without faithful witnesses to the end of time. Siberus, in his epitaph, said of him:

——— flent ademtum
Omnes judicii elegantioris,
Et bonique viri piique: cœlo
Ille, colloquio Dei, receptus,
Et Christi fruitur beatus ore.

——— 'the heavy loss
'All men bewail'd of pious mind,
'All men of sentiments refin'd:
'To heav'n he flew at God's behest;
'And joyful there among the blest,
'He views his Saviour face to face,
'And triumphs in redeeming grace.'

He wrote among other treatises, in defence of the marriage of priests, against Faber; upon the study of divinity; notes upon the acts of the apostles; upon the death of Luther, against Wicelius; and he translated into Latin several of Luther's works.

About this period, the gospel flourished in what is now called Prussia, under the ministry of three very great and excellent divines, Paulus Speratus, Poliander, and Brismann. This last was a particular friend of Luther, and with the other two, his colleagues, fed the flock of Christ, and superintended the churches in Prussia, above twenty years. About the latter end of their ministry, Osiander, who, during Luther's life harmonized in all the great points with the other Reformers, left Norimberg, where he had long preached, and came into Prussia. Here he started some opinions of his own upon the doctrine of justification, asserting, that man is not justified by faith, but by the righteousness of Christ dwelling in us. Matters were carried so high, that Albert, duke of Prussia, who had embraced Osiander's opinion, banished the other Reformers from his dominions. Osiander was justly censured by most of the protestants for making this breach in a most unseasonable time, and particularly for his ill treatment of Melancthon, to whom he returned abuse and harsh-

ness

ness for mildness and reason. The truth is, that Osiander, with all his learning and abilities, appears to have been a very vain and intemperate man, affecting high-flown language and manners, instead of that simplicity which becomes the gospel. He died at Koningsberg, in Prussia, on the very same day that the excellent Caspar Hedio departed this life at Strasburgh. After his death, duke Albert, whether from a wish to heal the differences occasioned by Osiander and his sectaries, or from the suggestions of some great and good men, caused a public agreement to be made about the year 1556; and so the church in that part of the world was settled in peace.

HUGH LATIMER,

BISHOP OF WORCESTER.

OF this plain and pious, as well as most zealous divine, it may be said, that he was one of the first and most useful reformers of the church of England. He was descended of mean but honest parents at Thirkesson, or Thurcaston, near Mount Sorrel, in Leicestershire, where his father lived in good reputation; and though he had no land of his own, but rented a small farm of four pounds a-year at the utmost, yet, by frugality and industry, and the advantage of a good bargain, he brought up a large family of six daughters, besides this his only son *.

Hugh,

* In one of his court sermons, in king Edward's time, our author, inveighing against the nobility and gentry, and speaking of the moderation of landlords a few years before, and the plenty in which their tenants lived, tells his audience in his familiar way, that upon a farm of four pounds a-year, at the utmost, his father tilled as much ground as kept half-a-dozen men; that he had it stocked with a hundred sheep and thirty cows; that he found the king a man and horse, himself remembering to have buckled on his father's harness, when he went to Blackheath; that he gave his daughters five pounds a-piece at marriage; that he lived hospitably among his neighbours, and was not backward in his alms to the poor. "And all "this (said he) he did of the said farm: Whereas he that now hath it pays "sixteen pounds by the year, or more, and is not able to do any thing for "his prince, for himself, nor for his children, or give a cup of drink to the "poor."—What would Latimer have said of our present rack-renting landlords, who not only do not relieve, but procure means to grind the face of the poor.


BISHOP LATIMER.

Hugh, who was born in the farm-house about the year 1470, in the eleventh year of king *Edward* the Fourth, and put to the grammar-school at Thurcaston, and afterwards at Leicester, took his learning so well, that it was determined to breed him to the church. With this view, as soon as he was fit, he was sent to *Cambridge*, in 1484, where, at the usual time, he took his degrees in arts, and, entering into priest's orders, behaved with remarkable zeal and warmth in defence of popery, his religion, against the reformed opinions, which had lately discovered themselves in England. He heard those new teachers with high indignation: He inveighed, publicly and privately, against the Reformers. He looked upon them in so bad a light, that he declared he was of opinion, the last times, the day of judgment, and the end of the world, were now approaching. "Impiety, he "said, was gaining ground apace; and what lengths may "not men be expected to run, when they begin to ques- "tion even the infallibility of the pope?" If any, inclined to the Reformation, and particularly good Mr *Stafford*, divinity-lecturer in Cambridge, read lectures in the schools, Mr *Latimer* was sure to be there, to drive out the scholars; and, when he commenced batchelor of divinity, (which was in the year 1515, when he was forty-five years of age) he took occasion to give an open testimony of his dislike to their proceedings, in an oration, which he made against *Philip Melancthon*, whom he treated with great severity, for his "impious innovations (as he "called them) in religion." His zeal was so much taken notice of in the university, that he was elected, in the next year, into the office of cross-bearer in all public processions; an employment which he accepted with reverence, and discharged with becoming solemnity for the space of seven years.

Among those, who about this period favoured the Reformation, the most considerable was Mr *Thomas Bilney*, whose life we have related to our readers.

It was Mr *Latimer's* happiness to be well acquainted with this good man, who had indeed long conceived very favourable sentiments of him. He had known *Latimer's* life in the university to be a life strictly moral and devout; he ascribed his failings to the genius of his religion, and, notwithstanding his more than ordinary zeal in the profession of that religion, he could observe in him a very candid temper, prejudiced by no sinister views, and an integrity, which gave him great hopes of his reformation.

mation. Induced by these favourable appearances, Mr *Bilney* failed not, as opportunities offered, to suggest many things to him about corruptions in religion in general, whence he used frequently to drop a hint concerning some in the Romish church in particular, till having prepared the way by degrees, he at length made an earnest persuasion, that his friend would only endeavour to divest himself of his prejudices, and place the two sides of the question before him. How Mr *Latimer* at first received these few declarations, and by what steps he came to be settled in the truth of the gospel, we have no particular account; only we find in general, that his friend's application had its desired effect. This was in the year 1523, when *Latimer* had nearly attained the fifty-third year of his age.

Mr *Latimer* no sooner ceased from being a zealous papist, than he became, with the same zeal and integrity, a zealous protestant, very active in supporting and propagating the reformed doctrine, and assiduous to make converts both in the town and university. He preached in public, exhorted in private, and every where pressed the necessity of true faith and holiness, in opposition to those outward performances, which were then esteemed the very essentials of religion. A behaviour of this kind was immediately taken notice of; *Cambridge*, no less than the rest of this kingdom, was entirely popish; every new opinion was watched with the strictest jealousy; and Mr *Latimer* soon perceived, how obnoxious he had made himself. The first remarkable opposition he met with from the popish party, was occasioned by a course of sermons he preached during the Christmas holidays, before the university; in which he spoke his sentiments with great freedom upon many opinions and usages maintained and practised in the Romish church, and particularly insisted upon the great abuse of locking up the scripture in an unknown tongue. Few of the tenets of popery were then questioned in England, but such as tended to a relaxation of manners; transubstantiation, and other points rather speculative, still held their dominion; Mr *Latimer* therefore chiefly dwelt upon those of immoral tendency. He shewed what true religion was; that it was seated in the heart; and that in comparison with it, external appointments were of no value. Great was the outcry occasioned by these discourses.

The state of religion at that time is well described, in the following words, gathered from the ecclesiastical historians

torians of the reign of king *Henry* the Eighth. 'The 'cathedral clergy (say they) throughout the kingdom 'gave themselves up wholly to idleness and pleasure; 'they decried and discouraged learning; affirming, that 'learning would bring in heresy and all manner of mis-'chief. The rural and parochial clergy were universally 'ignorant, slothful, idle, superstitious, proud, and vicious; 'preaching, most of them, but once a quarter on a Sun-'day, and but few, more than once a month, on the 'first Sunday thereof. In Lent, sermons were more fre-'quent; but these usually turned on abstinence, con-'fession, the necessity of corporal severities, pilgrimages, 'the enriching of the shrines, and the relics of the saints, 'and the great use of indulgences. No pains were taken 'to inform the people of the hatefulness of vice, the 'excellency of holiness, or the wonderful love of Christ. 'It was far otherwise on the holy or saints' days; for on 'them the monks, and the friars, and others, would ascend 'the pulpit, and instead of sermons, harangue the peo-'ple on the merits, supererogations, and miracles of the 'saints, to the memory of whom days were dedicated; 'magnifying their relics, which they always took care to 'inform them, were laid up in such and such places.— 'The clergy in general were so proud and insolent, that, 'if any man denied them any part of that respect, or of 'those advantages to which they pretended, he was pre-'sently brought under the suspicion of heresy, and vexed 'with imprisonments; and articles in the spiritual courts 'were exhibited against him.'

Learning was at a very low ebb, in both the univer-sities, in the year 1526. *Cambridge* was then the seat and asylum of ignorance, bigotry, and superstition; and every reformed opinion and person was persecuted with the most inveterate hatred and zeal. *Latimer* had, by this time, through his daily and indefatigable searching of the scrip-tures of the Old and New Testaments, made himself a complete master of all the scriptural arguments, proper to confute the reigning errors of the church of *Rome*.— He spoke largely against the abominable superstition and idle usage of saying mass in an unknown tongue, and gave the most solid reasons, why the scriptures of the Old and New Testaments should be translated into Eng-lish, printed, and put into the hands of the most illiterate. This preaching of his had a very great effect; and, with great truth, it may be said, that we greatly owe, under

God, to Mr *Latimer*, the inestimable blessing of reading the bible in our own tongue.

Mr *Latimer* now became a preacher of particular eminence, and displayed a remarkable address in adapting himself to the capacities of the people. The orthodox clergy, observing him thus followed, thought it high time to oppose him openly. This task was undertaken by Dr *Buckingham*, or *Buckenham*, prior of the *Black-Friars*, who appeared in the pulpit against him, and with great pomp and prolixity, shewed the dangerous tendency of Mr *Latimer's* opinions; particularly, he inveighed against his heretical notions of having the scriptures in English; laying open the ill effects of such an innovation. 'If 'that heresy, said he, prevail, we should soon see an end 'of every thing useful among us. The ploughman, 'reading, that if he put his hand to the plough, and 'should happen to look back, he was unfit for the king-'dom of God, would soon lay aside his labour; the 'baker likewise reading, that a little leaven will corrupt 'his lump, would give us very insipid bread: The simple 'man also finding himself commanded to pluck out his 'eyes, in a few years we should have the nation full 'of blind beggars.' Mr *Latimer* could not but smile at this ingenious reasoning; and promised to balance accounts with the prior on the next Sunday, and to expose this solemn trifler. The whole university accordingly met together on the next Sunday; as the news was generally spread, that Mr *Latimer* would preach. That vein of pleasantry and humour which ran through all his words and actions, would here, it was imagined, have its full scope: And, to say the truth, the preacher was not a little conscious of his own superiority. To complete the scene, just before the sermon began, prior *Buckingham* himself entered the church with his cowl about his shoulders, and seated himself with an air of importance, before the pulpit. Mr *Latimer*, with great gravity, recapitulated the learned doctor's arguments, placed them in the strongest light, and then rallied them with such a flow of wit, and at the same time with so much good humour, that without the appearance of ill-nature, he made his adversary in the highest degree ridiculous. He then, with great address, appealed to the people, descanted upon the low esteem in which their holy guides had always held their understandings; expressed the utmost offence at their being treated with such contempt, and wished his honest countrymen might only have the

use

use of the scripture, till they shewed themselves such absurd interpreters, as the prior had seemed to make them. He concluded his discourse with a few observations upon scripture metaphors. "A figurative manner of speech, "he said, was common in all languages:" Representations of this kind were in daily use, and generally understood. "Thus, for instance, continues he, (addressing "himself to that part of the audience where the prior "was seated) when we see a fox painted preaching in a "friar's hood, nobody imagines that a fox is meant, but "that craft and hypocrisy are described, which are so "often found disguised in that garb."——This pointed ridicule exposed the poor prior to the laughter and contempt of every body; and though we do not approve of humour, or drollery in such places, and upon such solemn occasions as the professed worship of God, yet certainly he deserved it. And it is probable Mr Latimer himself thought this levity unbecoming: For when one Venetus, a foreigner, not long after attacked him again upon the same subject, and in a manner the most scurrilous and provoking, we find him using a graver strain. He answers like a scholar what is worth answering, and, like a man of sense, leaves the absurd part to confute itself. Whether he ridiculed, however, or reasoned, with so much of the spirit of true oratory, considering the times, were his harangues animated, that they seldom failed in their intended effect: His raillery shut up friar Buckingham within his monastery, and his arguments drove Venetus from the university.

These advantages increased the credit of the protestant party in Cambridge, of which Bilney and Latimer were at the head. The meekness, gravity, and unaffected piety of the former, and the cheerfulness, good humour, and eloquence of the latter, wrought much upon the junior students.

These things greatly alarmed the popish clergy: Of this sort were all the heads of colleges, and indeed the senior part of the university. Frequent convocations were held, tutors were admonished to have a strict eye over their pupils, and academical censures of all kinds were inflicted. But academical censures were found insufficient. Mr Latimer continued to preach, and heresy (as they called it) to spread. The heads of the popish party applied to the bishop of Ely, as their diocesan; but that prelate was not a man for their purpose; he was a papist, indeed, but moderate. He came to Cambridge, however;

however; examined the state of religion; and, at their intreaty, preached against heretics; but he would do nothing farther. Only indeed he silenced Mr *Latimer*. This occurred in the year 1529. But it gave no great check to the Reformers. There was at that time a protestant prior in Cambridge, Dr *Barnes* *, of the Austin-Friars: His monastry was exempt from episcopal jurisdiction, and being a great admirer of Mr Latimer, he boldly licenced him to preach there. Hither his party followed him; and the late opposition having greatly excited the curiosity of the people, the friars chapel was soon incapable of containing the crowds that attended Among others, it is remarkable that the aforesaid bishop of Ely was often one of his hearers, and had the ingenuousness to declare, that Mr Latimer was one of the best preachers he had ever heard, and that he wished, he had the same grace and abilities for himself.

The credit to the protestant cause, which our preacher had thus gained in the pulpit, he maintained by a holy life out of it. Mr Bilney and he did not satisfy themselves with acting unexceptionably, but were daily giving instances of goodness, which malice could not scandalize, nor envy misinterpret. They visited the prisoners, relieved the poor, and fed the hungry. They were always together concerning their schemes. The place where they used to walk, was long afterwards known by the name of the Heretics-Hill. Cambridge, at that time, was full of their good works; their charities to the poor, and friendly visits to the sick and unhappy, were common topics of discourse.

But these served only to increase the heat of persecution from their adversaries. Impotent themselves, and finding their diocesan either unable or unwilling to work their purposes, they determined upon an appeal to the higher powers; and heavy complaints were carried to court of the increase of heresy, not without formal depositions against the principal abettors of it.

The principal persons, at this time concerned in ecclesiastical affairs, were cardinal Wolsey, Warham, archbishop of Canterbury, and Tunstal, bishop of London; and as Henry VIII. was now in expectation of having the business of his divorce ended in a regular way at Rome, he was careful to observe all forms of civility with the pope,

* We have mentioned this excellent perſon in the life of *Luther*, p. 224. He loved the truth, and suffered for it with great boldness and conſtancy.

pope. The cardinal therefore erected a court, consisting of bishops, divines, and canonists, to put the laws in execution against heresy: Of this court *Tunstal* was made president; and *Bilney*, *Latimer*, and one or two more, were called before him. *Bilney* was considered as the heresiarch, and against him chiefly the rigour of the court was levelled, and they succeeded so far that he was prevailed upon to recant; accordingly he bore his faggot (a token of recantation and penance), and was dismissed. As for Mr *Latimer* and the rest, they had easier terms. *Tunstal* omitted no opportunities of shewing mercy, and was dextrous in finding them. The heretics, upon their dismission, returned to *Cambridge*, where they were received with open arms by their friends. Amidst this mutual joy, *Bilney* alone seemed unaffected; he shunned the sight of his acquaintance, and received their congratulations with confusion and blushes. In short, he was struck with remorse for what he had done, grew melancholy, and after leading a life for two years in all the severity of an ascetic, he resolved (as we have seen above) to acknowledge the truth unto death.

Bilney's sufferings, far from shocking the Reformation at *Cambridge*, inspired the leaders of it with new courage. Mr *Latimer* began now to exert himself more than he had yet done, and succeeded to that credit, which Mr *Bilney* had so long supported. He constantly preached in Dr *Barnes*'s church, and assisted him in the discharge of his pastoral duty. Among other instances of his zeal and resolution, he gave one which was indeed very remarkable: He had the courage to write to the king against a proclamation then just published, forbidding the use of the bible in English, and other books on religious subjects. He had preached before his majesty once or twice at *Windsor*, and had been taken notice of by him in a more affable manner, than that monarch usually indulged towards his subjects. But whatever hopes of preferment his sovereign's favour might have raised in him, he chose to put all to the hazard, rather than omit what he thought his duty. He was generally considered as one of the most eminent of those who favoured protestantism; and therefore thought it became him to be one of the most forward in opposing popery. His letter is the picture of an honest and sincere heart; it was chiefly intended to point to the king the bad intention of the bishops in procuring the proclamation, and concluded in these terms: "Accept, gracious sovereign, without displeasure, what I "have

" have written; I thought it my duty to mention those " things to your majesty. No personal quarrel, as God " shall judge me, have I with any man; I wanted only " to induce your majesty to consider well what kind of " persons you have about you, and the ends for which " they counsel. Indeed, great prince, many of them, " or they are much slandered, have very private ends. " God grant your majesty may see through all the de- " signs of evil men, and be in all things equal to the " high office with which you are intrusted. Wherefore, " gracious king, remember yourself, have pity upon " your own soul, and think that the day is at hand, " when you shall give account of your office, and of " the blood that hath been shed by your sword: In the " which day, that your grace may stand stedfastly, and " not be ashamed, but be clear and ready in your reckon- " ing, and have your pardon sealed with the blood of " our Saviour Christ, which alone serveth at that day, is " my daily prayer to HIM, who suffered death for our " sins. The Spirit of God preserve you!"

Though the influence of the popish party then prevailed so far, that this letter produced no effect: Yet, the king, no way displeased, received it not only with temper, but with great condescension, graciously thanking him for his well intended advice. The king loved sincerity and openness; and Mr *Latimer*'s plain and simple manner had before made a favourable impression upon him, which this letter contributed not a little to strengthen; and the part he acted in promoting the establishment of the king's supremacy, in 1535, rivetted him in the royal favour. Dr *Butts*, the king's physician, being sent to Cambridge, on that occasion, and upon the affair of the king's divorce, began immediately to pay his court to the protestant party, from whom the king expected most unanimity in his favour. Among the first, he made his application to Mr *Latimer*, as a person most likely to serve him; begging that he would collect the opinions of his friends in the case, and do his utmost to bring over those of most eminence, who were still inclined to the papacy. Mr *Latimer*, being a thorough friend to the cause he was to solicit, undertook it with his usual zeal, and discharged himself so much to the satisfaction of the doctor, that, when that gentleman returned to court, he took Mr *Latimer* along with him, in the design, no doubt, of procuring him a proper consideration.

About

About this time a person was rising into power, who became his chief friend and patron—the lord Cromwell, who, being a friend to the Reformation, encouraged of course such churchmen, as most inclined towards it. Among those was Mr Latimer, for whom his patron very soon obtained the benefice of West-Kingston, in Wiltshire, whither he resolved, as soon as possible, to repair, and keep a constant residence. His friend Dr Butts, surprized at this resolution, did what he could to dissuade him from it: 'You are deserting, said he, the fairest opportunities of making your fortune: The prime minister intends this only as an earnest of his future favours, and will certainly in time do great things for you. But it is the manner of courts to consider them as provided for, who seem to be satisfied; and, take my word for it, an absent claimant stands but a poor chance among rivals, who have the advantage of being present.' Thus the old courtier advised. But these arguments had no weight. He was heartily tired of the court, where he saw so much debauchery and irreligion, without being able to oppose them; having neither authority nor talents, he thought, to reclaim the great. The great design, however, of lord *Cromwell* and Dr Butts in procuring *Latimer* this provision was, to encourage him in assisting them by his oratory among the people, in their business of rendering the king's supremacy and divorce acceptable to the public. He was then the most diligent and popular preacher in the kingdom, and they wished for the exercise of his talents in and about London. But Latimer's views were of another kind. He thirsted for the salvation of souls; and, next to that consideration, he wished to retire from the bustle of a court, where he had with the deepest concern beheld every vice triumphant, and malice, envy, detraction, and vanity, carrying all before them.

He left the palace, therefore, and entered immediately upon the duties of his parish. Nor was he satisfied within those limits; he extended his labours throughout the country, where he observed the pastoral care most neglected, having for that purpose obtained a general licence from the university of Cambridge. As his manner of preaching was very popular in those times, the pulpits every where were gladly opened for him; and at Bristol, where he often preached, he was much countenanced by the magistrates. But this reputation was too much for the popish clergy to suffer; and their opposition first broke out at Bristol. The mayor had appointed him to preach there

there on Easter-day. Public notice had been given, and all people were pleased, when suddenly there came out an order from the bishop, prohibiting any one to preach there without his licence. The clergy of the place waited upon Mr *Latimer*, informed him of the bishop's order, and, knowing that he had no such licence, 'were ex-'tremely sorry, that they were, by that means, deprived 'of the pleasure of hearing an excellent discourse from 'him.' Mr *Latimer* received their compliment with a smile; for he had been apprised of the affair, and well knew, that *these* were the very persons who had written to the bishop against him.

Their opposition became afterwards more public; the pulpits were made use of to spread their invectives against him, and such liberties were taken with his character, that he thought it necessary to justify himself, and accordingly called upon his maligners to accuse him publicly before the mayor of Bristol: And, with all men of candour, he was justified; for when that magistrate convened both parties, and put the accusers upon producing legal proof of what they had said, nothing of that kind appeared, but the whole accusation was left to rest upon the uncertain evidence of some hear-say information.

His enemies, however, were not thus silenced. The party against him became daily stronger, and more inflamed. It consisted, in general, of the country priests in those parts, headed by some divines of more eminence. Those persons, after mature deliberation, drew up articles against him, extracted chiefly from his sermons; in which he was charged with speaking lightly of the "worship of "saints;" with saying, "there was no material fire in "hell;" and that "he would rather be in purgatory "than in *Lollard*'s tower." This charge being laid before the bishop of London, that prelate cited Mr *Latimer* to appear before him; and when he appealed to his own ordinary, a citation was obtained out of *Warham*'s (the archbishop's) court, where the bishop of London and some other bishops were commissioned to examine him.

An archiepiscopal citation brought him necessarily to a compliance. His friends would have had him fly from it; but their persuasions were in vain. He set out for London in the depth of winter, and under a severe fit of the stone and cholic, and in the sixty-sixth year of his age; but he was more distressed at the thoughts of leaving his parish exposed to the popish clergy, who he feared might undo in his absence and detention, what he had hitherto

hitherto done. On his arrival at London, a court of bishops and canonists were ready to receive him; where, instead of being examined, as he expected, about his sermons, a paper was put into his hands, which he was ordered to subscribe, declaring his belief in the efficacy of masses for the souls in purgatory, of prayers to the dead saints, of pilgrimages to their sepulchres and relics, the pope's power to forgive sins, the doctrine of merit, the seven sacraments, and the worship of images: And, when he refused to sign it, the archbishop, with a frown, begged he would consider what he did. 'We intend not, 'says he, Mr *Latimer*, to be hard upon you; we dismiss 'you for the present; take a copy of the articles, examine 'them carefully, and God grant that, at our next meeting, we may find each other in better temper.' The next and several succeeding meetings, the same scene was acted over again. *He* continued inflexible; and *they* continued to distress him. Three times every week they regularly sent for him, with a view either to draw something from him by captious questions, or to teize him at length into compliance. Of one of these examinations he gives us the following account: "I was brought out, "says he, to be examined in the same chamber as be- "fore; but, at this time it was somewhat altered: For, "whereas before there was a fire in the chimney, now "the fire was taken away, and an arras hanged over the "chimney, and a table stood near the chimney's end. "There was, among these bishops that examined me, one "with whom I have been very familiar, and whom I took "for my great friend, an aged man, and he sat next the "table-end. Then, among other questions, he put forth "one, a very subtle and crafty one; and when I should "make answer: 'I pray you, Mr *Latimer*, said he, "speak out, I am very thick of hearing, and there be "many that sit far off.' I marvelled at this, that I was "bidden to speak out, and began to misdeem, and gave "an ear to the chimney; and there I heard a pen plainly "scratching behind the cloth.—They had appointed one "there to write all my answers, that I should not start "from them. God was my good Lord, and gave me "answers; I could never else have escaped them." At length he was tired out with such usage; and, when he was next summoned, instead of going himself, he sent a letter to the archbishop; in which, with great freedom, he tells him, that the treatment he had of late met with, had fretted him into such a disorder, as rendered him unfit

to

to attend that day—that, in the mean time, he could not help taking this opportunity to expostulate with his grace, for detaining him so long from the discharge of his duty—that it seemed to him most unaccountable, that they who never preached themselves should hinder others—that, as for their examination of him, he really could not imagine what they aimed at; they pretended one thing in the beginning, and another in the progress—that, if his sermons were what gave offence, which he persuaded himself were neither contrary to the truth, nor to any canon of the church, he was ready to answer whatever might be thought exceptionable in them—that he wished a little more regard might be had to the judgment of the people, and that a distinction might be made between the ordinances of God and man—that if some abuses in religion did prevail, as was then commonly supposed, he thought preaching was the best means to discountenance them—that he wished all pastors might be *obliged* to perform their duty; but that, however, liberty might be given to those who were *willing*,—that as for the articles proposed to him, he begged to be excused from subscribing them; while he lived he never would abet superstition; and that, lastly, he hoped the archbishop would excuse what he had written—he knew his duty to his superiors, and would practise it; but in that case he thought a stronger obligation laid upon him.

The bishops still continued their persecution, till their schemes were frustrated by an unexpected hand. The king being informed, most probably by lord Cromwell's means, of Mr Latimer's ill-usage, interposed in his behalf, and rescued him out of the hands of his enemies. A figure of so much simplicity, and such an apostolic appearance as his at court, did not fail to strike queen Ann Boleyn, who was the favourite wife of Henry, and a great friend to the reformed religion. This unfortunate queen mentioned him to her friends, as a person, in her opinion, as well qualified as any she had seen, to forward the Reformation; the principles of which she had imbibed from her youth. Lord Cromwell raised our preacher still higher in her esteem, and they both joined in an earnest recommendation of him for a bishopric to the king, who, remembering probably the sincerity of his letter to him, did not want much solicitation in his favour. It happened that the sees of Worcester and Salisbury were at that time vacant, by the deprivation of Ghinuccii and Campegio, two Italian bishops, who fell under the king's displeasure,

upon

upon his rupture with Rome. The former of these was offered to *Latimer*; and, as he had been at no pains to procure this promotion, he looked upon it as the work of Providence, and accepted it without much persuasion. Indeed he had met with so very rough a check already, as a private clergyman, and saw before him so hazardous a prospect in his old station, that he thought it necessary, both for his own safety, and for the sake of being of more service to the gospel, to avail himself of such an acquisition of refuge and of power. Accordingly, his enemies were disconcerted in their malevolence, and *Latimer* being out of their power, they quitted all thoughts of molestation for the present.

All the historians of these times mention him as a person remarkably zealous in the discharge of his new office, and tell us, that in overlooking the clergy of his diocese, he was uncommonly active, warm, and resolute, and presided in his ecclesiastical court in the same spirit. In writing, he was frequent and observant; in ordaining, strict and wary; in preaching, indefatigable; in reproving and exhorting, severe and persuasive. Thus far he could act with authority; but in other things he found himself under difficulties. The popish ceremonies gave him great offence; and he neither durst, in times so dangerous and unsettled, lay them entirely aside, nor, on the other hand, was he willing entirely to retain them. In this dilemma, his address was admirable; he inquired into their origin, and when he found any of them, as some were, derived from a good meaning, he took care to inculcate their original, though itself a corruption, in the room of a more corrupt practice. Thus, he put the people in mind, when holy bread and water were distributed, that these elements, which had long been thought endowed with a kind of magical influence, were nothing more than appendages to the two sacraments of the Lord's supper and baptism. The former, he said, reminded us of Christ's death; and the latter was only a simple representation of being purified from sin. By thus reducing popery to its first principles, he improved, in some measure, a bad stock, by lopping from it some useless excrescences.

While his endeavours to reform were thus confined to his diocese, he was called upon to exert them in a more public manner, by a summons to parliament and convocation, in 1536. This session was thought a crisis by the protestant party; at the head of which stood the lord *Cromwell*, whose favour with the king was now in its meridian.

ridian. Next to him in power was Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury; after whom our bishop of Worcester was the most considerable man; to whom were added the bishops of Ely, Rochester, Hereford, Salisbury, and St David's. On the other hand, the popish party was headed by Lee, archbishop of York, Gardiner, Stokesley, and Tunstal, bishops of Winchester, London, and Durham.

The convocation was opened on the ninth of June, and, as usual, by a sermon, or rather an oration, spoken at the appointment of Cranmer by our good bishop of Worcester, whose eloquence was at this time every where famous. Many warm debates passed in this assembly, the result whereof was, that four sacraments out of the seven were concluded to be insignificant. But, as the bishop of Worcester made no figure in them, for debating was not his talent; it is beside the purpose of this memoir to enter into a detail of the several transactions of it. We shall only add, that an animated attempt was at this time made to get him and Cromwell stigmatized by some public censure; but they were too well established to fear any open attack from their enemies.

In the mean while the bishop of Worcester, highly satisfied with the prospect of the times, repaired to his diocese, having made no longer stay in London than was absolutely necessary. He had no talents, and he knew he had none for state affairs; and therefore he meddled not with them. It is upon that account, that bishop Burnet speaks in a very slight manner of his public character at this time: But it is certain, that he never desired to appear in any public character at all. His whole ambition was to discharge the pastoral functions of a bishop, neither aiming to display the abilities of a statesman, nor those of a courtier. How very unqualified he was to support the latter of the characters, will sufficiently appear from the following story.—It was the custom in those days for the bishops to make presents to the king on new-year's-day, and many of them would present very liberally, proportioning their gifts to their expectancies. Among the rest, the bishop of Worcester, being at this time in town, waited upon the king with his offering; but instead of a purse of gold, which was the common oblation, he presented a New Testament, with a leaf doubled down, in a very conspicuous manner, to this passage: *Whoremongers and adulterers God will judge.*

Henry VIII. made as little use of a good judgment, as any man ever did. His whole reign was one continued

roration

rotation of violent passions, which rendered him a mere machine in the hands of his ministers; and he among them, who could make the most artful address to the passion of the day, carried his point. *Gardiner*, bishop of Winchester, was just returned from Germany, having successfully negotiated some commissions, which the king had greatly at heart. In 1539, when the parliament was called to confirm the seizure and surrendry of the monasteries, that subtle minister took his opportunity, and succeeded in prevailing upon his majesty to do something towards restoring the old religion, as being most advantageous for his views in the present situation of Europe.

In this state of affairs, the bishop of Worcester received his summons to parliament, and, soon after his arrival in town, he was accused before the king of preaching a seditious sermon. The sermon was preached at court; and the preacher, according to his custom, had been unquestionably severe enough (or rather conscientiously faithful) against whatever he observed amiss. The king had called together several bishops, with a view to consult them upon some points of religion. When they had all given their opinions, and were about to be dismissed, the bishop of Winchester (for it was most probably he) kneeled down and accused the bishop of Worcester as above mentioned. The bishop being called upon by the king, with some sternness, to vindicate himself, was so far from denying, or even palliating, what he had said, that he boldly justified it; and turning to the king, with that noble unconcern, which a good conscience inspires, made this answer: "I never thought myself worthy, nor did I ever "sue to be a preacher before your grace; but I was called "to it, and would be willing, if you mislike it, to give "place to my betters; for I grant there may be a great "many more worthy of the room, than I am. And if it "be your grace's pleasure to allow them for preachers, I "could be content to bear their books after them. But "if your grace allow me to be a preacher, I would desire "you to give me leave to discharge my conscience, and "to frame my doctrine according to my audience. I "had been a very dolt indeed, to have preached so at the "borders of your realm, as I preach before your grace." The greatness of this answer baffled his accuser's malice; the severity of the king's countenance changed into a gracious smile, and the bishop was dismissed with that obliging freedom, which this monarch never used but to those whom he esteemed.

In

In the year 1538, the bible was published, by the royal authority, in English; and as our bishop daily preached up the necessity of a translation in the vulgar tongue, we may justly conclude, he had no little hand in it. The king commissioned only Grafton the printer to print it, and he printed fifteen hundred of them at his own charge; and the king by proclamation, according to the advice of archbishop Cranmer, and also of Latimer, allowed every one to read it. Cromwell procured this great privilege; and 'Cranmer publicly rejoiced to see this day of refor-'mation, which he concluded was risen now in England, 'since the light of God's word did shine over it without 'any cloud.' This he declared in a letter to Cromwell.

Latimer was a true bishop indeed: for he not only preached the gospel of Christ faithfully and diligently, but he watched over his diocese, and took care, if possible, to right all those poor persons who were imposed upon, or hardly used by their great and wealthy overbearing neighbours. It seems, says Fox, there lived a certain gentleman in Warwickshire, in that part of it which lies within the diocese of Worcester, who had wronged a poor man his neighbour, though he had kept within the literal sense of the law. The gentleman had a large estate in the county, and his brother was also in the commission of the peace; and these two over-awed and cowed the whole neighbourhood for many miles round. The poor man, not knowing what to do, at length applied to his own diocesan, told him the whole story, and the manner in which he was oppressed. Latimer heard, pitied the poor man's case, and promised him he would, if possible, see him redressed. Whereupon Latimer wrote a very long letter to the parties, reproved them sharply for the injury they had done the man, and required them speedily to do him justice. They replied to the bishop, and told him, 'They had done only what was right, and would abide 'by it: That as for the sufferer the law was open; and 'as for his lordship, they could not but think he inter-'fered very impertinently in an affair which did not con-'cern him.' Latimer never espoused a cause but he would go through with it; and therefore, finding that the gentlemen did not proceed readily to right his client, as we may call the poor man, he sent them a second letter, acquainting them in few words, "That if the cause of "complaint was not forthwith removed, he certainly "would himself lay the whole affair before the king." This Latimer certainly would have done, (as he was then going

going to London on the following occasion) if he had not been prevented, by their making the poor man that restitution and satisfaction he required.

As Latimer was the champion of the doctrine of the king's supremacy, he was, about this time, sent for to London, in order to reclaim one Forrest, an observant friar, who had denied the king's supremacy, and also the gospel. *Latimer* did all that lay in his power, and studied every way he could imagine, to cause the friar to recant; for, it seems, *Henry* had, till he denied his supremacy, a very great respect for him. However, *Forrest* could not by any arguments or persuasions, be induced to recant, and therefore the day came when he was to be put to death in Smithfield. The lords of the council came thither on the day, to offer *Forrest* his pardon, if he would abjure. *Latimer* also, on this occasion, preached a sermon, wherein he endeavoured to confute his errors, and begged of him to recant; but he continued still in his former opinions. He was hanged to the stake with a great chain about his middle, and so was burnt.

About this time *Latimer*, together with eighteen other bishops, all that were then in England, drew up and signed a declaration against the pope's ecclesiastical jurisdiction, which concludes with these words; 'That the 'people ought to be instructed, that Christ did expressly 'forbid his apostles or their successors to take to themselves the power of the sword, or the authority of 'kings; and that if the bishop of Rome, or any other 'bishop, assumed such power, he was a tyrant and an 'usurper of other men's rights, and a subverter of the 'kingdom of Christ.'

Soon after another declaration was drawn up and signed by our bishop and seven others, to shew, 'That, by the 'commission which Christ gave to churchmen, they were 'only ministers of his gospel, to instruct the people in 'the purity of the faith: But that, by other places of 'scripture, the authority of Christian princes, over all 'their subjects, as well bishops and priests, as others, 'was also clear. And that the bishops and priests have 'charge of souls within their cures; power to administer 'sacraments, and to teach the word of God: To the 'which word of God, Christian princes acknowledge 'themselves subject; and that in case the bishops be negligent, it is the Christian prince's office to see them do 'their duty.'

This year also the priory of Great Malverne (now written Malverin major in Ecton) in Worcestershire, was suppressed. At the suppression, Latimer, with an earnest desire, recommended to Cromwell, who was the king's vicar-general, that that house might stand, not in monkery, but so as to be converted to preaching, study, and prayer. And the good prior was willing to compound for his house by a present of five hundred marks to the king, and of two hundred to Cromwell. He is commended for being an old worthy man, a good house-keeper, and one that daily fed many poor people. To this Latimer adds, his farther desire and recommendation to the vicar-general, "Alas, my good Lord! shall we not see two or three in "every shire, changed to such remedy." He wished, but in vain; the monasteries were dissolved, and the money misapplied. Indeed Cranmer and Latimer wanted their lands and riches to be applied to found seminaries in every cathedral, for the training up youth for the ministry, under the eye and tuition of every bishop, to be transplanted into the several cures in each diocese, as occasion served.

In this parliament passed the famous act, as it was called, of the six articles; which was no sooner published, than it gave an universal alarm to all favourers of the Reformation*; and, as the bishop of Worcester could not give his vote for the act, he thought it wrong to hold any office in a church, where such terms of communion were required. He therefore resigned his bishopric †, and retired into the country, where he resided during the heat of that persecution which followed upon this act; and thought of nothing for the remainder of his days but a sequestered life. He knew the storm which was up, could not soon be appeased, and he had no inclination to trust himself in it. But, in the midst of his security, an unhappy accident carried him again into the tempestuous weather

* These articles were, 1. In the sacrament of the altar, after the consecration, there remains no substance of bread and wine, but the natural body and blood of Christ. 2. Vows of chastity ought to be observed. 3. The use of private masses is to be continued. 4. Communion in both kinds is not necessary. 5. Priests must not marry. 6. Auricular confession is to be retained in the church.

† It is related of him, that when he came from the parliament-house to his lodgings, he threw off his robes, and leaping up, declared to those who stood about him, that he thought himself lighter than ever he found himself before. The story is not unlikely, as it is much in character; a vein of pleasantry and good humour accompanying the most serious actions of his life.

weather that was abroad. He received a bruise by the fall of a tree, and the contusion was so dangerous, that he was obliged to seek out for better assistance than could be afforded him by the unskilful surgeons of those parts. With this view he repaired to London; where he had the sorrow to see the fall of his patron, the lord Cromwell; a loss which he was soon made sensible of. Gardiner's emissaries quickly found him out in his concealment, and *something*, that *somebody* had *somewhere* heard him *say* against the six articles, being alledged against him, he was sent to the tower; where, without any judicial examination, he suffered, through one pretence or another, a cruel imprisonment for the remaining six years of king Henry's reign.

He was now in the seventy-first year of his age. Here Latimer was confined, together with the bishop of Chichester, but not so strictly as that his friends might not come and see, and converse with him. Neither Henry, nor Gardiner, had any design on his life; but the king had done with him, that is to say, Latimer had served his majesty's purpose in establishing the grand and fundamental doctrine of his supremacy in England over all persons as well ecclesiastical as civil; and this prince was of so ungrateful a temper that he cared not afterwards for the man who had faithfully served him; and this doth most flagrantly appear in his beheading Sir Thomas More, his cruel usage of Wolsey, and his barbarous, illegal and unjust treatment of Cromwell.

Our good bishop therefore, considering the disposition of king Henry, had mild usage; but here he lived himself, he says, "in the daily expectation of being called "to be put to death, because at this time there was held "a session in Newgate once every three weeks, and exe-"cutions were as frequent." This he tells us in his fourth sermon preached before king Edward VI. at which time he begs of the king, that as there was then no particular person, as he whom we now call ordinary, to instruct and pray with the unhappy criminals, there might be some one appointed thereto of learning and diligence; for, continues he, "many of them are cast away for "want of instruction, and die in misery for lack of "preaching." And on this occasion, and in this reign, a chaplain was appointed to do the abovementioned duties; and therefore it may justly be concluded, that this office was constituted pursuant to his advice.

In

In the discharge of his episcopal duty, we are told by the historians of this time, that he was remarkably and exemplarily zealous. He was a right bishop, a Paul, a Timothy, a Titus, and as such he continually overlooked his clergy, exciting them to perform the duties of their functions, and he took care, at least, to oblige them to a legal performance of preaching, administration of the sacraments, visitation of the sick, and prisoners, &c.— There was no part of his diocese but he visited, not in a superficial and customary manner, but rather in the primitive and apostolic mode. With the same resolution he presided in his own courts, and he either rooted out such crimes as were there cognizable, or drove them into holes and corners. He never ordained any person to the sacred offices, but such as he examined himself, and knew to be duly qualified.

Immediately upon the change of government under king Edward VI. he and all others, who were imprisoned in the same cause, were set at liberty; and bishop Latimer, whose old friends were now in power, was received by them with every mark of affection; and he would have found no difficulty in dispossessing Heath, in every respect an insignificant man, who had succeeded to his bishopric: But he had other sentiments; he neither would make suit himself, nor suffer his friends to make any for his restoration. However, this was done by the parliament, who, after settling the national concerns, sent up an address to the protector to restore him. The protector was very well inclined, and proposed the resumption to Mr Latimer, as a point which he had very much at heart; but Latimer persevered in the negative, alledging his great age, and the claim he had from thence to a private life. And it may be readily believed, that no man ever said *Nolo episcopari* with more sincerity.

Having thus rid himself of all entreaty on this head, he accepted an invitation from his friend archbishop Cranmer, and took up his residence at Lambeth, where he led a very retired life, being chiefly employed in hearing the complaints and redressing the injuries of poor people. And indeed his character, for services of this kind, was so universally known, that strangers from every part of England would resort to him; so that had as crouded a levee as a minister of state. And sure no one was better qualified to undertake the office of redressing injuries: His free reproofs, joined to the integrity of his life, had a great effect upon those in the highest stations; while

his

his own independence and backwardness of asking any favour for himself, allowed him greater liberty in asking for others.

In these employments he spent more than two years, interfering as little as possible in any public transaction, only he assisted the archbishop in composing the homilies which were set forth by authority in the first year of king Edward: He was also appointed to preach the lent sermons before his majesty; which office he performed during the three first years of his reign.

As to his sermons, which are still extant, they are indeed far enough from being exact pieces of composition; yet his simplicity and low familiarity, his humour and gibing drollery, were well adapted to the times; and his oratory, according to the mode of eloquence at that day, was exceedingly popular. His action and manner of preaching too, were very affecting; and no wonder, for he spoke immediately from his heart. His abilities, however, as an orator, made only the inferior part of his character as a preacher: What particularly recommends him, is that noble and apostolic zeal, which he exerts in the cause of truth.

But in the discharge of this duty a slander passed upon him, which being taken up by a low historian of those times, hath found its way into these. The matter of it is, that after the lord high admiral's attainder and execution, which happened about this time, he publicly defended his death in a sermon before the king; that he aspersed his character; and that he did it merely to pay a servile compliment to the protector. The first part of the charge is true; but the second and third are false. As to his aspersing the admiral's character; his character was so bad, there was no room for aspersion: His treasonable practices were too notorious, and though the proceeding against him by a bill in parliament, according to the custom of those times, may be deemed inequitable; yet he paid no more than a due forfeit to the laws of his country. However, his death occasioned great clamour, and was made use of by the lords of the opposition (for he left a very dissatisfied part behind him) as a handle to raise a popular odium against the protector, for whom Mr Latimer had always a high esteem. He was mortified, therefore, to see so invidious and base an opposition, thwarting the schemes of so public spirited a man; and endeavoured to lessen the odium, by shewing the admiral's

character in its true light, from some anecdotes not commonly known.

Upon the revolution which happened at court, after the death of the duke of Somerset, Latimer seems to have retired into the country, and made use of the king's licence as a general preacher in those parts, where he thought his labours might be most serviceable. He was thus employed during the remainder of that reign, and continued in the same course, for a short time, in the beginning of the next*; but as soon as the introduction of popery was resolved on, the first step towards it was the prohibition of all preaching throughout the kingdom, and a licensing only such as were known to be popishly inclined. Accordingly, a strict inquiry was made after the more forward and popular preachers; and many of them were taken into custody. The bishop of Winchester, who was now prime minister, having proscribed Mr Latimer from the first, sent a message to cite him before the council. He had notice of this design some hours before the messenger's arrival; but he made no use of the intelligence. The messenger found him equipped for his journey; at which expressing his surprise, Mr Latimer told him, that he was ready to attend him to London, thus called upon to answer for his faith, as he ever was to take any journey in his life; and that he doubted not but that God, who had enabled him to stand before two princes, would enable him to stand before a third, either to his comfort or discomfort eternally. The messenger then acquainting him, that he had no orders to seize his person, delivered a letter, and departed. Hence some have imagined, that the secret design of thus serving on him a citation, was to drive him out of the kingdom, that so they might get rid of him, 'lest (says Mr Fox) his 'firmness and constancy should deface them in their po-'pery, and confirm the godly in the truth.'

Mr

* Mr Fox says, that in all king Edward's days, he travelled up and down, preaching for the most part twice every Sunday, to the no small shame of all other loitering and unpreaching prelates, who occupy great rooms, and do little good: He took little ease and care of sparing himself, to do the people good. And notwithstanding his great age, he would, in the pursuit of his private studies, every morning, commonly through winter and summer, arise and most diligently apply himself thereto. At king Edward's death, which occurred on the sixth of July, 1553, Latimer was in the country preaching there, as opportunity and occasion led him; going about, in imitation of the apostles, strengthening the people every where in the protestant faith and principles.

Mr Latimer, however, opening the letter, and finding it to contain a citation from the council, resolved to obey it. He set out therefore immediately, and as he passed through Smithfield, where heretics were usually burnt, he said chearfully, "Smithfield hath long groaned for me." The next morning he waited upon the council, who, having treated him rudely, and loaded him with many severe reproaches, sent him to the Tower.

This was but a repetition of a former part of his life; only he now met with harsher treatment, and had more frequent occasion to exercise his resignation, which perhaps few men possessed in a larger measure; nay, even the usual chearfulness of his disposition did not now forsake him, of which we have one instance still remaining. A servant leaving his apartment in the Tower, Mr Latimer called after him, and bade him tell his master, that unless he took better care of him, he would certainly escape him. Upon this message, the lieutenant, with some discomposure in his countenance, came to Mr Latimer, and desired an explanation. "Why, you expect, "I suppose, sir, replied Mr Latimer, that I should be "burnt; but if you do not allow me a little fire this "frosty weather, I can tell you I shall be starved to "death with cold."

Cranmer and Ridley were also prisoners in the same cause with Latimer; and when it was resolved to have a public disputation at Oxford, between the most eminent of the popish and protestant divines; these three were appointed to manage the dispute on the part of the protestants. Accordingly, they were taken out of the Tower, where they had lain all the winter of 1553, and sent to Oxford, in the spring of 1554; where they were closely confined in the common prison; and they might easily imagine how free the disputation was likely to be, when they found themselves denied the use even of books and pen and ink.

Mr Fox has preserved a conference, afterwards put into writing, which was held at this time between Ridley and Latimer, which sets our author's temper in a strong light. The two bishops are represented sitting in their prison, ruminating upon the solemn preparations then making for their trial, of which, probably, they were now first informed. Ridley first. 'The time (said he) is now 'come we are now called upon, either to deny our 'faith, or to suffer death in its defence. You, Mr 'Latimer, are an old soldier of Christ, and have fre-

" quently withstood the fear of death; whereas I am raw " in the service, and unexperienced." With this preface he introduces a request, that Mr Latimer, whom he calls his father, would hear him propose such arguments, as he thinks it most likely his adversaries would urge against him, and assist him with providing himself with proper answers to them.

To this Mr Latimer, in his usual strain of good humour, replied, that he fancied the good bishop was treating him, as he remembered Mr Bilney used formerly to do; who, when he wanted to teach him, would always do it under colour of being taught himself. " But, in " the present case, said he, my lord, I am determined " to give them very little trouble; I shall just offer them " a plain account of my faith, and shall say very little " more; for I know any thing more will be to no pur- " pose. They talk of a free disputation; but I am well " assured their grand argument will be, as it once was " their forefathers, *We have a law, and by our law ye* " *ought to die.*"—Bishop Ridley having afterwards desired his prayers, that he might trust wholly upon God. " Of " my prayers (replied the old bishop) you may be well " assured; nor do I doubt but I shall have yours in re- " turn: And indeed prayer and patience should be our " great resources. For myself, had I the learning of " St Paul, I should think it ill laid out upon an elabo- " rate defence: Yet our case, my lord, admits of com- " fort. Our enemies can do no more than God permits; " and God is faithful, who will not suffer us to be " tempted above our strength. Be at point with them; " stand to that, and let them say and do what they please. " To use many words would be vain: Yet it is requisite " to give a reasonable account of your faith, if they " will quietly hear you. For other things, in a wicked " judgment-hall, a man may keep silence, after the ex- " ample of Christ. As for their sophistry, you know " falsehood may often be displayed in the colours of truth. " But, above all things, be upon your guard against the " fear of death: This is THE GREAT ARGUMENT you " must oppose.—Poor Shaxton! it is to be feared, this " argument had the greatest weight in his recantation. " But let us be stedfast and unmoveable, assuring our- " selves, that we cannot be more happy, than by being " such *Philippians*, as not only believe in Christ, but dare " to suffer for his sake." Agreeably to this noble fortitude did our martyr behave himself through this dispute; wherein,

wherein, though much artifice was used for the purpose, he never could be drawn into any formal reasoning with his adversaries. Mr Addison greatly admires his behaviour on this occasion, but does not assign the true cause of it. 'This remarkable old man (says he) knowing how his 'abilities were impaired by age, and that it was impos- 'sible for him to recollect all those reasons which had 'directed him in the choice of his religion, left his com- 'panions, who were in the full possession of their parts 'and learning, to baffle and confound their antagonists 'by the force of reason: As for himself, he only repeated 'to his adversaries the articles in which he firmly be- 'lieved, and in the profession of which he was determined 'to die.'—The truth is, he knew it would anwser no end to be more explicit.

However, he answered their questions as far as civility required, and in these answers, it is observable, he managed the argument much better than either Ridley or Cranmer, who, when they were pressed in defence of transubstantiation, with some passages from the fathers, instead of disavowing an insufficient authority, weakly defended a good cause, evading and distinguishing after the manner of schoolmen. Whereas, when the same proofs were multiplied upon Latimer, he told them plainly, that such proofs had no weight with him; that the fathers, no doubt, were often deceived, and that he never depended upon *them*, but when *they* depended upon scripture. 'Then 'you are not of St Chrysostom's faith, (replied his anta- 'gonist) nor of St Austin's.'—"I have told you (says "Mr Latimer) I am not; except they bring scripture "for what they say." The dispute being ended, sentence was passed upon him in the beginning of October; and he and Ridley were executed on the sixteenth. When they came to the stake, Latimer lift up his eyes with a sweet and amiable countenance, saying, *Fidelis est Deus, &c.* i. e. God is faithful, who will not suffer us to be tempted above that which we are able. When they were brought to the fire, on a spot of ground on the north side of Baliol College; where, after an abusive sermon, being told by an officer they might now make ready for the stake, Mr Latimer, having thrown off his prison attire, appeared in a shroud prepared for the purpose; 'and 'whereas before (says Mr Fox) he seemed a withered 'and crooked old man, he stood now bolt upright, as 'comely a father as one might lightly behold.' Being thus ready, he recommended his soul to God, and delivered

vered himself to the executioner, saying to the bishop of London, "We shall this day, brother, light such a "candle in England, as shall never be put out."

It is said, that as he was burning, the blood ran from his heart in such abundance, that it astonished the spectators, and brought to mind what he had before wished, that he might be so happy as to shed his heart's blood for the truth. When the fire was first kindled, he cried "O Father of heaven, receive my soul;" and so receiving the flame, and (as it seemed) embracing it, and having stroked his face with his hands, and bathed them a little in the fire, he soon died without the least appearance of suffering pain.

Such was the death of Hugh Latimer, bishop of Worcester, one of the leaders of that noble army of martyrs, who introduced the Reformation in England. He had a happy temper, improved by the best principles; and such was his chearfulness, that none of the circumstances of life were seen to discompose him. Such was his Christian fortitude, that not even the severest trials could unman him; he had a collected spirit, and on no occasion wanted a resource; he could retire within himself, feel the support of a gracious Master, and hold the world at defiance.

And, as danger could not daunt, so neither could ambition allure him. Though conversant in courts, and intimate with princes, he preserved to the last a rare instance of moderation in his original plainness. In his profession he was indefatigable: And, that he might bestow as much time as possible on the active part of it, he allowed himself only those hours for his private studies, when the busy world is at rest; constantly rising, at all seasons in the year, by two in the morning. How conscientious he was in the discharge of the public parts of his office, we have many examples. No man could persuade more forcibly; no man could exert, on proper occasions, a more commanding severity. The wicked, in whatever station, he rebuked with dignity, and awed vice more than a penal law.

He was not esteemed a very learned man, for he cultivated only useful learning, and that he thought lay in a very narrow compass. He never engaged in worldly affairs, thinking that a clergyman ought to employ himself *only* in his profession. Thus he lived, rather a good, than what the world calls a great man. He had not those commanding talents which give superiority in business; but, for honesty and sincerity of heart, for true simplicity

of





From an original Painting.

of manners, for apostolic zeal in the cause of religion, and for every virtue, both of a public and private kind, that should adorn the life of a Christian; he was eminent and exemplary beyond most men of his own or of any other time; well deserving that evangelical commendation, *with the testimony of a good conscience in simplicity and godly sincerity, not with fleshly wisdom, but by the grace of God, he had his conversation in the world.*

NICHOLAS RIDLEY,

BISHOP OF LONDON.

THIS most learned of all our English martyrs, was born of an ancient and worthy family at Willymondswyke, in Northumberland. He was educated in grammatical learning at Newcastle upon Tyne; from thence the was removed to Pembroke-Hall in Cambridge, at the expence of his uncle Dr Robert Ridley, about the year 1518, when Luther was preaching against indulgences in Germany. Here he acquired a great proficiency in the Latin and Greek tongues, and in the other learning of that time. His reputation was such, as to procure him the esteem of the other university, as well as of his own; for in the beginning of 1524, the master and fellows of University College, in Oxford, invited him to accept of an exhibition, founded by Walter Skyrley, bishop of Durham, which he declined. The next year he took his master's degree, and was appointed by the college their general agent in some causes relating to it.

His uncle was now willing to add to his attainments, the advantages of travel, and the improvement of foreign universities; and as his studies were now directed to divinity, he sent him to spend some time among the doctors of the Sorbonne at Paris, (which was then the most celebrated university in Europe) and afterwards among the professors of Louvain. Having staid three years abroad, viz. the years, 1527, 1528, 1529, he returned to Cambridge, and pursued his theological studies; and, as his safest guide in them, diligently applied himself to the reading

ing of the scriptures in the original; and in a walk in the orchard at Pembroke-Hall, which is to this day called Ridley's-Walk, he got to repeat without book almost all the epistles in Greek.

His behaviour here was very obliging, and very pious, without hypocrisy or monkish austerity: For very often he would shoot in the bow, or play at tennis: And he was eminent for the great charities he bestowed. He was senior proctor of the university, when the important point of the pope's supremacy came before them to be examined upon the authority of scripture: And their resolution, after mature deliberation, 'That the bishop of Rome had 'no more authority or jurisdiction derived to him from 'God, in this kingdom of England, than any other fo-'reign bishop,' was signed in the name of the university by Simon Heynes, vice chancellor, Nicholas Ridley, Richard Wilkes, proctors. He lost his uncle in 1536, but the education he had received, and the improvements he had made, soon recommended him to another and greater patron, Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury, who appointed him his domestic chaplain, and collated him to the vicarage of Herne in East Kent. He bore his testimony in the pulpit here against the act of the six articles; and instructed his charge in the pure doctrines of the gospel, as far as they were yet discovered to him; but transubstantiation was at this time an article of his creed. During his retirement at this place, he read a little treatise written seven hundred years before, by Ratramus, or Bertram, a monk of Cerbey. This first opened Ridley's eyes, and determined him more accurately to search the scriptures on this article, and the doctrine of the primitive fathers. His discoveries he communicated to his patron, and the event was the conviction of them both, that this doctrine was novel and erroneous.

After he had staid about two years at Herne, he was chosen master of Pembroke-Hall, and appointed chaplain to the king; and the cathedral church of Canterbury being made collegiate, he obtained the fifth prebendal stall in it; and such was his courage and zeal for the Reformation, that, next to the archbishop, he was thought to be its greatest support among the clergy. In the succeeding reign of Edward VI. when a royal visitation was resolved on through the kingdom, he attended the visitors of the northern circuit as their preacher, to instruct that part of the nation, in the principles of religion. 'His cha-'racter, at this time, (says his biographer Dr Ridley),

'was

'was that of a celebrated disputant, a favourite preacher, 'undoubting in the article of transubstantiation, a zeal-'ous scripturist, and particularly well acquainted with 'the fathers.'

It was not before the year 1545, that *Ridley* was convinced of the error which prevailed, concerning Christ's corporal presence in the sacrament. The sufferings and arguments of Frith, Tindale, Lambert, and others, made such strong impressions, during his retirement at Herne about this time, that, by the grace of God, they ended in his conviction of the truth of their doctrine.

He was made chaplain to king Edward VI. consecrated bishop of Rochester in 1547, and translated to London on the deprivation of Bonner in 1550: But he died in the flames at Oxford in 1555.

Ridley, of all the reforming divines of that time, approached the nearest to the church of England in her present doctrines and discipline. His notions of ecclesiastical polity were high, but in general just; and, in the economy of the church, he allowed an equitable regard to the authority of the state. He saw, and avoided, but could bear with the errors of all parties among the reformed; while the dignity, the affability, and the modesty of his behaviour, gave him a general esteem with all ranks of men.

The church of Rome had laid such a stress on the indispensible necessity of the sacraments, that the people were taught to believe, that by the very action itself, without the inward grace, they were sufficient to justification, unless the receiver himself prevented it; and this seems to have given rise to the homilies about justification. Public disputations were held in both universities, between the Reformers and the papists, concerning the real presence of Christ in the sacrament. Ridley was sent to Cambridge, with some other delegates, where a disputation was held for three days together, to prove, that transubstantiation was not to be found in the plain and manifest words of scripture, nor could necessarily be collected from it, nor confirmed by the consent of the ancient fathers; and that there is no other sacrifice and oblation in the Lord's Supper, than of a remembrance of Christ's death, and of thanksgiving. The debate was summed up with a great deal of temper and learning by bishop Ridley, in a strong determination against the corporal presence. The truth is, he was then master of that subject more than any man of the age; for having met with a book of Bertram's

tram's in the ninth century, in which he, who was much esteemed, had confuted this notion of the presence of Christ's real flesh and blood in the sacrament, the bishop concluded (as we have observed before) that was not the ancient doctrine of the church, but had been introduced with other errors and superstitions in the later centuries. He communicated this discovery to his friend archbishop Cranmer, soon afterwards, and they set themselves to examine it with more than common care; making great collections out of the fathers, and other ancient writers, to prove the novelty and the absurdity of the opinion. They shewed, that all the high expressions which were to be found in Chrysostom, and other ancient writers on this subject, were only strains and figures of eloquence, to raise the devotion of the people in this holy ceremony; though the following ages had built their opinion on these expressions, and were disposed to believe every thing the more readily as it appeared above all belief. But this opinion of the real presence having been so generally received in England, above three hundred years, these eminent Reformers proceeded gradually in discussing it, that the people might be better disposed to receive what they intended afterwards to establish.

The lord protector had a design of suppressing Clare-Hall in Cambridge, and unite it with Trinity-Hall, to augment the number of fellows there to twenty, in order to found a new college for Civilians. For this purpose a commission was granted to the bishops of Ely and Rochester, William Paget, Sir Thomas Smith, John Cheeke, Dr May, dean of St Paul's, and Thomas Wendy, M. D. When the commission passed, the bishop of Rochester was in his diocese, ignorant of the design. Thither Mr secretary Smith and the dean of St Paul's sent to acquaint him that he was in commission to visit the university of Cambridge, and that he was appointed to preach the sermon at the opening of it. Upon which the bishop immediately dispatched a servant to London to Dr May, desiring information to what ends the visitation and commission were intended, that he might frame his sermon accordingly. The dean returned for answer, that it was only to remove some superstitious practices and rites, and to make such statutes as should be needful. The instructions themselves, by which they were to proceed, were not shewn him till after they had acted in the commission.

Presently after the passing of this, he was again put into commission with the archbishop, the bishops of Ely, Worcester,

Worcester, Westminster, Chichester, and Lincoln, Sir William Petre, Sir Thomas Smith, Dr Cox, Dr May, and others, to search after all anabaptists, heretics, and contemners of the common prayer. For complaint had been brought to the council, that, with the strangers who were come into England, some anabaptists were mingled, who were disseminating their errors and making proselytes Under this general name were comprehended men of various opinions, driven out of Germany with the more sober protestants, who were in danger from the emperor, for not complying with the *interim*. These, as bishop Burnet informs us, building upon Luther's principles, that scripture was to be the only rule of faith, rejected all deductions from it, how obvious or certain soever; and among these the baptism of infants was one, whom therefore, when adults, they baptized again, and from thence were called Re-baptizers, or Anabaptists. Some were more modest and moderate, others extravagant and fierce. The opinions of the latter may be learned from some tradesmen in London, who abjured before these commissioners in May; such as, That a man regenerate could not sin; that though the outward man sinned, the inward man sinned not; that there was no trinity of persons; that Christ was only a holy prophet, and not God at all; that all we had by Christ was, that he taught us the way of heaven; that he took no flesh of the virgin; and that the baptism of infants was not profitable, because it goeth before faith. Among the people who held these and such like heretical opinions was Joan Bocher, commonly called Joan of Kent. She appearing before the commissioners, behaved with extreme obstinacy there, persisting in the maintenance of her error, namely, that the Son of God penetrated through the Virgin Mary as through a glass, taking no substance of her, as Latimer reports, who sat in the commission. Her own words distinguishing betwixt *Christ* and the *word*, and betwixt the *outward* and *inward* man of the virgin; allowing the *word* to have taken flesh by the consent of the virgin's *inward* man, but denying that Christ took flesh of her *outward* man, because it was sinful, are not very intelligible. She treated with scorn all the means made use of to recover her to a better mind; and sentence passed upon her, pronouncing her an heretic, and delivering her over to the secular arm. Ridley was still at Rochester, for only the archbishop, Sir John Smith, William Cook, dean of the arches, Hugh Latimer, and Richard Lyel, LL. D. were named in the sentence. The king was hardly prevailed upon by

by Cranmer to sign the warrant for her burning: But the archbishop distinguishing betwixt errors in other points, and the open scornful rejecting an express article of the creed, *born of the virgin* Mary; thinking that these latter, always esteemed heretics from the first establishment of Christianity, deserved not the lenity with which others might be treated: And represented, that it betrayed an indifference towards religion to neglect putting in execution the laws established for maintaining God's honour, while they were diligent in those that were enacted to maintain the king's honour, and the peace or property of the subject. However, the archbishop was not so earnest to get the warrant executed, as signed. He laboured much to convince and save her from the fire. In which charitable office, Ridley, when he came to London, joined; they both of them visited her; they severally took her home with them to their own houses, and earnestly endeavoured to recover her from her errors: But she resisted with great stubbornness and indecency all their kind pains to recover her. After their unsuccessful attempts for a whole year, she was at last burned the second of May, 1550, persisting obstinately in her opinion, and behaving with great insolence to the last. The like sentence was executed upon George van Parre, a Dutchman, for denying the divinity of our Saviour; which is mentioned here, though it happened not till the twenty-fifth of April, 1551; on the sixth of which month Ridley, who was a commissioner, signed the sentence of excommunication. Mild and gentle as his nature was to every modest inquirer, though in error, he would not break the laws in being, in indulgence to obstinate blasphemers. The reproach cast on the Reformers, as enemies to all religion; and the divisions and disturbances raised in the kingdom by emissaries from the church of Rome, under the name of Anabaptists, called for punishment; which the severity of the laws then in being determined in these cases to be by burning.

One occasion of this severity was, probably, that in the preceding winter, there had been a design of uniting the protestants abroad and at home, under the English discipline. The churches abroad, who, not from choice, but necessity, were under the government of presbyters, (because reformed in places where all the bishops were papists) were very ready to come into episcopal government: And great consultations had been held, not only concerning the Reformation of *this* church, but also of the

the other foreign churches in Germany, Switzerland, France, Italy, and Spain, for uniting them together in one uniform doctrine. Bullinger and Calvin, with others, in a letter to king Edward, offered to make him their defender, and to have bishops in their churches as there were in England; with the tender of their service to assist and unite together. This alarmed the Roman fathers, who came to the knowledge of it by some of their private intellegencers; for they verily thought that all the heretics (as they called them) would now unite among themselves, and become one body, receiving the same discipline exercised in England. Whereupon they sent two of their emissaries from Rotterdam hither, who were to pretend themselves Anabaptists, and preach against baptizing infants, and recommending rebaptizing, and inculcate a fifth monarchy upon earth. Besides this, one D. G. authorised by these fathers, dispatched a letter written in May, 1549, from Delf in Holland to two bishops, (of which Winchester was one) signifying the coming of these pretended Anabaptists, and that they should receive and cherish them, and take their parts, if they should receive any checks: Telling them that it was left to them to assist in this cause, and to some others whom they well knew to be well affected to the mother church. This letter was found by H. Sidney in queen Elizabeth's closet among some papers of queen Mary's. Some knowledge or suspicion of these intrigues might occasion the using greater severity to the officious and irreclaimable Anabaptists, who were heretics in the strictest sense, than would otherwise have been exercised against them: And if Bonner was the other bishop, as none more likely, both from his zeal and situation, it may account for his and Winchester's sufferings in this reign. But if neither the bold contradicting the articles of the creed drawn from scripture, and confirmed by the four first general councils; nor the laws of the country then in force; nor the reproach cast on the Reformers, as careless of the truths of Christianity, except in opposition to the Romish church; nor the disturbances occasioned both in church and state by these real or pretended Anabaptists, can excuse the commissioners for passing this sentence, when the facts were open and notorious, and their endeavours to reclaim the offenders were earnest and unwearied; we must leave them to the censure of the Reader.

And now, sometime in May, the bishop of Rochester repaired to Cambridge with his fellow commissioners to hold

hold the visitation for the abolishing statutes and ordinances which maintained popery and superstition (as he was informed;) not knowing the further end proposed, which was the suppression of Clare-Hall. He desired to see the instructions: But was put off by his associates, who seemed afraid to shew them unto him, till they had engaged him in the action, by opening it with a sermon, and proceeding two days in the business of it. They then ventured to shew him their instructions; in which he found the suppression of Clare-Hall was the thing intended, under a cover of uniting it to Trinity-Hall, and erecting there a new college of civilians. However the bishop might disrelish this design, he found it was his duty now to concur with the other commissioners in labouring for two days together with the master and fellows *voluntarily* to surrender their college into the king's hands: But the society could not be induced to consent to such a surrender. The commissioners sat secretly by themselves, consulting how to proceed. The majority determined that they might proceed to the union of the two colleges, by the king's absolute power, without the consent of the societies. But the bishop of Rochester modestly opposed this counsel, and with great calmness dissented: though resolute and determined not to violate the king's honour and his own conscience, by forcibly invading the liberties and properties of the master and fellows of Clare-Hall, yet not censuring his fellows, but exhorted them to act so as to satisfy their own conscience; and if it should be so that he could not concur, he desired leave to satisfy his own conscience, by absenting himself, or by silence to refuse his consent. This put a stop to the proceedings at present: The commissioners acquainting the protector with this interpretation from the bishop of Rochester, complained, that he *by his barking* hindered them from proceeding in the king's service; imputing his dissent to a partial affection for his own countrymen, with whom at that time Clare-Hall abounded. This exasperated the protector, who wrote a chiding letter to the bishop: To which the bishop immediately returned the following answer:

"Right Honourable,

"I WISH your grace the holy and wholesome fear of "God, because I am persuaded your grace's goodness "to be such unfeignedly, that even wherein your grace's "letter doth sore blame me, yet in the same the adver-

"tisement

" tisement of the truth shall not displease your grace:
" And also perceiving that the cause of your grace's
" discontent was wrong information, therefore I shall
" beseech your grace to give me leave to shew your grace
" wherein it appeareth to me that your grace is wrong
" informed.

" Your grace's letters blame me, because I did not
" (at the first before the visitation began, having know-
" ledge of the matter) shew my mind. The truth is,
" before God, I never had, nor could get any foreknow-
" ledge of the matter, of the uniting the two colleges,
" before we had begun and had entered two days in the
" visitation; and that your grace may plainly thus well
" perceive.

" A little before Easter, I being at Rochester, received
" letters from Mr Secretary Smith, and the dean of St
" Paul's, to come to the visitation of the university, and
" to make a sermon at the beginning thereof. Where-
" upon I sent immediately a servant up to London to the
" dean of St Paul's, desiring of him to have had some
" knowledge of things there to be done; because I
" thought it meet that my sermon should somewhat have
" savoured of the same. From Mr Dean I received a
" letter instructing me only, that the cause of the visi-
" tation was to abolish statutes and ordinances, which
" maintained papistry, superstition, blindness, and igno-
" rance; and to establish and set forth such as might
" further God's word and good learning: And else, the
" truth is, he would shew me nothing, but bad me be
" careless, and said, there were informations how all
" things were to be done. The which, I take God to
" witness, I did never see, nor could get knowledge
" what they were, before we were entered in the visita-
" tion two days, although I desired to have seen them in
" the beginning.

" Now when I had seen the instructions, the truth is,
" I thought peradventure the master and company would
" have surrendered up their college: But when their
" consent, after labour and travail taken therein two
" days, could not be obtained, then we began secretly
" to consult, (all the commissioners thinking it best,
" that every man should say his mind plainly, that in
" execution there might appear but one way to be taken
" of all.) There, when it was seen to some, that with-
" out the consent of the present incumbents, by the
" king's absolute power, we might proceed to the uniting
" the

" the two colleges, I did, in my course, simply and " plainly declare my conscience; and that there only, " secretly among ourselves alone, with all kind of soft- " ness, so that no man could justly be offended. Also, " I perceive by your grace's letters, I have been noted of " some for *my barking* there: And yet *to bark*, lest God " should be offended, I cannot deny, but indeed it is a " part of my profession; for God's word condemneth the " dumb dogs that will not *bark*, and give warning of " God's displeasure.

" As for that, that was suggested to your grace, that " by my aforesaid barking, I should dishonour the king's " majesty, and dissuade others from the execution of the " king's commission, God is my judge, I intended, ac- " cording to my duty to God and the king, the main- " tenance and defence of his highness's royal honour " and dignity. If that be true, that I believe is true, " which the prophet saith, *Honor regis judicium diligit*, " *(The king's power loveth judgment;)* and as the com- " missioners must needs, and I am sure will all testify, " that I dissuaded no man, but contrariwise, exhorted " every man (with the quiet of other) to satisfy his own " conscience; desiring only, that if it should otherwise " be seen unto them, that I might either by my absence " or silence, satisfy mine. The which my plainness, " when some, otherwise than according to my expecta- " tion, did take, I was moved thereupon (both for the " good opinion I had, and yet have, in your grace's " goodness; and also especially because your grace had " commanded me so to do) to open my mind, by my " private letters freely to your grace.

" And thus I trust your grace perceiveth now, both " that anon, after knowledge had, I did utter my con- " science, and also that the matter was not opened unto " me before the visitation was two days begun.

" If in this I did amiss, that before the knowledge of " the instructions, I was ready to grant to the execution " of the commission; truly, I had rather herein acknow- " ledge my fault, and submit myself to your grace's " correction, than, after knowledge had, wittingly and " willingly commit that thing whereunto my conscience " doth not agree, for fear of God's displeasure.

" It is a godly wish that is wished in your grace's " letters, that flesh, and blood, and country, might not " more weigh with some men than godliness and reason: " But the truth is, country in this matter (whatsoever

" some

" some men do suggest unto your grace) shall not move " me. And that your grace shall well perceive, for I " shall be as ready as any other, first thence to expel some " of my own country, if the report which is made of them, " can be tried true.

" And as for that your grace saith of flesh and blood, " that is, the favour or fear of mortal man: Yea, marry " sir, that is a matter of weight indeed; and the truth " is, (alas! my own feebleness) of that I am afraid: But " I beseech your grace, yet once again, give me good " leave, wherein here I fear my own frailty, to confess the " truth."

" Before God, there is no man this day (leaving the " king's majesty for the honour only excepted) whose fa- " vour or displeasure I do either seek or fear, as your " grace's favour or displeasure; for of God, both your " grace's authority, and my bound duty for your grace's " benefits bind me so to do. So that if the desire of any " man's favour, or fear of displeasure, should weigh more " with me than godliness and reason, truly, if I may be " bold to say the truth, I must needs say that I am most " in danger to offend herein, either for desire of your " grace's favour, or for fear of your grace's displeasure. " And yet I shall not cease (God willing) daily to pray " to God so to stay and strengthen my frailty with holy " fear, that I do not commit the thing for favour or fear " of any mortal man, whereby my conscience may threat- " en me with the loss of the favour of the living God: " But that it may please him of his gracious goodness " (however the world goes) to blow this in the ears of my " heart, *Deus dissipavit ossa eorum qui hominibus placuerint.* " *(God hath broken the bones of them that please men.)* And " this, *Horrendum est incidere in manus Dei viventis. (It* " *is a fearful thing to fall into the hands of the living God.)* " And again, *Nolite timere eos qui occidunt corpus. (Fear* " *not those who kill the body.)*—Wherefore I most humbly " beseech your grace for God's love, not to be offended " with me, for renewing of this my suit unto your grace; " which is, that wherein my conscience cannot well agree, " if any such thing chance in this visitation, I may, with " your grace's favour have licence, either by mine absence " or silence, or other like means, to keep my conscience " quiet. I wish your grace, in God, honour and end- less felicity.

" Your grace's humble and daily orator,

From Pembroke-Hall, in Cambridge, June 1. 1549. " NICHOLAS ROFFEN."

The

The protector was at that time with the king at Richmond. And on the receipt of the bishop of Rochester's letter, he conferred with the archbishop, who was Ridley's chief intimate, to discover the secret motives, if any he had, why the bishop disliked the proceedings at the visitation. And in a little more than a week the protector returned the following answer.

'AFTER our right hearty commendations to you, 'We have received your letters of the first of June, 'again replying to those which we last sent unto you. 'And as it appeareth, you yet remaining in your former 'request, desire, if things do occur so, that according to 'your conscience, you cannot do them, that you might 'absent yourself, or otherwise keep silence. We would 'be loth any thing should be done by the king's majesty's 'visitors, otherwise than right and conscience might 'allow, and approve: And visitation is to direct things 'to the better, not to the worse; to ease consciences, 'not to clog them. Marry, we would wish the executors thereof should not be scrupulous in conscience, 'otherwise than reason would. Against your conscience 'it is not our will to move you, as we would not gladly 'do, or move any man to that which is against right and 'conscience; and we trust the king's majesty hath not 'in this matter. And we think in this you do much 'wrong, and much discredit the other visitors, that you 'should seem to think and suppose, that they would do 'things against conscience. We take them to be men 'of that honour and honesty, that they will not. My 'lord of Canterbury hath declared unto us, that maketh 'partly a conscience unto you, that divines should be 'diminished. That can be no cause; for first, the same 'was met before in the late king's time, to unite the two 'colleges together; as we are sure you have heard, and 'Sir Edward North can tell: And for that cause, all 'such as were students of the law, out of the new-erected 'cathedral church, were disappointed of their livings, 'only reserved to have been in that civil college. The 'King's-Hall being in a manner all lawyers, canonists 'were turned out and joined to Michael-House, and made 'a college of divines, wherewith the number of divines 'was much augmented, civilians diminished. Now at 'this present also, if in all other colleges, where lawyers 'be by the statutes, or the king's injunctions, you do 'convert them, or the more part of them, to divines, ye

'shall

'shall rather have more divines upon this change than 'ye had before. The King's College should have six 'lawyers; Jesus College, some; the Queen's College, and 'other, one or two a-piece. And as we are informed by 'the late king's injunctions every college in Cambridge, 'one at the least: All these together do make a greater 'number than the fellows of Clare-Hall be, and they 'now made divines, and the statutes in that reformed, 'divinity shall not be diminished in number of students, 'but encreased, as appeareth, although these two colleges 'be so united. And we are sure you are not ignorant, 'how necessary a study that study of civil law is to all 'treaties with foreign princes and strangers, and how 'few there be at this present to do the king's majesty's 'service therein. For we would the encrease of divines, 'as well as you. Marry, necessity compelleth us also to 'maintain the science; and we require you, my lord, to 'have consideration how much you do hinder the king's 'majesty's proceedings in that visitation, if now you, 'who are one of the visitors, should thus draw back, and 'discourage the other, you should much hinder the whole 'doings; and peradventure, that thing known, maketh 'the master and fellows of Clare-Hall to stand the more 'obstinate. Wherefore we require you to have regard 'of the king's majesty's honour, and the quiet perform-'ings of that visitation, most to the glory of God, and 'benefit of that university: The which thing is only 'meant in your instructions. To the performing of 'that, and in that manner, we can be content to use 'your doings as you think best, for the quieting of your 'conscience. Thus we bid you heartily farewel. From 'Richmond, the tenth of June, 1549.

'Your loving friend,

'E. SOMERSET.'

By which letter it appears how earnest the protector was to persuade, or intimidate, this worthy prelate to countenance the proceedings by his concurrence. The reigning vice of the age was *spoliation*; from which the duke of Somerset was not free; as appears not only from his palace of Somerset-House, as was before taken notice of, but one of the articles against him was, 'That he did 'dispose offices of the king's gift for money, and made 'sale of the king's lands.' This, perhaps, will give us to guess at the secret of this visitation; while the establishing a college of civilians, by uniting two colleges together,

together, was the pretence for demolishing Clare-Hall, the sale of the lands belonging to that society was probably the leading motive. The other visitors, who were privy to the design, durst not acquaint Ridley with it, but industriously concealed the instructions from him, till they had engaged him to preach on the occasion, and proceeded some time in the business of the visitation, when they hoped they should entangle him so far, that for fear or shame he could not recede. But he boldly risked the displeasure of the protector, who was now grown very imperious and arbitrary, rather than concur in such unjust measures. The affair dropt: The protector had his attention immediately drawn off to suppress several insurrections raised by the discontented commons almost throughout the kingdom. The visitors, especially the bishop of Rochester, had another commission to execute, which was to preside at a public disputation appointed to be held at Cambridge, as there had been one a little before at Oxford, relating to the sacrament of the Lord's Supper.

Two positions were appointed to be the subjects of this public disputation; and after they had been sufficiently ventilated, a determination of the matters debated was to be made by the bishop of Rochester. The two positions were,

1. Transubstantiation cannot be proved by the plain and manifest words of scripture, nor can thereof be necessarily collected, nor yet confirmed by the consents of the ancient fathers for these one thousand years past.

2. In the Lord's Supper is none other oblation or sacrifice, than one only remembrance of Christ's death and of thanksgiving.

The first disputation was on Thursday the twentieth of June, Dr Madew of Clare-Hall, respondent, maintaining the above positions: Dr Glyn, Mr Langdale, Sedgwick and Young, opponents. The second disputation was held on Monday the twenty-fourth, Dr Glyn, respondent, maintaining the contrary positions: Mr Perne, Grindal, Gest, and Pilkington, opponents. The third was on Thursday the twenty-seventh of June, Mr Perne respondent, maintaining the positions: Mr Parker, (not Matthew, who was afterwards archbishop of Canterbury) Pollard, Vavafor, and Young, opponents. There is one difference observed between the disputations at Oxford and at Cambridge: Peter Martyr admitted a change in the elements; and Langdale, one of the opponents, the first day at Cambridge, asked, supposing a change admitted,

" Whether

'Whether that change was wrought in the substance, or 'in the accidents, or else in both, or in nothing?' When Ridley interposed and answered, "There is no "change, either of the substances or of the accidents; "but in very deed there do come unto the bread other "accidents, insomuch, that whereas the bread and wine "were not sanctified before, nor holy, yet afterward they "be sanctified, and so do receive then another sort or "kind of virtue, which they had not before."

After the disputations were finished, the bishop determined,

I. Against transubstantiation, on these five principal grounds:

1. The authority, majesty, and verity of holy scripture: *I will not hereafter drink of the fruit of the vine.* St Paul and St Luke call it bread after consecration. They speak of *breaking*, which agrees with bread, not with Christ's body. It was to be done *in remembrance* of him, *This is the bread that came down from heaven;* but Christ's body came not down from heaven. *It is the Spirit that quickeneth, the flesh profiteth nothing.*

2. The most certain testimonies of the ancient catholic fathers, who (after my judgment) do sufficiently declare this matter.

Here he produced many fathers, Dionysius, Ignatius, Irenæus, Tertullian, Chrysostom, Cyprian, Theodoret, Gelasius, Austin, Cyril, Isychius, and Bertram, who call it bread after consecration, sacramental bread, the figure of Christ's body: And expressly declare, that bread still continues after consecration, and that the elements cease not to be the substance of bread and wine still.

3. The nature of a sacrament. In which he supposes natural symbols to represent like spiritual effects, which in the sacrament of the Lord's Supper are unity, nutrition, and conversion. They who take away the union of the grains making one bread, of which partaking we become one mystical body of Christ; or they who deny the nutrition, or substance of those grains, by which our bodies being nourished is represented the nourishment of our souls by the body of Christ; these take away the similitude between the bread and the body of Christ, and destroy the nature of a sacrament. As neither is there any thing to signify our being turned into Christ's body if there be no conversion of the bread into the substance of our bodies.

The 4th ground was, that transubstantiation destroys one of the natures in Christ.

They

They, which say that Christ is carnally present in the eucharist, do take from him the verity of man's nature. Eutyches granted the divine nature in Christ, but his human nature he denied. So they, that defend transubstantiation, ascribe that to the human nature, which only belongeth to the divine nature.

The 5th ground is the most sure belief of the article of our faith, *He ascended into heaven.*

He quotes from St Austin on St John, 'The Lord 'is above, even to the end of the world: But yet the 'verity of the Lord is here also. For his body wherein 'he rose again must needs be in one place, but his verity 'is spread abroad every where.'

By verity he means an essential divine presence by his invisible and unspeakable grace, as he distinguishes on Matth. xxviii. 'As touching his majesty, his providence, 'his invisible and unspeakable grace, these words are 'fulfilled, which he spake, *I am with you unto the end of 'the world:* But according to the flesh which he took 'upon him, so *ye shall not have me always with you.* And 'why? because as concerning his flesh he went up into 'heaven, and is not here, for he sitteth at the right hand 'of the Father: And yet concerning the presence of his 'divine majesty he is not departed hence. And from Vigilus he quoted, 'Concerning his flesh we look for him 'from heaven; whom, as concerning the WORD (or divine nature) we believe to be with us on earth.' And again, 'the course of scripture must be searched of us, 'and many testimonies must be gathered, to shew plainly 'what a wickedness and sacrilege it is, to refer those 'things to the property of the divine nature, which do 'only belong to the nature of the flesh: And contrariwise, to apply those things to the nature of the flesh, 'which do properly belong to the divine nature.' Which he observes the transubstantiators do, who affirm Christ's body not to be contained in any one place, and ascribe that to his humanity, which properly belongs to his divinity.

II. Against the oblation of Christ in the Lord's Supper he determined on these two grounds:

1. Scripture; as Paul saith, Hebrews ix. Christ *being become an high priest of good things to come, by a greater and more perfect tabernacle not made with hands, that is, not of this building: Neither by the blood of goats and calves, but by his own blood, entered once into the holy place, and obtained eternal redemption for us. And, now in the end of the world, he hath appeared* ONCE *to put away sin by the sacrifice of himself.*

himself. And again, Christ was ONCE *offered to take away the sins of many.* Moreover he saith, *With* ONE *offering hath he made perfect for ever those that are sanctified.* These scriptures do persuade me to believe, that there is no other oblation of Christ (albeit I am not ignorant that there are many sacrifices) but that which was ONCE made on the cross.

2. The testimonies of the ancient fathers. *Austin ad Bonif.* epist. 23. Again, in his book of forty-three questions, question forty-one, *contra Transubstan. lib.* 20. *cap.* 21, 22. where he writes, how the Christians keep a memorial of the sacrifice past, with an oblation, and participation of the body and blood of Christ. Fulgentius, in his book *de Fide*, calls the same oblation a commemoration. And these things are sufficient at this time for a scholastic determination of these matters.

Yet this was more than a mere scholastic exercise; the occasion of appointing this disputation arose at Oxford, where Dr Smith, taking offence at Peter Martyr's exposition of scripture, challenged Martyr to a public disputation: Which Martyr declared himself ready to engage in, but not without the king's leave. The privy council gave leave, but Smith ran away from his challenge. Then Martyr challenged all the Roman catholics in that university to maintain their transubstantiation, and the privy council appointed delegates to hear and preside at the disputation. And like disputations were appointed at Cambridge, that the papists, there might likewise have an opportunity of defending their opinions, if they could.

Langdale, one of the disputants, and for his zeal made archdeacon of Chichester by queen Mary, composed a pretended refutation of bishop Ridley's determination: But with this suspicion of unfairness in his account of managing the dispute, that though he had the king's licence for printing it, at Paris, February 1553; yet it was not printed till three years after, when Langdale was secure that Ridley could make no reply. However, Pilkington, another of the disputants, afterward bishop of Durham, says, that the bishop made all things so clear in his determination, and the auditors were so convinced, that some of them would have turned archbishop Cranmer's book on that subject into Latin.

Ridley assisted Cranmer in the first edition of the liturgy, or common-prayer, which was published in 1548. He was ranked with Cranmer, Hooper, and Ferrar, among those called the *zealous protestants*, in opposition to Gardiner, Tunstal, and Bonner, who were called *zealous papists.*

Ridley

Ridley printed the injunctions which he had set forth for the visitation of his diocese; and they clearly shew the progress that the Reformation had made in England. They particularly enjoined, that none should receive the communion, but such as should be ready with meekness to confess the articles of the creed upon request of the curate. That the homilies should be read orderly, without omission of any part thereof; and that the common-prayer be read in every church upon Wednesdays and Fridays. That none should maintain purgatory, invocation of saints, the six articles, bead-rolls, pilgrimages, relics, rubrics, primmers, justification of man by his own works, holy bread, psalms, ashes, candles, creeping to the cross, hallowing of fire, or altars, or such like abuses.

The king was under a visible decay, and bishop Ridley preached before him about the latter end of his sickness. The bishop enlarged much in his sermon on the good effects of charity; and the king was so moved with what he said, that immediately after the sermon he sent for the bishop, whom he commanded to sit down and be covered. His majesty resumed the heads of the discourse, and said his lordship must give some directions how he might acquit himself of his duty. The bishop, astonished at so much tenderness and sensibility in so young a prince, burst into tears: but desired time to consider of the particular channel in which the royal charity should be directed; and that the king would give him leave to consult with the lord-mayor and aldermen about it. His majesty accordingly wrote them a letter by the bishop, who returned to him with a scheme of three foundations; one for the sick and wounded, another for such as were wilfully idle or mad, and a third for orphans: And his majesty endowed St Bartholomew's hospital for the first, Bridewell for the second, and *Grey Friars* church for the third.

The king died in 1553, and was succeeded by his sister Mary, whose reign was polluted with the blood of martyrs, of whom Ridley was one of the chief. The queen was a rigid papist, and caused lady Jane Grey to be beheaded, who openly professed the protestant religion, and to whom Edward had conveyed the crown by his will. The duke of Northumberland and his son, and the duke of Norfolk and his brother, were also beheaded for attempting to place that most excellent lady on the throne; and bishop Ridley was sent to the Tower, among others, whom Mary was determined to sacrifice to her vengeance.

The queen released Gardiner and Bonner out of the Tower, and employed them to pull down the Reformation.

The

The mass was restored, the protestants inhumanly persecuted, and several laws enacted for establishing popery. The parliament revived the statutes against heresy; and the queen commissioned Gardiner, as her bloody instrument, for the extirpation of what she called heresy. He was particularly ordered to purge the churches of all married bishops and priests; in consequence of which, four bishops were deprived for marriage, as also three for preaching erroneous doctrines; and of 15,000 of the inferior clergy then in *England*, 12,000 were turned out for having wives.

As Gardiner was for forcing the protestants into the pale of the Romish church, he began with exerting his rage against the bishops, and the most eminent divines. The bishops Ridley, Latimer, Hooper, and Ferrar, were all imprisoned, and all suffered martyrdom; which caused an universal consternation; and the popish bishops themselves seemed ashamed of these barbarities.

The convocation was adjourned, and removed to Oxford, that the dispute with the protestant divines might be held before the whole university. To give a colour of justice to this conference, archbishop Cranmer, and bishops Ridley and Latimer, were sent from the *Tower* of *London* to the prison at Oxford, where they were ill accommodated, denied the convenience of their books and papers, the conversation of each other, and any mutual assistance in the conference; for each was to have his day separate from the others. To these three prelates, under such disadvantages, a committee from the convocation and the two universities were to be opposed. The queen sent her precept to the mayor and bailiffs of Oxford, to bring the prisoners into the public schools, at the time appointed for the disputations; calling Ridley a doctor, and Latimer only clerk. It was intended to expose these three great prelates to insolence and abuse. 'This disputation (says Fuller) was intended 'as a preparative or prologue to the tragedy of these bi-'shops' deaths; as it were to dry their bodies the more 'afore-hand that afterwards they might burn the brighter 'and clearer for the same.'

The government and clergy are charged with the most infernal proceedings. The queen was married to Philip of Spain, and imagined herself pregnant: But she declared, she could not be delivered till the heretics, who now filled all the jails about *London*, were burnt; while the clergy and council of *England* were to be the executioners of the bloody purpose. 'All the nation seemed 'to be in a blaze from persecuting flames;' and three

martyrs

martyrs were particularly singled out—Ridley, Latimer, and Cranmer.

Commissions for trying them were directed to three bishops and several others: But the imprisoned prelates, at their different appearances, refused to acknowledge the papal authority. Cranmer was brought out first before the committee. The next was Ridley; who began with a solemn declaration, that though he was once of another opinion than what he was of at present, yet he had not changed it upon any worldly considerations, but merely for love of truth: And since it was the cause of God he was now to maintain, he protested that he would have leave to add to, or alter, any argument, as he should see cause for it; and desired he might be permitted to speak without interruption. All this was promised him, but not complied with; and, though all the committee assailed him by turns, even sometimes four or five at once, he maintained his ground, till the prolocutor put an end, by saying, 'You see the obstinate, vain-glorious, crafty, 'and inconstant mind of this man; but you also see the 'force of truth cannot be shaken; therefore, cry out 'with me; truth has the victory.'

The three bishops were adjudged to be obstinate heretics, and declared to be no longer members of the church; to which they all objected. Ridley told the commissioners, that although he was not of their company, yet he doubted not but his name was written in another place, whither this sentence would send him sooner than by the course of nature he should have gone.

The prisoners were then parted, and conducted to their separate prisons; where Ridley wrote a letter to the prolocutor, complaining of the noisy and irregular manner with which the dispute was carried on; wherein he had not the liberty of making a full defence, nor of urging his arguments at length, being overpowered with clamour; and the indecent abuse of four or five opponents at a time. He desired, however, that he might have a copy of what the notaries had set down; which was not granted.

Ridley and Latimer refused to recant, or to renounce their reason upon the unintelligible jargon of a popish eucharist, the common watch-word for murder in those days, and they were to be delivered over to the secular arm. The bishops of Gloucester, Lincoln, and Bristol, were sent to Oxford, to proceed against them. When the commission was read, and it appeared that the judges proceeded in the name of the pope, Ridley put on his cap and refused to pay any reverence to those who acted by such a com-

a commission. Latimer also protested against the papal authority; and being both accused of the opinions, which they had maintained in the public schools a year and a half before, were allowed till the next morning to consider, whether they would retract, or persevere in them. Both adhered to the answers they had already made; and on the next morning they were pronounced guilty of heresy, degraded from priest's orders, and consigned over to the secular magistrate to be punished.

Great attempts were made on Ridley to persuade him to accept of the queen's mercy, which he refused, and a warrant was sent down for the execution of him and Latimer. They suffered on the sixteenth of October, 1555, on the north side of Oxford, in the ditch opposite Baliol-College. When they came up to the stake, they embraced each other with great affection; and Ridley, with an air of pleasure, said to Latimer, "Be of good heart, brother; "for God will either assuage the fury of the flame, or "else enable us to bear it." He then returned to the stake, and, falling upon his knees, kissed it and prayed very fervently. After which setting himself to speak to the spectators, some persons ran to him and stopped his mouth. Being afterwards stripped, he stood on a stone near the stake, and offered up the following prayer; "O "heavenly Father, I give thee hearty thanks for that "thou hast called me to be a professor of thee, even unto "death. I beseech thee, Lord God, have mercy on this "realm of England, and deliver it from all its enemies." They were not permitted to speak, in answer to a long sermon preached by a Dr Smith, unless they would recant. To this Ridley replied, That he would never deny his Lord, nor the truths of which he was persuaded; but "God's will be done." He said, he had received fines when he was bishop of London for leases which were now voided, and desired that the queen might give order, either that the leases might be made good, or the fines restored to the tenants out of the effects he had left behind him, which were more than sufficient for that purpose. After this, they were ordered to fit themselves for the stake; and as a smith was knocking in the staple, which held the chain, he said to him; "Good man, knock it in "hard, for the flesh will have its course." Some gunpowder was hanged about their bodies to hasten their deaths; and the fire was put to the wood. The powder took fire with the first flame, which instantly put Latimer out of his pain: But there was so much wood thrown on the fire where Ridley was, that the flame could not break through

through it; so that his legs were almost consumed before it was observed; and then a passage being made to the flame, it put an end to his life, in the fifty-fifth year of his age. A little before he gave up the ghost, he cried with a loud voice; "Into thy hand, O Lord, I com-" mend my spirit. Lord, receive my soul!"

The station which both these martyrs had held, the regularity of their lives, the peaceableness of their tempers, their age, and their behaviour at the stake, raised great commiseration in the spectators, and sent them home greatly displeased with those who had brought them to this end.

Ridley's fine parts, and his great improvements in all the branches of literature necessary to a divine, gave him the first rank in his profession; and his life was answerable to his knowledge. He was of an easy obliging temper; and though he wanted not a proper spirit to support his character, or to do himself justice against the great and powerful; yet he was always ready to forgive any injuries, or offences. His zeal for religion did not shew itself in promoting severities against those who differed from it; but in diligently explaining the parts that were misunderstood, and shewing their foundation in scripture and antiquity. The grace of his Master was not only shewn in the candour and charity of his sentiments; but he did good offices for those who differed from him; he was a great benefactor to the poor; he expended his revenue in a way becoming a bishop; he maintained and treated Heath, the deprived bishop of Worcester, for a year and a half, in the same splendour as though Fulham-house had been his own; and Bonner's mother who merited nothing on her own account, dined always there at the table with him, whilst her son was in the Tower. The Reformation was greatly promoted by his zeal and learning while he lived, as well as by his courage and constancy at his death: For of all who served the altar of the church of England, he bore, perhaps, the most useful testimony, both in life and death, to her doctrine.

To this we may add the character given of him by his learned biographer, Dr Glocester Ridley, whose masterly performance we would recommend to our Readers for the history, not of bishop Ridley only, but of the whole time in which he lived. Bishop Ridley (says he) was 'meek 'and gentle to tender consciences, patiently bearing with 'their weakness; but where he saw the will was in fault 'from vanity, malice, or obstinacy, he set himself with 'great earnestness and steadiness to reduce it to a sub-

'mission.

'mission.—With respect to himself, he was mortified, 'and given to prayer and contemplation: With respect 'to his family, careful and instructive. His mode of 'life was, as soon as he rose and had dressed himself, to 'continue in private prayer half an hour; then (unless 'other business interrupted him) he retired to his study, 'where he continued till ten of the clock, at which hour 'he came to common prayer with his family, and there 'daily read a lecture to them, beginning at the Acts of 'the Apostles, and so going regularly through St Paul's 'epistles, giving to every one that could read a New 'Testament, and hiring them to learn by heart some 'chosen chapters, &c.'

He was a person small in stature, but great in learning, and profoundly read in divinity. Among several things that he wrote, were these: A treatise concerning images, not to be set up, nor worshipped in churches. A brief declaration of the Lord's Supper. A treatise of the blessed sacrament. A pitious lamentation of the miserable state of the church of England, at the time of the late revolt from the gospel. A comparison between the comfortable doctrine of the gospel, and the traditions of popish religion. He had a hand in compiling the common prayer-book; as also disputations and conferences about matters of religion.

Here follow two of his letters.

I.

"MASTER CHEKE, I wish you grace and peace. Sir, "in God's cause, for God's sake, and in his name, "I beseech you of your help and furtherance towards "God's word. I did talk with you of late what case I "was in concerning my chaplains. I have gotten the "good will and grant to be with me, of three preachers, "men of good learning, and (as I am persuaded) of ex-"cellent virtue; which are all able, both with life and "learning, to set forth God's word in London, and in "all parts in England; for from thence goeth example "(as you know) into all the rest of the king's majesty's "whole realm. The men's names be these; Mr Grindal, "whom you know to be a man of virtue and learning: "Mr Bradford, a man by whom (as I am assuredly in-"formed) God hath and doth work wonders, in setting "forth of his word: The third is a preacher, the which "for detecting and confuting the Anabaptists and Papists

" is enforced now to bear Christ's cross. The two first " be scholars in the university: The third is as poor as " either of the other twain. Now there is fallen a pre- " bend in Paul's, called *Cantrells*, by the death of one " Layton. This prebend is an honest man's living of " thirty-four pounds and better in the king's books. I " would with all my heart give it unto Mr Grindal; and " so I should have him continually with me, and in my " diocese to preach.

" But alas! Sir, I am letted by the means (I fear me) " of such as do not fear God. One Mr William Thomas, " one of the clerks to the council, hath in times past set " the council upon me, to have me to grant that Layton " might have alienated the said prebend unto him and " his heirs for ever. God was mine aid and defender, " that I did not consent unto his ungodly enterprise. Yet " I was then so handled before the council, that I granted, " that whensoever it should fall, I should not give it be- " fore I should make the king's majesty privy unto it. " Now, Layton is departed, and the prebend is fallen, and " certain of the council (no doubt by this ungodly man's " means) have written unto me, to stay the collation. " And whereas he despaireth, that ever I would assent " that a preacher's living should be bestowed on him, he " hath procured letters unto me, subscribed with certain " of the council's hands, that now the king's majesty hath " determined it unto the furniture of his highness's stable. " Alas! Sir, this is a heavy hearing: When papistry was " naught, there was nothing too little for the teachers. " When the bishop gave his benefices unto ideots, un- " learned, ungodly, for kindred, for pleasure, for service, " and other worldly respects, all was then well allowed. " Now, when a poor living is to be given unto an excel- " lent clerk, a man known and tried to have both dis- " cretion and also virtue; and such a one as, before God, " I do not know a man yet unplaced and unprovided for, " more meet to set forth God's word in all England: " When a poor living, I say, which is founded for a " preacher, is to be given unto such a man, that then an " ungodly person shall procure in this sort letters to stop " and let the same; alas! Mr Cheke, this seemeth unto " me to be a right heavy hearing. Is this the fruit of " the gospel? speak, Mr Cheke, speak for God's sake, " in God's cause, unto whomsoever you think you may " do any good withal. And if you will not speak, then " I beseech you let these my letters speak unto Mr Gates,

" to

" to Mr Wrothe, to Mr Cecil, whom all I do take for men
" that do fear God.

" It was said here constantly, my lord chamberlain [illegible]
" have been departed: Sir, though the day be delayed,
" yet he hath no pardon, of long life, and therefore I do
" beseech his good lordship; and so many as shall read
" these letters, if they fear God, to help that neither
" horse, nor yet dog, be suffered to devour the poor liv-
" ings appointed and founded by godly ordinance to the
" ministers of God's word. The causes of conscience,
" which do move me to speak and write thus, are not only
" those which I declared once in the cause of this prebend
" before the king's majesty's council, which now I let
" pass; but also now the man, Mr Grindal, unto whom
" I would give this prebend, doth move me very much;
" for he is a man known to be both of virtue, honesty,
" discretion, wisdom and learning. And beside all this,
" I have a better opinion of the king's majesty's honour-
" able council, than (although some of them have sub-
" scribed, at this their clerk's crafty and ungodly suit, to
" such a letter, than, I say, they will [illegible], and not suffer
" (after the request made to them) the living appointed
" and founded for a preacher, and be bestowed upon so
" honest and well a learned man.

" Wherefore, for God's sake, I beseech you all, help,
" that with the favour of the council, I may have know-
" ledge of the king's majesty's good pleasure, to give this
" preacher's living unto Mr Grindal. Of late there have
" been letters, directed from the king's majesty and his
" honourable council unto all the bishops, whereby we
" be charged and commanded, both in our own persons,
" and also to cause our preachers and ministers, especially
" to cry out against the insatiable serpent of covetousness,
" whereby is said to be such a greediness amongst the
" people, that each one goeth about to devour another;
" and to threaten them with God's grievous plagues,
" both now presently thrown upon them, and that shall
" be likewise in the world to come. Sir, what preachers
" shall I get to open and set forth such matters, and so
" as the king's majesty and the council do command them
" to be set forth, if either ungodly men, or unreasonable
" beasts, be suffered to pull away and devour the good and
" godly learned preacher's livings? Thus I wish you in
" God ever well to fare, and to help Christ's cause, as
" you would have help of him at your most need. From
" Fulham this present, the 23d of July, 155[illegible].

" Your's in Christ."

II.

"GOOD Mr Cecil, I must be a suitor unto you in "your good master Christ's cause; I beseech you be "good to him. The matter is, Sir, alas! he hath lain "too long abroad (as you do know) without lodging, in "the streets of London, both hungry, naked, and cold. "Now, thanks be to almighty God! the citizens are "willing to refresh him, and to give him both meat, drink, "cloathing and firing: But alas! sir, they lack lodging "for him. For in some one house I dare say they are fain "to lodge three families under one roof. Sir, there is a "wide, large empty house of the king's majesty's, called "*Bridewell*, that would wonderfully well serve to lodge "Christ in, if he might find such good friends in the "court to procure in his cause. Surely I have such a "good opinion of the king's majesty, that if Christ had "such faithful and hearty friends who would heartily "speak for him, he should undoubtedly speed at the king's "majesty's hands. Sir, I have promised my brethren the "citizens to move you, because I do take you for one "that feareth God, and would that Christ should lie no "more abroad in the streets."

JOHN PHILPOT.

THIS very learned divine, son of Sir Peter Philpot, was born near Winchester; and was, in his youth, put to Wyckham, or New-College, Oxford; where he studied the civil law for six or seven years, besides the other liberal sciences, and especially the languages *. From Oxford he set out upon his travels through Italy; where he was in some danger on account of his religion; a Franciscan friar at Padua, endeavouring to trouble him for heresy.

* Mr Strype records an amusing incident, relative to Mr Philpot, after he went to Oxford;—'Where (says he) he profited in learning, so well 'that he laid a wager of TWENTY PENCE with John Harpfield, that he 'would make two hundred verses in one night, and not make above two 'faults in them. Mr Thomas Tuchymer, schoolmaster, was judge: And adjudeged the TWENTY PENCE to Mr Philpot.' Strype's Eccl. Mem. III. p. 263.

heresy. But returning to England in the time of king Edward, he was collated to the preferment of archdeacon of Winchester by the pious and excellent Dr Ponet, the first protestant bishop of that see. Stephen Gardiner, (Ponet's predecessor) bishop of Winchester, (says Strype *) ever bore ill-will against this godly gentleman [Mr Philpot], and forbad him preaching, oftentimes in king Henry's reign. But he [Philpot] could not in conscience hide his talent, under this prince, and in so popish a diocese. At last, the bishop sent for certain justices, who came to his house: And there calling Mr Philpot, ROGUE; Philpot said to the bishop, "My lord, do you keep a privy ses-"sions in your own house for me, and call me ROGUE, "whose father is a knight, and may spend a thousand "pounds within one mile of your nose? And he that "can spend TEN POUNDS by the year, as I can, I thank "God, is no vagabond."

Mr Philpot, when archdeacon of Winchester, laboured abundantly in word and doctrine, with great success, in Hampshire, during the time of king Edward. He was very well furnished both by grace and natural acquirements for his calling, to which he zealously devoted them all. Bishop Ridley and our martyr were esteemed the two most learned of all our English Reformers. Philpot appears to have possessed great fervency of spirit, which appeared in all his controversies and troubles with the papists, whom he boldly attacked, leaving all consequences in the hand of God. He had the glowing ardour of a martyr, and desired the martyr's crown. He was valiant for the truth, and feared not the faces of men; for, at the beginning of queen Mary's reign, in a convocation of bishops and dignitaries, appointed for the purpose of changing religion from protestant to popish; our learned archdeacon, with a few others, bore a noble testimony against the design; and, for his vigorous opposition, notwithstanding the promised liberty of free debate, he was called before the chancellor, the said bishop of Winchester, his ordinary: and by him committed a close prisoner for about a year and a half. He was then sent to Bonner, bishop of London, and other commissioners, who confined him in the bishop's coal-house; to which adjoined a little dark house with a great pair of stocks, both for hand and foot. There he met with two fellow-sufferers in the same good cause; one of whom was a clergyman of Essex,

* Strype's Eccl. Mem. III. p. 253.

a godly minister, and a married man *; who, upon hearing that archdeacon Philpot was brought to the coal house, desired much to see him; to whom he grievously lamented, that in the hour of temptation, through the frailty of the flesh, and the extremity of imprisonment, he had sinfully complied, by writing, with the bishop of London. He added, that he was immediately set at liberty; but afterwards felt such a hell in his conscience, that he could scarce refrain from laying violent hands on himself. Nor could he be at peace in his mind, till he went to the bishop's register, desiring to see the writing in which he had yielded to the bishop; which he had no sooner got into his hands, than he tore it in pieces. The bishop, being informed of this, sent for him, and acted indeed more in the character of a popish bishop, than of a bishop of Jesus Christ, *who must be no* STRIKER; for he fell upon him like a lion, beat his face black and blue, and pluckt off great part of his beard. He then sent him to be confined hand and foot in the stocks in the dark hole; where Mr Philpot found him, "as joyful (said he) under the cross as "any of us, and very sorry for his former infirmity."

The second day after Mr Philpot had been in the coal-house, he was sent to make his appearance before Bonner; who, among other things, said, 'I marvel that you are so 'merry in prison, singing and rejoicing in your naughti-'ness; when you should rather lament and be sorry.' 'Mr Philpot answered, "We are in a dark comfortless "place, and therefore, as St Paul wills us, we make "*merry in the Lord, singing together, in hymns and psalms.*" After some further altercation, he was remanded back to the coal-house; "where (said he) I, with my six fellow "prisoners, do rouze together from the straw, as chear-"fully, we thank God, as others do from their beds of "down." But as though resolved, if possible, to put a stop to the rejoicing of this great and godly man, the papists were continually adding new severities; so that when bishop Bonner, in one of his fawning fits, asked him, 'If he could shew him any pleasure, and he would 'do it.' Mr Philpot answered, "My lord, the pleasure "that I will require of your lordship is, to hasten my "judgment which is committed unto you, and to dis-"patch me forth of this miserable world, unto my eternal "rest. For notwithstanding this fair speech (added he "in

* This was the Revd. Mr Thomas Whittle, a most excellent man, as appears by his writings preserved by Mr Fox. He suffered in the flames with great joy and constancy, not long afterwards.

" in his account of this matter) I cannot obtain hitherto, " for this fortnight past, either fire, or candle, or good " lodging. But it is good for a man to be brought low " in this world, and to be counted amongst the vilest " that he may in time of reward receive exaltation and " glory. Therefore, praised be God, that he hath humbled me, and given me grace with gladness to be content withal."

Mr Philpot was examined fifteen or sixteen several times before bishop Bonner and others; but being well skilled in the civil and canon law, he pleaded his privilege of *exceptionem fori*, and refused to be examined before the bishop of London; because he was not his ordinary, being archdeacon of Winchester. The bishop urged his right of being his judge; because the convocation, in which Mr Philpot was accused of heresy, in zealously maintaining the protestant doctrines of the church of England, as then by law established, was held in St Paul's church, and consequently in his diocese: 'Therefore as you were sent 'hither to me (said the bishop) by the queen's commissioners, and are now in my diocese, I will proceed against 'you as your ordinary.'

" I cannot deny (said Mr Philpot) but I am in your " coal-house, which is in your diocese; yet am I not of " your diocese. I was brought hither through violence, " and by such men as had no just authority so to do; and " therefore my being at present in your diocese, is not " enough to deprive me of own ordinary's jurisdiction; nor does it make me willingly subject to your " jurisdiction, any more than a sanctuary man, being by " force brought forth of his place of privilege, loses his " privilege, but may always claim his privilege wherever he is brought: Nor does my conduct in the convocation subject me to your jurisdiction, or make you " my ordinary; for although St Paul's be in your diocese, it is nevertheless a peculiar of the dean and chapter, and therefore not of your diocese." The bishop then endeavoured to ensnare him in private examinations; but Mr Philpot said, " My lord, *Omnia judicia debent* " *esse publica*; i. e. all judicial proceedings ought to be " public. Therefore, if your lordship have any thing to " charge me lawfully withal; let me be in judgment: " lawfully and openly called, and I will answer according to my duty; otherwise in corners I will not."

Bishop of London. 'No! wilt thou not knave? Thou 'art a foolish knave, I see well enough: Thou shalt 'answer whether thou wilt or not.'

Philpot. "I will make no further answers than I have "said already."

Bishop of London. 'Have him away, and set him in 'the stocks: What, foolish knave!'

The next morning early, an hour before day, Mr Philpot was sent for by the bishop; but fearing some foul play, because it was at so unseasonable a time, he refused to go. The bishop then ordered him to be brought by violence, and charged him to take the book and swear to answer truly to all such articles as he should demand of him. But as the bishop was not Mr Philpot's ordinary, he would not swear. The consequence of which was, the bishop ordered him to be put into the stocks; "where "(says Philpot) I sat from morning till night, when the "keeper upon favour let me out."

For a great while, they pretended to examine him every day, and sometimes oftener, and meanly to abuse him with the taunts of *blockhead*, *knave*, *fool*, &c. But this good man's arguments, on account of his great superiority in learning and knowledge of the scriptures, they could neither answer nor refute; 'so that (says Mr Fox) bishop 'Bonner having taken his pleasure with Mr Philpot in his 'private talks; and seeing his zealous, learned, and immu-'table constancy; thought it high time to rid his hands 'of him. And therefore sitting in the consistory at St 'Paul's, he caused him to be brought before him and 'others, as it seemeth, more for order's sake, than for any 'good affection to justice and right judgment.

Bonner then began by charging Mr Philpot with being fallen from the unity of Christ's catholic church—with blasphemously speaking against the sacrifice of the mass, calling it idolatry—and with speaking against, and denying, the real presence of Christ's body and blood to be in the sacrament of the altar. He laboured, with the rest of the bishops, both by persuasions and promises, and by cruel threatenings, to make him abjure. To all which he answered, "You, and all your sort, are hypocrites; "and I would all the world knew your hypocrisy, your "tyranny, ignorance, and idolatry."

After a great deal more altercation upon a variety of matter, which served only to shew the bishop's tyranny and the martyr's constancy; Bonner asked Philpot if he had any just cause to allege why he should not condemn him as a heretic? "Well, (said Mr Philpot) your ido-"latrous sacrament, that you have found out, you would "fain defend, but you are not able, nor ever shall."

'My

'My lords, (said Bonner) my predecessor, Stokesley, 'when he proceeded to give sentence against a heretic, 'made use of a certain prayer, whose example I will now 'follow;' and so with a loud voice prayed. '*Deus, qui 'errantibus, ut in viam possint redire, justitiæ viritatisque 'tuæ lumen ostendis; da cunctis, qui Christianâ professione 'censentur, & illa respuere quæ huic inimica sint nomini, '& ea quæ sint apta sectari, per Christum Dominum nos-'trum: Amen.*'

Philpot. "I wish you would speak in English, that all "men might understand you; for St Paul commands, "that all things, spoken in the congregation, should be "spoken in a tongue that all men may understand and "be edified." The bishop then repeated it in English, and when he came to these words—'to refuse those things 'which are enemies to his [i. e. Christ's] name;' Philpot said, "Then they must all turn away from you; for you "are enemies to that name: May God save us from such "hypocrites, as would have things in a tongue that the "people cannot understand." 'Whom do you mean?' said the bishop.—"You, answered Philpot, and all who "are of your congregation and sect. And I am sorry to 'see you sit in the place you now do, pretending to ex-"ecute justice, while you do nothing else but deceive "all men." And turning to the people, he said, "O all "you gentlemen, beware of these men [the bishops] and "all their doings; for they are contrary to God's word "and the primitive church."

The bishop then pronounced sentence of condemnation against him as a heretic; upon which Philpot said, "I "thank God, I am an heretic out of your cursed church: "But I am no heretic before God.—But God bless you, "and give you grace to repent of your wicked doings; but "let all men beware of your bloody church."

In Newgate he was treated most cruelly by the keeper, though Mr Philpot begged of him, upon the foot of old acquaintance, not to do it. He ordered him on the block, and as many irons to be rivetted on him as he was able to bear; and allowed his man to extort money from him, before he would allow him to be taken from the block. And notwithstanding Mr Philpot pleaded his being a long time in prison, and his consequent poverty, and that he would willingly sell his gown off his back for twenty shillings, ("for, said he, the bishop told me, I should "soon be dispatched") the keeper demanded four pounds; and because Mr Philpot had it not to give him, he ordered

dered his man to take him on his back, and carry him into *limbo*.

When notice was given him, the night before he suffered, that he was to be burnt the next day, he said,—"I am ready; God give me strength, and a joyful re-"surrection." He then poured out his spirit in prayer to the Lord, giving him hearty thanks for accounting him worthy to suffer for his truth. As he was going into Smithfield, the way being very dirty, two officers took him up, in order to bear him through the dirt; on which he merrily said—"What! will you make a pope of me?" When he was come into Smithfield, he kneeled down and said, "I will pay my vows in thee, O Smithfield!" Being come to the stake, he kissed it, and said; "Shall "I disdain to suffer at this stake, when my Lord and "Saviour refused not to suffer a most vile death upon "the cross for me." When he was bound to the stake, he repeated the hundred and sixth, seventh, and eighth Psalms, and prayed most fervently; till at length in the midst of the flames, with great meekness and comfort, he gave up his spirit to God.

THOMAS CRANMER, D. D.

The first PROTESTANT ARCHBISHOP of Canterbury.

THIS great and good man was the son of Thomas Cranmer, Esq; a gentleman of an ancient and wealthy family, which came in with the conqueror; and was born at Aslacton, in Nottinghamshire, July 2. 1498. His father died when he was very young: And his mother, when he was fourteen years old, sent him to Cambridge. He was elected fellow of Jesus-College; where he was so well beloved, that when his fellowship was vacant by marriage, yet his wife dying about a year after, the master and fellows chose him again. This favour he so gratefully acknowledged, that when he was nominated to a fellowship in cardinal Wolsey's new foundation at Oxford, though the salary was much more considerable, and the way to preferment more ready by the favour of the cardinal, he nevertheless declined it, and chose rather to continue with his



From an Original Painting in the British Museum.



his old fellow-collegians, who had given him so singular a proof of their affection.

In the year 1523, he commenced doctor of divinity, being then in the thirty-fourth year of his age; and being in great esteem for theological learning, he was chosen reader of the divinity-lecture in his own college, and appointed by the university to be one of the examiners of those, who took their degrees in divinity. These candidates he examined chiefly out of the scriptures; and finding many of them grossly ignorant thereof, having thrown away their time on the dark perplexities and useless questions of the schoolmen, he rejected them as insufficient; advising them to apply themselves closely to the study of the holy scriptures, before they came for their degrees; it being shameful for a professer of divinity to be unskilled in that book, wherein the knowledge of God, and the grounds of divinity lay. And though some hated him for this, yet the more ingenuous publicly returned him thanks, for having been the means of their great improvement in the sound knowledge of religion.

During his residence at Cambridge, the question arose concerning king Henry's divorce; and the plague breaking out in the university about that time, he retired to Waltham-Abbey: Where casually meeting with Gardiner and Fox, the one the king's secretary, the other his almoner; and discoursing with them about the divorce, he greatly commended the expedient suggested to the king by cardinal Wolsey, of consulting the divines of our own and the foreign universities; which he thought would bring the matter to a short issue, and be the safest and surest method of giving the king's troubled conscience a well-grounded satisfaction. This conversation Fox and Gardiner related to the king; who was so much pleased with it, that he said, 'Cranmer had got the sow by the right 'ear,' and immediately sent for him to court; and admiring his gravity, modesty and learning, resolved to cherish and promote him. Accordingly he made him his chaplain, and gave him a good benefice: He was also nominated by him to be archdeacon of Taunton. At the king's command he drew up his own judgment of the case in writing; and so solidly defended it in the public school at Cambridge, that he brought over many of the contrary part to his opinion; particularly five of those six doctors, who had before given in their judgment to the king, for the lawfulness of the pope's dispensation with marrying the brother's wife.

In

In a matter of so great importance, it may not be improper to give an abstract of those arguments, on which they, who with doctor Cranmer, favoured the divorce, grounded their judgment. These were taken partly from scripture; partly from fathers, councils, and schoolmen.

From scripture they argued, 'That the prohibited degrees in Leviticus were not only obligatory to the Jewish nation, but moral precepts and the primitive laws of marriage; as appeared from the judgments denounced against the Canaanites for the violation of them, and their being said to have polluted the land thereby; which cannot be accounted for, if these were only positive Jewish constitutions: That among those prohibited degrees, the marriage with the brother's wife was one; Lev. xviii. 16. and 20, 21. And that the breach of these precepts was called an unclean thing, wickedness and an abomination: That the dispensation in Deuteronomy, of marrying with the brother's wife, only shewed that the foundation of the law was not in its own nature immutable, but might be dispensed with by immediate divine revelation; but that it did not follow, that the pope by his ordinary authority could dispense with it; And to pretend the sense of the precept to be only a prohibition of having the father's wife in his lifetime, was a poor low cavil, it being universally unlawful to have any man's wife whatever, while he was yet living.

'The constant tradition of the church was clear against the lawfulness of the marriage. Origen on Lev. xx. St Chrysostom on Matth. xxii. and St Basil in his epistle to Diodorus, expressly assert these precepts to be obligatory under the gospel; and in the Latin church, St Ambrose, Jerom, and Austin, were of the same opinion. And Tertullian, who lived within an age after the apostles, in his fourth book against Marcion, affirms, that the law of not marrying the brother's wife does still oblige Christians. Pope Gregory the Great had given the same determination, in answer to Austin, the first archbishop of Canterbury; and directed him to advise all, who had married their brother's wife to look on the marriage as a most grievous sin, and to separate from her society. Other popes had declared themselves of the same judgment; and particularly *Innocent* the Third had wrote with great vehemence against such marriages.'

To these were added many testimonies from the writers of later ages, and the schoolmen and canonists; but the judgment of the purest antiquity being so full and express,

press, we shall pass them over, as less material; only observing, that on the contrary side none could be produced, before Wickliffe and Cajetan, who looked on these prohibitions as only branches of the judicial law of the Jews.

'The second canon of the council of Neo cæsarea decrees, that if a woman were married to two brothers, she should be excommunicated till death; and that the man, who married his brother's wife should be anathematized: Which was confirmed in a council held by pope Gregory the Second. The fifty-first canon of the council at Agde reckons the marriage with his brother's wife among incestuous marriages; and decrees, that all such marriages are null, and the parties so contracting to be excomunicated till they separate from each other. And the contrary doctrine and error of Wickliffe had been condemned, not only in convocation at London and Oxon, but in the general council of *Constance*.'

And because some endeavours were used to evade all this by a pretence, that the marriage with prince Arthur was never consummated; it was farther alledged, 'that consummation was not necessary to make a marriage complete, as might be inferred from Deut. xxii. 24. where the woman, who was only espoused to a man, if she admitted another to her bed, is commanded to be stoned as an adulteress; and the man is said to have humbled his neighbour's wife: And though Joseph had never consummated the marriage with the blessed virgin, yet it appears from Matt. i. 19. that he could not put her away, without a solemn bill of divorce.'

But, in this case, there was not the least ground to imagine, that the marriage had not been consummated. The marriage-bed was solemnly blessed when they were put into it; they were seen publicly in bed together, for several days after. The Spanish ambassador had, by his master's order, taken proofs of the consummation of the marriage, and sent them into Spain: And the young prince, who was then sixteen, had by many expressions given his servants cause to believe, that it was consummated the first night. Nay it was thought, that his too early marriage hastened his death, he having been strong, vigorous, and healthy before it; but afterwards declined apace, which was attributed to his being too uxorious. After his death, his brother was not created prince of Wales, till ten months were elapsed, that they might be certain that the princess was not with child, before they conferred that honour upon him. She herself never said any thing then to the contrary; and in the petition offered

to

to the pope in her name, as repeated in his bull, it is said, that the marriage was perhaps consummated: Nay farther, in the pope's brief, it is plainly confessed, that the marriage was fully consummated.

In the year 1530, doctor Cranmer was sent by the king to dispute on this subject at Paris, Rome, and in other foreign parts. At Rome he delivered his book to the pope, and offered to justify it in a public disputation: But after sundry promises and appointments, none appeared to oppose him publicly; and in more private conferences he forced them to confess, that the marriage was contrary to the law of God. The pope constituted him pœnitentiary general of England, and dismissed him. In Germany, he gave full satisfaction to many learned men, who were before of a contrary persuasion; and prevailed on the famous Osiander, to declare the king's marriage unlawful, in his treatise of incestuous marriages, and to draw up a form of direction, how the king's process should be managed; which was sent over to England. Before he left Germany, he was married to Osiander's niece; whom, when he returned from his embassy, he did not take over with him, but sent for her privately in 1534.

In August, 1534, archbishop Warham departed this life and the king, thinking Dr Cranmer the most proper person to succeed him in the see of Canterbury, wrote to him to hasten home, concealing the reason: But Cranmer guessing at it, and desirous to decline the station, moved slowly on; in hopes that the see might be filled, before his arrival. But all this backwardness, and the excuses which his great modesty and humility prompted him to make, when after his return the king opened his resolution to him, served only to raise the king's opinion of his merit; so that at last he found himself obliged to submit, and undertake the weighty charge. 'This declining of preferment (says bishop Burnet) being a 'thing of which the clergy of that age were so little 'guilty, discovered, that he had maxims very far different from most church-men.'

The pope, notwithstanding Cranmer was a man very unacceptable to Rome, dispatched eleven bulls to complete his character. By the first, which is directed to the king, he is, on his nomination, promoted to the see of Canterbury; by the second, directed to himself, notice is given him of this promotion; the third absolves him from all censures; the fourth was sent to the suffragans; the fifth to the dean and chapter; the sixth to the clergy of Canterbury; the seventh to all the laity; the eighth

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to all that held lands of the see, requiring them to acknowledge him as archbishop; by the ninth his consecration is ordered, upon taking the oath in the pontifical; by the tenth the pall was sent him; and by the eleventh, the archbishop of York, and bishop of London, were ordered to put it on. These bulls, the archbishop according to custom received; but immediately surrendered them to the king, because he would not acknowledge the pope's power of conferring ecclesiastical dignities in England, which he esteemed the king's sole right.

He was then consecrated on March 30, 1533, by John Longland, bishop of Lincoln, John Voicy, bishop of Exeter, and Henry Standish, bishop of St Asaph: And because in the oath of fidelity to the pope, which he was obliged to take before his consecration, there were some things seemingly inconsistent with his allegiance to the king; he made a public protestation, that he intended not to take the oath in any other sense than that which was reconcilable to the laws of God, the king's just prerogative, and the statutes of this kingdom; so as not to bind himself thereby, to act contrary to any of these. This protestation he renewed, when he was to take another oath to the pope, at his receiving the pall; and both times desired the protonotary to make a public instrument of his protestation, and the persons present to sign it.

The first service the archbishop did for the king, was pronouncing the sentence of his divorce from queen Catharine, which was done May 23. Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, and the bishops of London, Bath, and Lincoln, being in commission with him. The queen, after three citations, neither appearing in person, nor by proxy, was declared contumax; the depositions, relating to the consummation of the marriage with prince Arthur, were read, together with the conclusions of the provinces of Canterbury and York, and the opinions of the most noted canonists and divines in favour of the divorce: And the archbishop, with the unanimous consent of the rest of the commissioners, pronounced the marriage between the king and queen Catherine null, and of no force, from the beginning; and declared them separated and divorced from each other, and at liberty to engage with whom they pleased. In this affair the archbishop proceeded, only upon what had been already concluded by the universities, convocations, &c. and did no more than put their decisions into a form of law. On the twenty-eighth of May he held another court at Lambeth, in which he confirmed the king's marriage with Anne Boleyn.

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The pope, alarmed at these proceedings, by a public instrument, declared the divorce null and void, and threatened to excommunicate the archbishop, unless he would revoke all that he had done: Whereupon the archbishop appealed from the pope to the next general council, lawfully called; and sent the appeal under his seal to Bonner, desiring him and Gardiner to acquaint the pope with it, in such a manner, as they thought most expedient.

On the seventh of September, the new queen was delivered of a daughter, who was baptized the Wednesday following, and named Elizabeth; Archbishop Cranmer standing godfather.

When the supremacy came under debate, and the usurped power of the bishop of Rome was called in question, the archbishop answered all the arguments brought in defence of the papal tyranny, with such strength and perspicuity, and so solidly confuted its advocates from the word of God, and the universal consent of the primitive church; that the foreign power was, without scruple, abolished by full consent in parliament and convocation. The destruction of this usurped jurisdiction Cranmer had prayed for many years, as himself declared in a sermon at Canterbury; because it was the occasion of many things being done contrary to the honour of God, and the good of this realm; and he perceived no hopes of amendment while it continued. This he now saw happily effected; and soon after, he ordered an alteration to be made in the archiepiscopal titles, instead of *Apostolicæ sedis legatus*, styling himself *Metropolitanus*.

The king, whose supremacy was now almost as universally acknowledged, as the pope's had been before, looked on the monasteries with a jealous eye; these he thought were by their privileges of exemption engaged to the see of Rome, and would prove a body of reserve for the pope, always ready to appear in the quarrel, and to support his claim. This, it is probable, was the chief motive which inclined the king to think of dissolving them: And Cranmer, being consulted on this head, approved of the resoulution. He saw how inconsistent those foundations were with the Reformation of religion, which he then had in view; and proposed, that out of the the revenues of the monasteries, the king should found more bishoprics; that the dioceses being reduced into less compass, the bishops might the better discharge their duty according to scripture and private practice. He hoped also, that from these ruins there would be new foundations erected in every

every cathedral, to be nurseries of learning, under the inspection of the bishop, for the use and benefit of the whole diocese. But these noble designs were unhappily defeated, by the sinister arts of some avaricious courtiers, who, without fear of the divine vengeance, or regard to the good of the public, studied only how sacrilegiously to raise their own fortunes out of the church's spoils.

When queen Anne Boleyn was sent to the Tower, on a sudden jealousy of the king, the archbishop was greatly concerned for her misfortune, and did his utmost endeavour to assist her in her distress. He wrote a consolatory letter to the king, in which, after having recommended to him an equality of temper, and resignation to Providence, he put him in mind of the great obligations he had received from the queen, and endeavoured to dispose the king to clemency and a good humour. Finally, he most humbly implored him, that, however unfortunate the issue of this affair might prove, he would still continue his love to the gospel; lest it should be thought, that it was for her sake only, that he had favoured it. But neither this letter of the archbishop, nor another very moving one wrote with her own hand, made the least impression upon the king: For her ruin was decreed, and (after Cranmer had declared her marriage with the king null and void, upon her confession of a præ-contract with the earl of Northumberland) she was tried in the Tower, and executed on the nineteenth of May, 1536.

In 1537, the archbishop, with the joint authority of the bishops, set forth the famous book, entitled, "The "Erudition of a Christian-man." This book was composed in convocation; and drawn up for a direction to the bishops and clergy. It contains an explication of the creed, the Lord's prayer, the ave-maria, justification, and purgatory. This was a great step towards the future Reformation; for in this book the universal pastorship of the bishop of Rome is declared to have no foundation in the word of God; the church of England is asserted to be as truly and properly a catholic and apostolic church, as that of Rome, or any other church where the apostles personally resided; and all churches are affirmed to be equal in power and dignity, built upon the same foundation, governed by the same Spirit, and on as good grounds expecting the same glorious immortality.——In the article of the sacrament of the altar, though the corporal presence is asserted, yet it is only said, that the sacrament is to be used with "all due reverence and honour," without any mention of the adoration of the elements.

The superstitious notions of the people concerning the ceremonies and injunctions of the church, in thinking them of stricter obligation than moral duties, are censured. In the exposition of the second commandment, bowing down to, or worshipping of images, is expressly condemned. The invocation of saints is restrained to begging their intercession for us; and health of body and mind, remission of sin, grace and future happiness, are said to be above the disposal of created beings; and blessings, for the obtaining which, we must apply only to God Almighty. The clergy are forbid to pretend to temporal jurisdiction, independent on the civil magistrate; passive obedience is asserted without restriction; and all resistance, on what pretence soever, condemned. The people are cautioned against mistaking the *ave-maria* for a prayer, which is only an hymn of praise. Justification is attributed to the merits and satisfaction of *Jesus Christ* ALONE, exclusive of the merit of good works: And the pope's pardon, masses at *Scala Cœli*, or before any celebrated images, are declared unprofitable to deliver souls out of the middle state of punishment; concerning the nature and degrees of which it is affirmed, that we have no certainty from revelation. —All this was doing something towards a more perfect Reformation, when Providence should afford both time and opportunity.

Archbishop Cranmer, from the day of his promotion to the see of Canterbury, had continually employed his thoughts on getting the scriptures translated into English: He had often solicited his majesty about it, and, at length, obtained a grant that they might be translated and printed. For want of good paper in England, the copy was sent to Paris; and by Bonner's means a licence was procured for printing it there. As soon as some of the copies came to the archbishop's hands, he sent one to the lord Cromwell, desiring him to present it in his name to the king, importuning him to intercede with his majesty, that by his authority all his subjects might have the liberty of using it without constraint; which lord Cromwell accordingly did, and the king readily assented. Injunctions were forthwith published, requiring an English bible of the largest size to be procured for the use of every parish church, at the expence of the minister and church wardens; and prohibited all discouraging the people from reading or hearing the scriptures. The book was received with an inexpressible joy; every one, that was able, purchased the same; and the poor greedily flocked to hear it read. Some persons in years learned to read on purpose that

that they might peruse it; and even little children crowded with eagerness to hear it.

The archbishop was not yet convinced of the falseness of the absurd doctrine of transubstantiation, but continued a stiff maintainer of the corporal presence; as appears from his being unhappily concerned in the prosecution of Lambert, who was burnt, November the 20th, 1538, for denying transubstantiation.

In 1539, the archbishop and the other bishops who favoured a Reformation, fell under the king's displeasure; because they could not be persuaded, to give their assent in parliament, that the king should have all the revenues of the monasteries which were suppressed to his own sole use. They had been prevailed upon to consent, that he should have all the lands which his ancestors gave to any of them; but the residue they would have bestowed on hospitals, schools, and other pious and charitable foundations. In particular, Cranmer had projected, that a provision should be made, out of this fund, in every cathedral, for readers of divinity, and of Greek and Hebrew, and so to render them, instead of stalls of laziness, seminaries of learning. Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, and the rest of the popish faction, took this opportunity to insinuate themselves, by their hypocrisy and flattery, into the king's favour, and to incense him against the archbishop. This is thought to have been the cause of the king's zeal, in pressing the bill containing the six bloody articles; by which none were allowed to speak against transubstantiation, on pain of being burnt as heretics, and forfeiting their goods and chattels, as in case of treason: It was also thereby made felony, and forfeiture of lands and goods, to defend the communion in both kinds, or marriage of the clergy, or those who had vowed celibacy, or to speak against private masses and auricular confession.

The archbishop argued boldly in the house against the six articles, three days together; and that so strenuously, that though the king was obstinate in passing the act, yet he desired a copy of his reasons against it; and shewed no resentment towards him for his opposition to it. The king would have persuaded him to withdraw out of the house, since he could not vote for the bill; but, after a decent excuse, he told his majesty, that he thought himself obliged in conscience, to stay and shew his dissent. When the bill passed, he entered his protest against it; and soon after he sent his wife away privately to her friends in Germany. The king, who loved him for his probity

and courage, sent the dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk, and the lord Cromwell, to acquaint him with the esteem he had for him, and to assure him of his favour, notwithstanding the passing of the act. Bishop Burnet says, upon this matter, 'that Cranmer put his reasons against the six 'articles together, and gave them to his secretary to be 'written out in a fair hand for the king's use: But the 'secretary crossing the Thames with the book in his bo-'som, met with such an adventure on the water, as might 'at another time have sent the author to the fire. There 'was a bear baited near the river, which breaking loose, 'ran into it, and happened to overturn the boat in which 'Cranmer's secretary was; and he, being in danger of 'his life, took no care of the book, which falling from 'him floated on the river, and was taken up by the bear-'keeper, who put it into the hand of a priest that stood 'by, to see what it might contain. The priest presently 'found it was a confutation of the six articles, and so 'told the bear-keeper, that the author of it would cer-'tainly be hanged. So when the secretary came to ask 'for it, and said it was the archbishop's book; the other, 'being an obstinate papist, refused to give it, and reckoned 'that now Cranmer would certainly be ruined. But the 'secretary acquainted lord Cromwell with it, who called 'for the priest, and severely chid him for presuming to 'keep a privy counsellor's book; and so he took it out 'of his hands. Thus the archbishop was delivered out 'of his danger.'

In 1540, the king issued out a commission to the archbishop, and a select number of bishops, to inspect into matters of religion, and explain some of the chief doctrines of it. The bishops drew up a set of articles favouring the old popish superstitions; and, meeting at Lambeth, vehemently urged the archbishop, that they might be established, it being the king's will and pleasure. But, neither by fear nor flattery, could they prevail upon him to consent to it; no, though his friend the lord Cromwell lay then in the Tower, and himself was supposed to lose ground daily more and more in the king's affections. He went himself to the king, and expostulated with him, and so wrought upon him, that he joined with the archbishop against the rest of the commissioners; and the book of articles was drawn up and passed according to Cranmer's judgment.

In this year the largest volume of the English bible was published, with an excellent preface of the archbishop's prefixed to it; and the king required all parishes to provide

vide one of them by the next *All-hallowtide*, under the penalty of forty shillings a month, till they had got one. The people were also charged not to dispute about, nor to disturb divine service by reading it during the mass; but to read it humbly and reverently for their instruction. Six of these were set up in several parts of St Paul's; but Bonner, afraid of the effect, posted up near them an admonition, 'that none should read them with vain glory and 'corrupt affections, or draw multitudes about them when 'they read them.' But such was the eager desire of the people after this *new-old* treasure (if I might so speak) that great numbers gathered about those who read; and such as had good voices used to read them aloud, in succession, almost all day long. Many sent their children to school, and when they had learned to read, they carried them to church to read the bible. In short, the eyes of the people being opened, they began boldly to speak against these doctrines of the church of Rome, which either contradicted or could not be found in the Bible; insomuch that Bonner set up a new advertisement, threatening to take away the Bibles, if this use were made of them. And upon the complaints he and his brethren presented upon this subject, the free use of the scriptures was afterwards much restrained.

After the fall of the lord Cromwell, archbishop Cranmer, observing the restless spirit of his adversaries, and how they lay upon the watch for an opportunity to bring him into trouble; thought it prudent to retire for a season, and to live in as great privacy as the duties of his station would permit him. Notwithstanding which, his implacable enemy, bishop Gardiner, was daily contriving his ruin; and he having procured one Sir John Gostwicke to accuse the archbishop in parliament, of encouraging novel opinions, and making his family a nursery of heresy and sedition; divers lords of the privy council moved the king to commit the archbishop to the Tower, till enquiry should be made into the truth of this charge.

The king, who perceived that there was more malice than truth in these clamours against Cranmer, one evening, under pretence of diverting himself on the water, ordered his barge to be rowed to Lambeth side. The archbishop's servants acquainting their lord of his majesty's being so near, the archbishop came to the water-side, to pay his respects to the king, and to invite him into his palace. The king commanded the archbishop to come into the barge, and made him sit down close by him; having so done, the king began to complain to him, of the nation's being

being over-run with heresy and new notions of divinity, which he had reason to fear might be of dangerous consequence, and that the faction might in time break out into a civil war, and be the cause of much blood-shed, and the total ruin of many of his honest and peaceable subjects. To prevent which, his majesty told him, he was resolved to seek after the grand incendiary, and to take him off by some exemplary punishment: And then proceeded to ask the archbishop, what his opinion was of such a resolution. Though Cranmer soon smelt the meaning of that question, yet he freely, and without the least appearance of concern, replied, that his majesty's resolution was greatly to be commended; and that not only the prime incendiary, but also the rest of the factious heretics ought to be made public examples to the terror of others: But then he cautioned the king, not to charge those with heresy, who made the divinely-inspired scriptures the rule of their faith, and could prove their doctrines by clear testimonies from the word of God. Upon this, the king came closer, and plainly told him, he had been informed by many, that he was the grand heresiarch, who encouraged all this heterodoxy, and that his authority had occasioned the six articles to be contested so publicly in his province. The archbishop modestly replied, that he could not acknowledge himself to be of the same opinion, in respect of those articles, as he had declared himself of, when the bill was passing; but that notwithstanding he was not conscious to himself, of having offended against the act. Then the king, putting on an air of pleasantry, asked him, whether his bed-chamber would stand the test of those articles; the archbishop gravely and ingenuously confessed, that he was married in Germany during his embassy at the emperor's court, before his promotion to the see of Canterbury; but, at the same time, assured the king, that on the passing that act, he had parted with his wife, and sent her abroad to her friends. His answering thus, without evasion or reserve, so pleased the king, that he now pulled off the mask, and assured him of his favour; and then freely told him of the information preferred against him, and who they were that pretended to make it good. The archbishop said, that he was not afraid of the strictest scrutiny; and therefore was willing to submit himself to a legal trial. The king assured him, he would put the cause into his own hands, and trust him entirely with the management of it. This, the archbishop remonstrated, would be censured as partiality, and the king's justice called in question: But his majesty had so strong

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an opinion of Cranmer's integrity, that he was resolved to leave it to his conduct; and having farther assured him of the entire confidence he reposed in him, dismissed him.

The archbishop immediatley sent down his vicar-general, and principal register, to Canterbury, to make a thorough enquiry into the affair, and trace the progress of this plot against him. In the mean time his adversaries importunately pressed the king to send him to prison, and oblige him to answer to the charge of heresy. At length his majesty resigned so far to their solicitations, as to consent, that if the archbishop could fairly be proved guilty of any one crime against either church or state, he should be sent to prison: In this the king acted the politician, intending, by thus seemingly giving countenance to the prosecution, to discover who were Cranmer's chief adversaries, and what was the length of their design against him. At midnight he sent a gentleman of his privy-chamber to Lambeth, to fetch the archbishop; and, when he was come, told him, how he had been daily importuned to commit him to prison, as a favourer of heresy; and how far he had complied. The archbishop thanked his majesty for this timely notice, and declared himself willing to go to prison, and stand a trial; for being conscious that he was not guilty of any offence, he thought that the best way to clear his innocence, and remove all unreasonable and groundless suspicions.

The king, admiring his simplicity, told him, he was in the wrong to rely so much on his innocence; for if he were once under a cloud, and hurried to prison, there would be villains enough to swear any thing against him; but while he was at liberty, and his character entire, it would not be so easy to suborn witnesses against him. 'And therefore, continued he, since your own unguarded 'simplicity makes you less cautious than you ought to 'be, I will suggest to you the means of your preserva-'tion. To-morrow you will be sent for to the privy-'council, and ordered to prison; upon this you are to 'request, that since you have the honour to be one of the 'board, you may be admitted unto the council, and the 'informers against you brought face to face; and then, 'if you cannot clear yourself, you are willing to go to 'prison: If this reasonable request is denied you, appeal 'to me, and give them this sign, that you have my 'authority for so doing.' Then the king took a ring of great value off his finger, gave it to the archbishop, and dismissed him.

The next morning, the archbishop was summoned to the privy-council; and, when he came there, was denied admittance into the council-chamber. When Dr Butts, one of the king's physicians, heard of this, he came to the archbishop, who was waiting in the lobby amongst the footmen, to shew his respect, and to protect him from insults. The king soon after sending for the doctor, he acquainted his majesty with the shameful indignity put upon the archbishop. The king, incensed, that the PRIMATE OF ALL ENGLAND should be used in so contumelious a manner, immediately sent to command them to admit the archbishop into the council-chamber. At his entrance he was saluted with an heavy accusation, of having infected the whole realm with heresy; and commanded to the Tower, till the whole of this charge was thoroughly examined. The archbishop desired to see the informers against him, and to have the liberty of defending himself before the council, and not to be sent to prison on bare suspicion. But when this was absolutely denied him, and finding that neither arguments nor intreaties would prevail, he appealed to the king; and producing the ring he had given him, put a stop to their proceedings. When they came before the king, he severely reprimanded them, expatiated on his obligations to Cranmer for his fidelity and integrity, and charged them, if they had any affection for him, to express it, by their love and kindness to the archbishop. Cranmer, having escaped the snare, never shewed the least resentment for the injuries done him; and, from this time forwards, had so great a share in the king's favour, that nothing farther was attempted against him.

These troubles of the good archbishop are somewhat differently related by doctor Burnet and Mr Strype; but I rather chuse to follow archbishop Parker's account, who, living in those times, must be allowed to be a much better authority in things of this nature, than any who lived at so great a distance.

The archbishop's vicar-general and register, being found negligent and dilatory, the king sent doctor Lee privately to Canterbury, to examine into this conspiracy against the archbishop, and make his report of what he could discover. On a strict enquiry, he found letters from bishop Gardiner's secretary, by which it appeared, that that prelate had been the principal promoter of this prosecution against Cranmer. When the bishop of Winchester perceived, that his designs against the archbishop were detected, fearing the consequence, he wrote him a very penitent letter, in which

which he acknowledged himself to have been guilty of great folly in giving credit to those slanderous reports, which were raised against the archbishop, as if he had been a favourer of heresy and false doctrines; declaring, that he was now entirely satisfied, that these accusations were wholly false and groundless; asking pardon in most submissive and affectionate terms, for his great rashness and undutifulness, and promising all future obedience and fidelity to the archbishop, whom he stiled his good and gentle father. On the reception of this letter, the archbishop, laying aside all resentment against him, resolved to forget what was past; and said, since Gardiner called him father, he would prove a father to him indeed: And when the king would have laid the bishop of Winchester's letter before the house of lords, Cranmer prevailed with him, not to give the bishop any trouble about it, but to let the matter drop.

The same lenity he shewed towards doctor Thornton, the suffragan of Dover, and doctor Barbar; who, though entertained in his family, and entrusted with his secrets, and indebted to him for many favours, had ungratefully conspired, with Gardiner, to take away his life. When he first discovered their treachery, he took them aside into his study, and telling them that he had been basely and falsely abused by some, in whom he had always reposed the greatest confidence, desired them to advise him, how he should behave himself towards them. They, not suspecting to be concerned in the question, replied, that such vile abandoned villains ought to be prosecuted with the utmost rigour; nay, deserved to die without mercy. At this the archbishop, lifting up his hands to heaven, cried out, "Merciful God, whom may a man trust!" And then pulling out of his bosom the letters, by which he had discovered their treachery, asked them if they knew those papers. When they saw their own letters produced against them, they were in the utmost confusion, and, falling down on their knees, humbly sued for forgiveness. The archbishop told them, that he forgave them, and would pray for them; but that they must not expect him ever to trust them for the future.

And now I am upon this subject of the archbishop's readiness to forgive and forget injuries, I cannot but take notice of a pleasant story which happened some time before this: The archbishop's first wife, whom he married at Cambridge, lived at the Dolphin-inn; and he often resorting thither on that account, the popish party had raised a story, that he was hostler of that inn, and never had the benefit

benefit of a learned education. This idle story a Yorkshire priest had with great confidence asserted, in an ale-house, which he used to frequent; railing at the archbishop, and saying, that he had no more learning than a goose. Some of the parish, who had a respect for Cranmer's character, informed the lord Cromwell of this, who immediately sent for the priest, and committed him to the Fleet prison. When he had been there nine or ten weeks, he sent a relation of his to the archbishop, to beg his pardon, and humbly sue to him for a discharge. The archbishop instantly sent for him, and, after a gentle reproof, asked the priest whether he knew him; to which he answered, no. The archbishop expostulated with him; why he should then make so free with his character. The priest excused himself by his being in drink: But this, Cranmer told him was a double fault; and then let him know that if he had a mind to try what a scholar he was, he should have liberty to oppose him in whatever science he pleased. The priest humbly asked his pardon, and confessed himself to be very ignorant, and to understand nothing but his mother tongue. "No doubt then, (said Cranmer) you are "well versed in the English bible, and can answer any "questions out of that: Pray tell me who was David's "father?" The priest stood still a while to consider; but "at last told the archbishop, he could not recollect his name. "Tell me then (says Cranmer) who was Solomon's father?" The poor priest replied, that he had no skill in genealogies, and could not tell. Then the archbishop advised him to frequent ale-houses less, and his study more; and admonished him, not to accuse others for want of learning, till he was master of some himself; discharged him out of custody, and sent him home to his cure.

Thus much may suffice concerning the clemency and charitable forgiving temper of the archbishop. He was much blamed by many for his too great lenity; which, it was thought, encouraged the popish faction to make fresh attempts against him. The king, observing their implacable hatred towards him, and the perils to which he was exposed, on account of the zeal for the Reformation of those abuses under which the church groaned, changed his coat of arms, from the three cranes, to three pelicans; thereby intimating to him, that he must, like the pelican, shed his blood, for his spiritual children's benefit, if it should please God to call him thereto.

And now the archbishop, finding the juncture somewhat favourable, argued against the sanguinary act of the six articles, in the parliament house, and pressed for a mitigation of

of its severity; and made such an impression on the king, and the temporal lords by his strong and persuasive reasoning, that they agreed to moderate the rigour of the statute.

Soon after, the king prepared for an expedition against France, and ordering a litany to be said for a blessing on his arms, the archbishop prevailed with him to let it be set forth in English; the service in an unknown tongue making the people negligent in coming to church. This, with the prohibition of some superstitious and unwarrantable customs, touching vigils and the worship of the cross, was all the progress the Reformation made, during the reign of king Henry: For the intended Reformation of the canon law, was, by the craft of bishop Gardiner, suppressed for reasons of state; and the king, towards the latter end of his life, seemed to have a strong bias towards the popish superstitions, and to frown on all attempts of a Reformation.

On the 28th of January, 1546, king Henry departed this life; and was succeeded by his son Edward, who was godson to the archbishop, and had been instructed by men who favoured the Reformation. Archbishop Cranmer was one of those, whom the late king had nominated for his executors, and who were to take the administration of the government into their hands, till king Edward was eighteen years old: And when the earl of Hertford was afterwards chosen protector, his power was limited, so as not to be able to do any thing, without the advice and consent of all the other executors.

The bishops of the popish party (says bishop Burnet) took strange methods to insinuate themselves into the late king's confidence; for they took out commissions, by which they acknowledged, that 'all jurisdiction, civil and ecclesiastical, flowed from the king, and that they exercised 'it only at the king's courtesy, and would resign it at his 'command.' That archbishop Cranmer adopted this error, is plain, not only from his answers to some questions relating to the government of the church, first published by doctor Stillingfleet, in his Irenicum, but from the commission, which he now took out from the new king; whom he petitioned for a revival of his jurisdiction; and that as he had exercised the functions of an archbishop during the former reigns, so that authority determining with the late king's life, his present majesty would trust him with the same jurisdiction. On this error of the archbishop, the modern papists make tragical outcries, forgetting, that it was the common mistake of those times; and that Bonner not only took out the same commission now, but had before taken out that other in the reign of king Henry, in which

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(as we have observed) the king was declared the fountain of all authority, civil and ecclesiastical; and those, who formerly exercised ecclesiastical jurisdiction, are said to have done it precariously, and at the courtesy of the king, and that it was lawful for him to revoke it at pleasure: And therefore, since the lord Cromwell, the king's vicar-general in ecclesiastical affairs, was so far employed in matters of state, as not to be at leisure to discharge his function every where, the king gave Bonner authority to exercise episcopal jurisdiction in the diocese of London.

This seems to have been the precedent, after which the new commissions were now formed. Mr Strype, indeed, confidently affirms the archbishop to have had a hand in drawing them up; but the very words, which he quotes to prove it, are manifestly taken from the preamble to Bonner's commission. But from these unprimitive and uncatholic notions, our archbishop was happily recovered by that bright luminary of our reformed church, bishop Ridley.

The late king, who died in the Roman communion, (though his imperfections are so freely charged on the Reformation by the papists) had, in his will, left six hundred pounds per annum, for masses for his soul, with provision for four solemn obits every year; but, by the influence of the archbishop, this superstitious part of his will, notwithstanding his strict and solemn charge for its execution, was neglected.

On the 20th of February, the coronation of king Edward was solemnized at Westminster Abbey. The ceremony was performed by archbishop Cranmer, who made an excellent speech to the king; in which, after a censure of the papal encroachments on princes, and a declaration, that the solemn ceremonies of a coronation add nothing to the authority of a prince, whose power is derived immediately from God; he goes on to inform the king of his duty, exhorts him to follow the precedent of good Josias, to regulate the worship of God, to suppress idolatry, reward virtue, execute justice, relieve the poor, repress violence, and punish the evil doer. It may not be improper, to transcribe what he says concerning the divine original of kingly power, in his own words; to rectify some prevailing notions amongst us. "The solemn rites of corona-
"tion (says he) have their ends and utility, yet neither
"direct force or necessity; they be good admonitions to
"put kings in mind of their duty to God, but no increase-
"ment of their dignity: For they be God's anointed, not
"in respect of the oil, which the bishop useth, but in
"consideration of their power which is ordained, of the
"sword

" sword which is authorized, of their persons which are " elected of God; and indued with the gifts of his Spirit, " for the better ruling and guiding of the people. The " oil, if added, is but a ceremony; if it be wanting, the " king is yet a perfect monarch notwithstanding, and " God's anointed, as well as if he was inoiled." Then follows his account of the king's duty; after which he goes on, " Being bound by my function, to lay these " things before your royal highness; yet I openly declare, " before the living God, and before the nobles of the land, " that I have no commission to denounce your majesty " deprived, if your highness miss in part, or in whole, of " these performances."

This speech had so good an effect on the young king, that a royal visitation was resolved on, to rectify the disorders of the church, and reform religion. The visitors had six circuits assigned them; and every division had a preacher, whose business it was, to bring off the people from superstition, and dispose them for the intended alterations. And to make the impressions of their doctrine more lasting, the archbishop thought it highly expedient to have some homilies composed; which should, in a plain method, teach the grounds and foundation of true religion, and correct the prevailing errors, and superstitions. On this head he consulted the bishop of Winchester, and desired his concurrence; but to no purpose: For Gardiner, forgetting his large professions of all future obedience to the archbishop, was turned with the dog to his vomit, and wrote to the protector, to put a stop to the Reformation in its birth. When Cranmer perceived that Gardiner was obstinate, he went on without him, and set forth the first book of homilies, in which himself had the chief hand. Soon after, Erasmus's Paraphrase on the New Testament was translated, and placed in every church, for the instruction of the people.

On November 5, 1547, a convocation was held at St Paul's, which the archbishop opened with a speech; in which he put the clergy in mind of applying themselves to the study of the holy scriptures, and proceeding according to that rule, in the throwing off the corrupt innovations of popery. But the terror of the six articles being a check on the majority, they acquainted the archbishop with their fears; who, reporting it to the council, prevailed to have that act repealed. In this convocation, the communion was ordered to be administered in both kinds, and the lawfulness of the marriage of the clergy affirmed by a great majority.

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In the latter end of January, the archbishop wrote to Bonner, to forbid, throughout his diocese, the ridiculous processions, which were usual in the popish times, on Candlemas-Day, Ash-Wednesday and Palm-Sunday; and to cause notice thereof to be given to the other neighbouring bishops, that they might do the same. He was also one of the committee appointed to inspect the offices of the church, and to reform them according to scripture and the purest antiquity: And by them a new office for the holy communion was drawn up, and set forth by authority.

This year was also published the archbishop's catechism, entitled, "A short instruction in Christian religion, for "the singular profit of children and young people," and a Latin treatise of his, against unwritten verities. From this catechism, it is plain, that he had now recovered himself from those extravagant notions of the regal supremacy, which he had once run into; for here he strenuously asserts the divine commission of bishops and priests, enlarges on the efficacy of their absolution and spiritual censures, and earnestly wishes for the restoring the primitive penitentiary discipline.

In 1550, the archbishop published his "Defence of "the true and catholic doctrine of the sacrament of the "body and blood of our Saviour Christ." He had now, by the advice and assistance of bishop Ridley, overcome those strong prejudices he had so long laboured under, in favour of the corporal presence; and in this treatise, from scripture and reason, excellently confuted it. The popish party were alarmed at the publication of it; and soon after two answers to it were published, the one written by Dr Smith, the other by Gardiner. The archbishop defended his book against them both; and was allowed, by all impartial readers, vastly to have the superiority in the argument. The archbishop's book was afterwards translated into Latin, by sir John Cheke, and was highly esteemed by all learned foreigners for the great knowledge in scripture and ecclesiastical antiquity therein discovered.

The next material occurrence relating to the archbishop, was the publication of the forty-two articles of religion; which, with the assistance of bishop Ridley, he drew up for preserving and maintaining the purity and unity of the church. They were also revised by several other bishops and learned divines; and, after their corrections, farther enlarged and improved by Cranmer. These articles were agreed to in convocation in 1552, and in 1553 were published by royal authority, both in Latin and English.

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The archbishop had formed a design, in the reign of the late king Henry, to review and purge the old canon law from its popish corruptions, and had made some progress in the work: But by the secret artifices of Gardiner and others, that king was prevailed upon not to countenance or encourage it. In this reign he resumed his design, and procured a commission from the king, for himself, with other learned divines and lawyers, diligently to examine into the old church-laws; and to compile such a body of laws as they thought most expedient to be practised in the ecclesiastical courts, and most conducive to order and good discipline. The archbishop prosecuted this noble undertaking with great vigour, and had the principal hand in it: But when a correct and complete draught of it was finished and prepared for the royal assent, the unhappy death of the good young king blasted this great design, and prevented its confirmation. The book was published by archbishop Parker, in the year 1571, entitled, *Reformatio legum ecclesiasticarum.*

King Edward was now far gone in a consumption, not without some strong suspicions of being brought into that condition by slow poison; and, finding himself decay apace, began to think of settling the succession. He had been persuaded by the artifices of the duke of Northumberland, to exclude his sisters, and to bequeath the crown to the lady Jane Grey, who was married to Northumberland's son. This, the duke pretended, was absolutely necessary for the preservation of the reformed religion, which would be in great danger from the succession of the Princess Mary. —But, in fact, he had nothing at heart but the aggrandizing his own family, and intailing the crown on his posterity; for he was even then a papist, as he afterwards confessed at his execution. The archbishop did his utmost to oppose his alteration of the succession: He argued against it with the king, telling him, that religion wanted not to be defended by such unrighteous methods; that it was one of the gross errors of the papists, to justify the excluding or deposing princes from their just rights, on account of religion; and, let the consequence be what it would, justice ought to take place, and the protection of the church committed to the care of that righteous providence, which was never known to give a blessing to those, who endeavoured to preserve themselves from any imminent danger by unlawful means. But his majesty, being over-persuaded by Northumberland's agents, was not to be moved from his resolution: The will was made, and subscribed by the council and the judges. The archbishop

bishop was sent for, last of all, and required to subscribe: But he plainly told them he could not do it without perjury, having sworn to the entail of the crown on the two princesses, Mary and Elizabeth. To this the king replied, that the judges, who best knew the constitution, should be most regarded in this point; and they had informed him, that, notwithstanding that entail, he might lawfully bequeath the crown to the lady Jane. The archbishop desired to discourse with them himself about this matter; and they all agreeing, that he might lawfully subscribe the king's will, he was after many persuasions, prevailed upon to resign his own private scruples to their authority, and at last, not without great reluctancy, he set his hand to it.

On the sixth of July, in the year of our Lord 1553, it pleased Almighty God to take to himself this pious and good prince, king Edward; and the archbishop, having subscribed to the king's will, thought himself obliged, by virtue of his oath, to join the lady Jane. But her short-lived power soon expired, and queen Mary's title was universally acknowledged, and submitted to.

Not long after her accession, a false report was raised; that archbishop Cranmer, in order to make his court to the queen, had offered to restore the Latin service, and that he had already said mass in his cathedral church of Canterbury. To vindicate himself from this vile and base aspersion, the archbishop published a declaration; in which he not only cleared himself from that unjust imputation, but offered publicly to defend the English liturgy, and prove it consonant to scripture, and the purest antiquity; and challenged his enemies to a disputation. This declaration soon fell into the hands of the council, who sent a copy of it to the queen's commissioner's; and they immediately sent for the archbishop, and questioned him about it. Cranmer acknowledged it to be his; but complained that it had, contrary to his intent, stolen abroad in so imperfect a condition: For his design was to review and correct it, and then, after he had put his seal to it, to fix it up at St Paul's, and on all the church-doors in London. This bold and extraordinary answer so irritated them, that they sent him, within a week, to the Tower, there to be confined, till the queen's pleasure concerning him was known. Some of his friends, who foresaw this storm, had advised him to consult his safety, by retiring beyond sea; but he thought it would reflect a great dishonour on the cause he had espoused, if he should desert his station at such a time as this; and chose rather

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to hazard his life, than give such just cause of scandal and offence. The substance of this remarkable paper was as follows: That he found the devil was, more than ordinary, busy in defaming the servants of God; and that whereas the corruptions of the mass had been cast out, and that the Lord's Supper was again set up, according to its first institution; the devil now, to promote the mass, which was his invention, set his instruments on work, who gave it out, that it was now said in Canterbury by the archbishop's order: Therefore he protested, that it was false, and that a dissembling monk (meaning Thornton, suffragan bishop of Dover) had done it without his knowledge. He also offered, that he and Peter Martyr, with four or five more whom he would name, were ready to prove the errors of the mass, and to defend the doctrine and service set forth by the late king, as most conformable to the word of God, and to the practice of the ancient church of many ages.

In the middle of November, archbishop Cranmer was attainted by the parliament, (which in those times yielded to any thing, and to every thing) and adjudged guilty of high treason, at Guildhall. His see was hereupon declared void: And on the tenth of December the dean and chapter of Canterbury gave commissions to several persons to exercise archiepiscopal jurisdiction in their name, and by their authority. Archbishop Cranmer wrote a very submissive letter to the queen; in the most humble manner acknowledging his fault, in consenting to sign the king's will, acquainting her, what pressing instances he made to the king against it; and excusing his fault, by being over-ruled by the authority of the judges and lawyers, who, he thought, understood the constitution better than he did himself. The queen had pardoned so many already, who had been far more deeply engaged in the lady Jane's usurpation, that Cranmer could not for shame be denied; so he was forgiven the treason: But to gratify Gardiner's malice, and her own implacable hatred against him for her mother's divorce, orders were given to proceed against him for HERESY.

The Tower being full of prisoners, archbishop Cranmer, bishop Ridley, Latimer, and Bradford, were all put into one chamber; for which they blessed God, and for the opportunity of conversing together, reading and comparing the scriptures, confirming themselevs in the true faith, and mutually exhorting each other to constancy in professing it, and patience in suffering for it.

In April, 1544, the archbishop, with bishop Ridley, and bishop Latimer, was removed from the Tower to Windsor, and from thence to Oxford, to dispute with some select persons of both universities. At the first appearance of the archbishop in the public schools, three articles were given him to subscribe: In which the corporal presence, by transubstantiation, was asserted, and the mass affirmed to be a propitiatory sacrifice, for the sins of the living and dead. These, he declared freely, he esteemed gross untruths; and promised to give an answer concerning them in writing. Accordingly he drew it up; and when he was brought again to the schools to dispute, he delivered the writing to doctor Weston, the prolocutor. At eight in the morning the disputation began, and held till two in the afternoon; all which time the archbishop constantly maintained the truth, with great learning and courage, against a multitude of clamorous and insolent opponents. And three days after, he was again brought forth to oppose Dr Harpsfield, who was to respond for his degree in divinity: And here he acquitted himself so well, clearly shewing the gross absurdities, and inextricable difficulties of the doctrine of transubstantiation, that Weston himself, as great a bigot as he was, could not but dismiss him with commendation.

In these disputations, among other slanderous reproaches, the archbishop was accused for corrupting and falsifying a passage, which in his book of the sacrament he had quoted from St Hilary: In answer to which, he replied, that he had transcribed it *verbatim* from the printed book; and that Dr Smith, one of their own divines there present, had quoted it word for word also. But Smith made no reply, being conscious that it was true. When the disputation was over, one Mr Halcot, remembering that he had Smith's book, went directly to his chamber in University-College; and comparing it with Cranmer's, found the quotations exactly to agree. He afterwards looked into a book of Gardiner's, called, 'The devil's sophistry,' where the same passage was cited; and both the Latin and English agree exactly with Cranmer's quotation and translation. Upon this he resolved to carry the said books to the archbishop in prison, that he might produce them in his own vindication: When he came thither he was stopped, and brought before Dr Weston and his colleagues; who, upon information of his design, charged him with treason, and abetting Cranmer in his heresy; and committed him to prison. The next day he was again brought before them; and they threatened to send him to bishop Gardiner,

Gardiner, to be tried for treason, unless he would subscribe the three articles, concerning which the disputation had been held. This he then refused; but being sent for again, after the condemnation of Cranmer, through fear he consented to do it; yet not till they had assured him, that, if he sinned by so doing, they would take the guilt upon themselves, and answer for it to God. And yet even this subscription, of which he afterwards heartily repented, could not prevail for the restoring his books, lest he should shew them to their shame; nor for his entire discharge, the master of University-College being commanded to keep a strict watch over him, till Gardiner's pleasure concerning him was known; and if he heard nothing from him in a fortnight's time, then to expel him the college for his offence.

On the twentieth of April, Cranmer was brought to St Mary's, before the queen's commissioners; and refusing to subscribe, was pronounced an heretic, and sentence of condemnation was read against him as such. Upon which he told them that he appealed from their unjust sentence and judgment, to the judgment of the Almighty; and that he trusted to be received to his presence in heaven, for maintaining the truth of whose spiritual presence at the altar, he was there condemned. After this, his servants were dismissed from their attendance, and himself closely confined in prison.

The latter end of this year a popish convocation met; and did archbishop Cranmer the honour to order his book of the sacrament to be burnt, in company with the English bible and common-prayer-book. Cranmer, in the mean time, spent his melancholy hours in writing a vindication of his treatise concerning the eucharist, from the objections of Gardiner; who had published a book against it, under the feigned name of Marcus Antonius Constantius. Many learned men of the Romish persuasion came to visit him in prison, and endeavoured, by disputations and conferences, to draw him over to their church; but in vain.

In 1555, a new commission was sent from Rome, for the trial of archbishop Cranmer for heresy; the former sentence against him being void in law, because the authority of the pope was not then re-established. The commissioners were Dr Brooks, bishop of Gloucester, the pope's delegate; Dr Story, and Dr Martin, doctors of the civil law, the queen's commissioners. On September 12, they met at St Mary's church; and being seated at the high altar, commanded the archbishop to be brought before them. To the queen's commissioners, as representing the supreme

authority of the nation, he paid all due respect; but absolutely refused to shew any to the pope's delegate, lest he should seem to make the least acknowledgment of his usurped supremacy. Brooks, in a long oration, exhorted him to consider from whence he was fallen; advising him, in the most earnest and pathetic manner, to return to his holy mother, the Roman catholic church, and, by the example of his repentance, to reclaim those whom his past errors had misled.

In this oration, he betrayed great ignorance both of scripture and antiquity; of scripture, by affirming, that the Arians had more texts, by two and forty, to countenance their errors, than the catholics had for the maintenance of the truth; of antiquity, by making Origen write of Berengarius who lived near eight hundred years after him; and by confounding the great St Cyprian with another Cyprian of Antioch, laying the magical studies of the latter to the charge of the former.

When he had finished his harangue, Dr Martin, in a short speech, began to open the trial, acquainting the archbishop with the articles alledged against him, and requiring his answer. The articles contained a charge of perjury, incontinence, and heresy; the first, on account of his opposition to the papal tyranny; the second, in respect to his marriage; and the last, on account of the Reformation in the late reign, in which he had the chief hand. The archbishop having liberty to speak, after he had repeated the Lord's prayer and the creed, began with a justification of his conduct, in relation to his renouncing the pope's supremacy; the admission of which, he proved by many instances, to be contrary to the natural allegiance of the subject, the fundamental laws of the realm, and the original constitution of the Christian church: And in the close, he boldly charged Brooks with perjury, for sitting there by the pope's authority, which he had solemnly abjured. Brooks endeavoured to vindicate himself, and retort the charge on the archbishop, by pretending, that he was seduced by Cranmer to take that oath: But this, the archbishop told him, was a gross untruth; the pope's supremacy having received the said blow from his predecessor, archbishop Warham; by whose advice king Henry had sent to both the universities, to examine what foundation it had in the word of God; to which they replied, and gave it under their seal, that, by the word of God, the supremacy was vested in the king, not in the pope; and that Brooks had then subscribed this determination, and therefore wronged him, in pretending that he was seduced by him.

him. At this Brooks was in a great confusion, and cried, 'We came to examine you; and, I think, you examine us.'

Then Dr Story began to rail at the archbishop, in an indecent manner, for excepting against the authority of his judge; and moved bishop Brooks, to require from him a direct answer to the articles, whereof he stood accused; or, if he continued to deny the pope's authority, and to decline answering, to proceed to sentence against him.

After this doctor Martin had a short conference with the archbishop, about his conduct in relation to the supremacy, and the doctrine of the eucharist; and then they proceeded to demand his answer to certain interrogatories, concerning the crimes laid to his charge; to which he replied in so full and satisfactory a manner, that Brooks thought himself obliged to make another speech, to take off the impression his defence might have made upon the people. The speech was much unbecoming the gravity of a bishop, consisting only of scurrilous and unchristian railings, and uncouth and sophistical misapplications of scripture and the fathers. After this, the archbishop was cited to appear at Rome, within fourscore days, and there to answer in person: To which he replied, that he would very willingly consent, if the queen would give him leave to go to Rome, and justify the Reformation to the pope's face. But this was only a mock citation; for he was kept all that time close confined, and yet at the end of fourscore days was declared contumax, for wilfully absenting himself from Rome, whither he was legally summoned; and in consequence thereof was degraded, as we shall see hereafter.

It is worth while to observe his last judgment, concerning the extent of the regal supremacy, as contained in his answer to Dr Martin. When that doctor asked him, who was supreme head of the church of England? the bishop answered; "Christ is head of this member, as he is "of the whole body of the catholic church." When the doctor again demanded, whether he had not declared king Henry head of the church? "Yes, said the archbishop, of "all the people in England, as well ecclesiastical as tem-"poral." 'What, says Martin, and not of the church?' "No, replied the archbishop, for Christ only is head of "his church, and of the faith and religion of the same."

In the February following, 1556, a new commission was given to bishop Bonner and bishop Thirlby, for the degradation of the archbishop. When they came down to Oxford, the archbishop was brought before them, and, after they had read their commission from the pope, Bonner, in a scurril-

a scurrilous oration, insulted over him, after a most unchristian manner; for which he was often rebuked by bishop Thirlby, who had been Cranmer's particular friend, and shed many tears upon the occasion. In the commission it was declared, that the cause had been impartially heard at Rome, the witnesses on both sides were examined, and the archbishop's counsel allowed to make the best defence for him that they could: At the reading this, the archbishop could not forbear crying out, "Good God! "what lies are these! that I, being continually in pri- "son, and not suffered to have counsel or advocate at "home, should produce witnesses, and appoint my coun- "sel at Rome! God must needs punish this open and "shameless lying." When Bonner had finished his invective against him, they proceeded to degrade him; and, that they might make him as ridiculous as they could, the episcopal habit which they put on him, was made of canvass and old clouts. Then the archbishop, pulling out of his sleeve a written appeal, delivered it to them, saying, that he was not sorry to be cut off, even with all this pageantry, from any relation to the church of Rome, that the pope had no authority over him, and that he appealed to the next general council. When they had degraded him, they put on him an old threadbare beadle's gown, and a townsman's cap; and in that garb delivered him over to the secular power. As they were leading him to prison, a gentleman came, and gave some money to the bailiffs, for the archbishop: But this charitable action gave such offence to Bonner, that he ordered the gentleman to be seized; and, had he not found great friends to intercede for him, would have sent him up to the council, to be tried for it.

While the archbishop continued in prison, no endeavours were omitted to win him over to the church of Rome. Many of the most eminent divines in the university resorted to him daily, hoping, by arguments and persuasions to work upon him; but all in vain, for he held fast the profession of his faith, without wavering, and could not be shaken by any of the terrors of this world, from his constancy in the truth. Nay, even when he saw the barbarous martyrdom of his dear companions, bishop Ridley and bishop Latimer, he was so far from shrinking, that he not only prayed to God to strengthen them, but also, by their example, to animate him to a patient expectation and endurance of the same fiery trial.

At last the papists bethought themselves of a stratagem, which proved fatal to him: They removed him from pri-

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son, to the lodgings of the dean of Christ-church; they treated him with the greatest civility and respect, and made him great promises of the queen's favour, and the restitution of his former dignities, with many other honours and preferments accumulated, if he would recant. And now, behold a most astonishing instance of human frailty! The man, who had with such undaunted resolution, such unshaken constancy, and so truly primitive a spirit of martyrdom, faced the terrors of death, and defied the most exquisite tortures, sinks under this last temptation, falls a prey to flattery and hypocrisy, and consents to recant!

It is a vulgar error, even in our best historians, to suppose, that the archbishop acknowledged the whole of popery at once, and subscribed but one recantation. But this mistake is now rectified by the labour of the industrious Mr Strype; who has discovered how subtilly he was drawn in by the papists, to subscribe six different papers; the first being expressed in ambiguous words, capable of a favourable construction, and the five following pretended to be only explanations of the first. It is very probable, that if they had acquainted Cranmer with the whole of their design at once, he could never have been seduced to redeem his life with such a dishonourable compliance: But when they had, by their hypocrisy and artifice, drawn him in to a first and second recantation; a shame to retreat after he had gone so far, and unwillingness to lose the benefit of his past subscriptions, prevailed with him to go on. The path of duty is the only path of comfort and safety. Yet we have instances in holy writ, that some of the greatest believers have been so left to their own wills, as to be suffered to commit the foulest crimes, that he who thinketh he standeth may take heed lest he fall; and to convince all Christians, that their perseverance is in God's faithfulness and strength, and not in their own.

The copy of the archbishop's first subscription ran thus.

"Forasmuch as the king's and queen's majesties, by "consent of their parliament, have received the pope's "authority in this realm, I am content to submit myself "to their laws herein, and to take the pope for the chief "head of this church of England, so far as God's laws, "and the laws and customs of this realm will permit.

THOMAS CRANMER."

This paper was immediately sent up to the queen and council; but being not satisfactory, another was offered him to subscribe, in fewer words, but more full, and with less reserve; and was as follows:

"I *Thomas Cranmer*, doctor in divinity, do subscribe "myself to the catholic church of Christ, and unto the "pope, supreme head of the same church, and to the king "and queen's majesties, and unto all their laws and or- "dinances. THOMAS CRANMER."

This also being thought too brief and ambiguous, a third, yet fuller and more express, was required of him; which was this:

"I am content to submit myself to the king's and "queen's majesties, and to all their laws and ordinances, "as well concerning the pope's supremacy, as others: "And I shall, from time to time, move and stir all others "to do the like, to the uttermost of my power, and to "live in quietness and obedience to their majesties, most "humbly, without murmur, or grudging against any of "their holy proceedings. And for my book which I have "written, I am content to submit to the judgment of "the catholic church, and the next general council.

THOMAS CRANMER."

This, like the rest, not giving satisfaction, was immediately followed by a fourth, in these following words, viz.

"Be it known by these presents, that I, Thomas Cran- "mer, doctor of divinity, and late archbishop of Canter- "bury, do firmly, stedfastly, and assuredly believe, in all "articles and points of the Christian religion and catholic "faith, as the catholic church doth believe, and hath be- "lieved from the beginning. Moreover, as concerning "the sacraments of the church, I believe unfeignedly in "all points, as the said catholic church doth, and hath be- "lieved from the beginning of Christian religion. In "witness whereof I have humbly subscribed my hand un- "to these presents, the eighteenth day of February, in "the year 1555. THOMAS CRANMER."

Having gained ground upon him thus far, they grew bold and barefaced; and in the fifth paper (which is in Fox's martyrology, and has been commonly thought to be his only recantation) they required him to renounce and anathematize all Lutheran and Zuinglian heresies and errors; to acknowledge the one holy catholic church, to be that, whereof the pope is the head; and to declare him the supreme bishop and Christ's vicar, to whom all Christians ought to be subject. Then followed an express acknowledgment of transubstantiation, the seven sacraments, purgatory, and of all the doctrines of the church of Rome in general; with a prayer to God to forgive his past opposition to them, and an earnest entreaty to all, who had been misled

misled by his doctrine and example, to return to the unity of the church.

And yet even this, full and express as it was, did not give content; but a sixth was still required, which was drawn up in so strong and ample terms, that nothing was capable of being added to it; containing a prolix acknowledgment of all the popish errors and corruptions, and a most grievous accusation of himself as a blasphemer, an enemy of Christ, and a murderer of souls, on account of his being the author of king Henry's divorce, and of all the calamities, schisms, and heresies, of which that was the fountain. This last paper he subscribed on the eighteenth of March; not in the least suspecting, that the papists designed, notwithstanding all these subscriptions, to bring him to the stake; and that the writ was already signed for his execution.

These six papers were, soon after his death, sent to the press by Bonner, and published, with the addition of another, which they had prepared for him to speak at St Mary's, before his execution: And though he then spake to a quite contrary effect, and revoked all his former recantations; yet Bonner had the confidence to publish this to the world, as if it had been approved and made use of by the archbishop.

The day appointed for his execution was the twenty-first of March; and Dr Cole was sent to Oxford, to prepare a sermon for the occasion. The day before, Cole visited him in the prison, whether he was now removed; and asked him if he stood firm in the faith he had subscribed. To which Cranmer gave a satisfactory answer. The next morning Cole visited him again, exhorted him to constancy, and gave him money to dispose of to the poor, as he saw convenient. Soon after he was brought to St Mary's church, and placed on a low scaffold, over against the pulpit. Then Dr Cole began his sermon; the chief scope whereof was, to endeavour to give some reasons why it was expedient that Cranmer should suffer, notwithstanding his recantation. And, in the close, he addressed himself particularly to the archbishop, exhorting him to bear up with courage against the terrors of death; and, by the example of the thief on the cross, encouraged him not to despair, since he was returned, though late, into the bosom of the catholic church, and to the profession of the true apostolical faith. The archbishop, who, till now, had not the least notice of his intended execution, was struck with horror, at the base inhumanity, and unparalleled cruelty [not to be exceeded in the infernal regions!] of these proceedings. It is utterly

terly impossible to express what inward agonies he felt, and what bitter anguish his soul was perplexed with. During the whole sermon he wept incessantly; sometimes lifting up his eyes to heaven, sometimes casting them down to the ground, with marks of the uttermost dejection! When it was ended, being moved to make a confession of his faith, and give the world satisfaction of his dying a good catholic, he consented; and kneeling down, began the following prayer.

"O Father of heaven; O Son of God, Redeemer of "the world; O Holy Ghost, proceeding from them both; "three persons, and one God; have mercy upon me most "wretched caitiff and miserable sinner! I, who have "offended both heaven and earth, and more grievously "than tongue can express! whether then should I go, or "where shall I fly for succour! To heaven I am ashamed "to lift up mine eyes; and on earth I find no refuge! "What shall I then do? Shall I despair? God forbid! "O good God, thou art merciful, and refusest none, who "come unto Thee for succour: To Thee therefore do "I run; to Thee do I humble myself; saying, O Lord "my God, my sins be great, but yet have mercy upon "me for thy infinite mercy! O God the Son, thou wast "not made man, this great mystery was not wrought, for "few or small offences only; neither didst thou give thy "Son to die, O God the Father, for our smaller crimes, "but for the greatest sins of the whole world; so that the "sinner return unto Thee with a penitent heart, as I do "now in this moment: Wherefore take pity on me, O "Lord, whose property is always to have mercy; for "though my sins be great, yet thy mercy is greater——I "crave nothing, O Lord, for my own merits, but for thy "name's sake, and that it may be glorified thereby, and "for thy dear Son Jesus Christ's sake; in whose words I "conclude: Our Father, &c."

Having finished the Lord's-prayer, he rose from his knees; and made a confession of his faith, beginning with the creed, and concluding with these words: "And I be- "lieve every word and sentence taught by our Saviour "Jesus Christ, his apostles and prophets, in the Old and "New Testament. And now added he, I come to the "great thing that so much troubleth my conscience, more "than any thing I ever did or said in my whole life; and "that is, the setting abroad a writing contrary to the "truth, which I here now renounce as things written "with my hand contrary to the truth which I thought in "my heart, and written for fear of death, and to save

"my

" my life, if it might be; that is, all such bills or papers " which I have written and signed with my hand since " my degradation, wherein I have written many things " untrue. And for as much as my hand offended, writ- " ing contrary to my heart, my hands shall first be pu- " nished: For, *may* I come to the fire, it shall be first " burned. As for the pope, I refuse him as Christ's enemy " and antichrist, with all his false doctrine: And as for " the sacrament, I believe as I have taught in my book " against the bishop of Winchester."—Thunder-struck, as it were, with this unexpected declaration, the enraged popish crowd admonished him not to dissemble: " Ah, " replied he, with tears, since I have lived hitherto, I " have been a hater of falsehood, and a lover of simplicity, " and never before this time have dissembled." Upon which they pulled him off the stage with the utmost fury, and hurried him to the place of his martyrdom over against Baliol-College: Where he put of his clothes with haste, and, standing in his shirt and without his shoes, was fastened with a chain to the stake. Some pressing him to agree to his former recantation, he answered, shewing his hand, " This is the hand that wrote, and therefore it shall " first suffer punishment." Fire being applied to him, he stretched out his right hand into the flame, and held it there unmoved, except that once he wiped his face with it, till it was consumed; crying with a loud voice, " This " hand hath offended;" and often repeating, " This un- " worthy right hand." At last, the fire getting up, he soon expired, never stirring or crying out all the while; only keeping his eyes fixed to heaven, and repeating more than once; " Lord Jesus, receive my spirit." He died in the sixty-seventh year of his age.

He was an open, generous, honest man; a lover of truth, and an enemy of falsehood and superstition. He was gentle and moderate in his temper; and though heartily zealous in the cause of the Reformation, yet a friend to the persons of those who most strenuously opposed it. Thus in the year 1534, he endeavoured to save the lives of bishop Fisher, and Sir Thomas More; and afterwards, when Tonstall bishop of Durham came into trouble, a bill was brought into the house of lords for attainting him, Cranmer spoke freely, nay protested against it. He was a great patron of learning and the universities, and extended his care also to those protestant foreigners, who fled to England from the troubles in Germany; such as Martin Bucer, made professor of divinity, and Paulus Fagius, professor of the Hebrew tongue at Cambridge; Peter Martyr, professor of

of divinity at Oxford; John à Lasco, Bernardine Ochinus, Emmanuel Tremellius, &c. He was a very learned man himself, and author of several works, printed and unprinted.

His printed works are, 1. An account of Mr. Pole's book, concerning king Henry the VIIIth's marriage. 2. Letters to divers persons; to king Henry VIII. secretary Cromwell, Sir William Cecil, and to foreign divines. 3. Three discourses upon his review of the king's book, entitled, The erudition of a Christian man. 4. Other discourses of his. 5. The bishop's book, in which he had a part. 6. Answers to the fifteen articles of the Rebels in Devonshire in 1549. 7. The examination of most points of religion. 8. A form for the alteration of the mass into a communion. 9. Some of the homilies. 10. A catechism, entitled, A short instruction to Christian religion, for the singular profit of children and young people. 11. Against unwritten verities. 12. A defence of the true and catholic doctrine of the sacrament of the body and blood of our Saviour Christ, &c. 13. An answer to Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, who wrote against the defence, &c. Lond. 1551, reprinted 1580. It was translated into Latin by Sir John Cheke. Gardiner answered, and Cranmer went through three parts of a reply, but did not live to finish it: However it was published. 14. Preface to the English translation of the bible. 15. A speech in the house of lords, concerning a general council. 16. Letter to king Henry VIII. in justification of Ann Boleyn, May 3, 1535. 17. The reasons, that led him to oppose the six articles. 18. Resolution of some questions concerning the sacrament. 19. Injunctions given at his visitation within the diocese of Hereford. 20. A collection of passages out of the canon law, to shew the necessity of reforming it. 21. Some queries in order to the correcting of several abuses. 22. Concerning a further Reformation, and against sacrilege. 23. Answers to some queries concerning confirmation. 24. Some considerations offered to king Edward VI. to induce him to proceed to a further Reformation. 25. Answer to the privy council. 26. Manifesto against the mass.

Those works of Cranmer's, which still remain in manuscript, are, 1. Two large volumes of collections out of the holy scripture, the ancient fathers, and later doctors and schoolmen. These are in the king's library. When they were offered to sale, they were valued at a hundred pounds: But bishop Beveridge and doctor Juae, appraisers for the king, brought down the price to fifty pounds. 2. The lord Burleigh had six or seven volumes more of his writing.

writing. 3. Doctor Burnet mentions two volumes more that he had seen. 4. There are also several letters of his in the Cotton library.

JOHN PONET, OR POYNET,

BISHOP OF WINCHESTER.

THOUGH the life of this excellent man was but short, and the memorials of that life are handed down to us but in fragments; he was of eminent importance in his time, and was a burning and a shining light in the church of God. Bishop Godwin, in his book *de præsulibus Angliæ*, says of him, that he was born in the county of Kent, in or about the year 1516, and received his academical education in King's-College, Cambridge. He must have obtained the knowledge of the gospel pretty early in life; for he was in so much confidence with the great Reformers, that, so soon as the beginning of king Edward's reign [June 26, 1550.] when Ponet could not have been more than three and thirty years of age, he was consecrated bishop of Rochester; and, upon the depravation of Gardiner, was within a year afterwards, translated to the see of Winchester. The reason of his preferment does as much honour to the admirable young king Edward, as it could reflect credit upon the bishop; for, we are told, that it was, by the king's own motion, on account of some very excellent sermons which Ponet had preached before him.—A ladder of episcopal advancement, which is but too rarely ascended!

He was a man of very great learning, as well as grace; and possessed the knowledge, not only of the Latin and Greek, but (what is not a frequent attainment among divines) a thorough acquaintance with the Dutch and Italian tongues. He was, in particular, a very great Grecian, and had engaged his mind, probably when quite a young man, very deeply in mathematical learning. To such a proficiency had he arrived in the mechanical branch of the mathematics, that he constructed a clock, by the effort of his own genius, which pointed both to the hours of the day, the day of the month, the sign of the Zodiac, the lunar variations, and the tides. This was presented to Henry the VIII. and was received very graciously, for (what indeed it was in those days) a wonderful piece of mechanism. Besides all this variety, as well as extent, of knowledge, in so young a man; Heylyn, who was by no means

partial

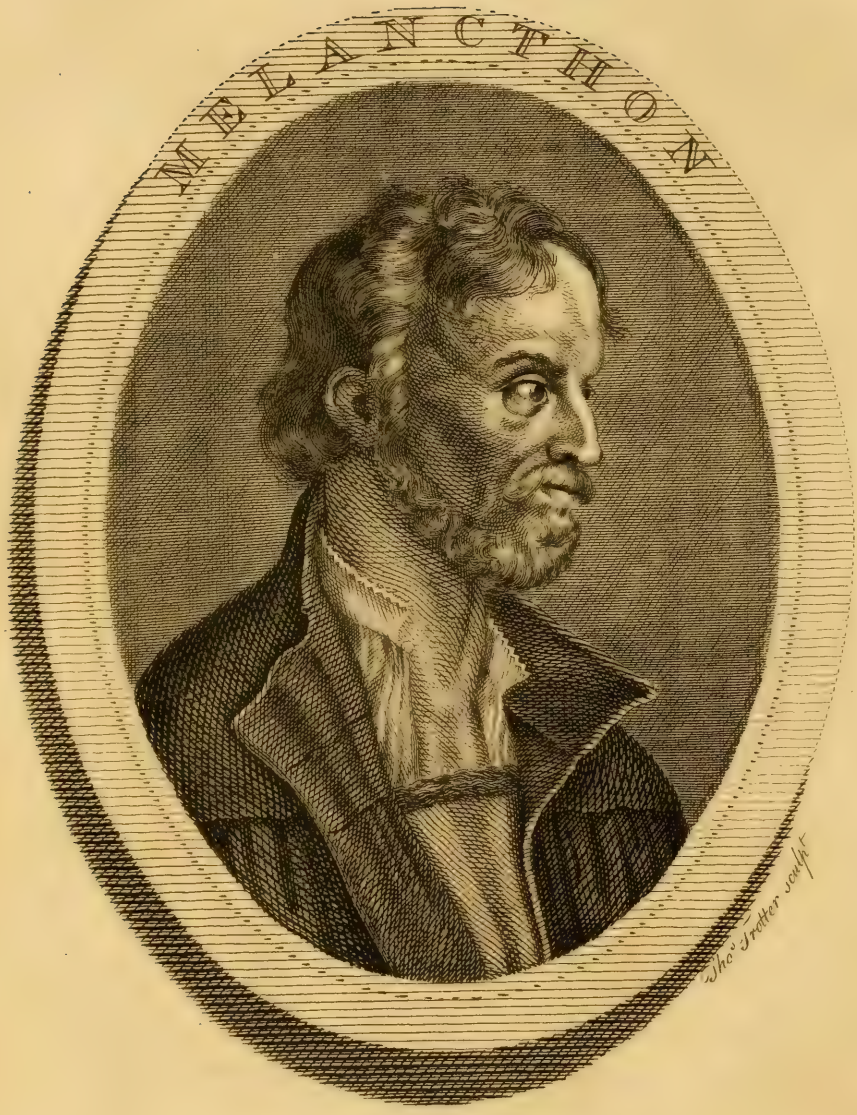
partial to the principles of our Reformers, informs us, that he was 'well-studied with the *ancient fathers*.'

Thus fraught with human knowledge and with divine grace, we cannot wonder, that Dr Ponet was so soon and so much taken notice of. Above all, God gave him the desire to devote his great abilities to the cause and service of the gospel. He not only preached much, but is said to have written much for the truth, both in Latin and English. But the piece, for which he is most remembered, is the composition called, "King Edward's catechism," which was approved and passed by the synod, which passed the book of articles, under the king's warrant. Fuller says, that this catechism 'was first compiled (as appears by the 'king's patent prefixed) by a single divine, characterised 'pious and learned; but afterwards perused and allowed 'by the bishops, and other learned men, &c. and by royal 'authority commanded to all schoolmasters to teach it 'their scholars.' Some have supposed that this pious and learned divine was Dr Alexander Nowel, dean of St Paul's, but others, upon better warrant, have given it to Dr Ponet, then bishop of Winchester. However, all the great Reformers revised it, and particularly archbishop Cranmer, without whom nothing was undertaken or set forth in religion, during king Edward's reign.

This catechism is highly calvinistic, and perfectly correspondent with the articles, which were published about the same time. It came out in the year 1553, in two editions, the one Latin and the other English, with the royal privilege. Indeed, the pious king himself prefaced this catechism by a letter, dated at Greenwich, May the twentieth, in which he 'charges and commands all schoolmasters 'whatsoever, within his dominions, as they did reverence 'his authority, and as they would avoid his royal displeasure, to teach this catechism, diligently and carefully, 'in all and every their schools; that so, the youth of the 'kingdom might be settled in the grounds of true religion, and furthered in God's worship.'—At that time, and afterwards in the reign of queen Elizabeth, the catechizing children and servants was thought to be of so much importance to posterity, that the neglect of it was entitled to some very severe penalties *—But we are grown *wiser* in

'* The care of sending their *children* and *servants* is by the rubric laid upon fathers, mothers, mistresses, and dames, who are to *cause them to come to church at the time appointed, and obediently to hear, and be ordered by the curate, until such time as they have learned all that is here* [in the catechism] *appointed for them to learn.* The same is required by the 59th canon of the church, which farther orders, that if any of these

neglect



From an Original Engraving published under the Inspection of Beza.

in these days, and above descending to inculcate Christian principles upon the minds of youth; for which reason, among others, our young people are so *pious*, *decent*, and *virtuous*; are so full of good notions, and so ready to follow them; as we find them in the present age. Were nine tenths of the nation examined; it would be found that they had not so much as *once read through* their bibles: And as to catechisms, it seems as if they were very well for parish-boys and charity children; but as to the offspring of other people, it appears to be a settled point, that they shall know no more of God and his gospel than their parents before them.—Such are the times; and such our manners!

As we have mentioned the subject of catechisms, we will only add upon this head, that the present catechism of the church of England was, at the command of king James the first, revised by the bishops, and that an addition was made to it, giving the explanation of the sacraments. This was done by the pen of bishop Overal, then dean of St Paul's, and approved.

When queen Mary came to the crown, and gave a bloody earnest of what protestants may ever expect to receive from bigotted papists; Dr Poinet, with some other great and good men, thought it prudent to quit the kingdom. He accordingly retired to Strasburgh in Germany, where he departed this life, on the eleventh of April, aged only forty years.

Bishop Godwin mentions, that Poinet published several works in Latin and English, which were extant in his time, but which we have not seen. They are however supposed to be chiefly upon theolgical subjects.

PHILIP MELANCTHON.

THIS celebrated divine, who was one of the wisest and greatest men of his age, was born, on the sixteenth

neglect their duties, as the one sort in not causing them to come, and the other in refusing to learn as aforesaid; they are to be suspended by the ordinary (if they be no children), and if they so persist by the space of a month, they are to be excommunicated. And by the canons 1571, every minister was yearly, within twenty days after Easter, to present to the bishop, &c. the names of all those in his parish, who had not sent their children or servants at the times appointed. And to enforce this, it was one of the articles which was exhibited, in order to be admitted by authority, that he whose child of five years old or upwards, or his servant at fourteen or upwards, could not say the catechism, should pay ten shillings to the poor's box.' [illegible] *Prayer*. p. 296. 4th edit.

teenth of February, 1497, at Bretten, in the palatinate of the Rhine. His father was George Schwartserd, which signifies *black earth* in German, and Melancthon in Greek; therefore, Reuchlin gave Philip the name of Melancthon, in the same manner as Hermolaus Barbarus changed the name of Reuchlin into that of Capnio, from Capnos, which in the Greek signifies *smoak*, as the word *Reuch* does in the German language. It was customary among the learned men of that time to express their names in Greek, when they could find any word in that language into which they could turn them. Thence come Oecolampadius, Erasmus, Chytræus, Reuchlin, Melancthon, and others: But Reuchlin was the only man whom Germany had, in his time, to put in competition with all the learned men in Italy; and it was he that advised Frederic duke of Saxony to send for Melancthon to Wittenberg, in 1518, to be the Greek professor in that university.

Melancthon gave very early marks of his capacity: But his instruction and education were chiefly committed to the care of his grandfather Reuterus; because his father's time was taken up with the affairs of the elector palatine, whom he served as engineer, or commissary of the artillery. He studied first in the place of his nativity, at a public school; and then under a tutor. He was afterwards sent to Pfortsheim, a small city in the marquisate of Baden, where there was a famous college; and he lodged with one of his relations, who was sister to Reuchlin. Upon this occasion, he became known to that learned man, who loved him with great tenderness. He went to the university of Tubingen, in the duchy of Wirtemberg, and from thence to Heidelberg, that of the metropolis of the palatinate, in 1509, where he was matriculated on the thirteenth of October, and made such considerable improvement, that he was intrusted to teach the sons of count Leonstein, and was made batchelor, though he was under fourteen years of age. But he was refused his degree of master of philosophy, on account of his youth; which, together with the air of Heidelberg, which did not agree with his constitution, occasioned him to leave that university in 1512, and return to that of Tubingen, where he continued six years.

Melancthon has been justly reckoned among illustrious youths; and Mr Baillet has justly bestowed a chapter upon him in his 'historical treatise of young men, who 'became famous by their studies or writings.' He was employed to make the greatest part of the harangues and discourses of eloquence, that were publicly spoke in the university of Heidelberg. He studied divinity, law, and mathematics,

mathematics, at Tubingen, where he heard the lectures of all sorts of professors; and publicly explained Virgil, Terence, Cicero, and Livy. He also found time to serve Reuchlin in his quarrel with the monks; and diligently applied himself to the reading of the word of God. Reuchlin made him a present of a copy of the bible which John Frobenius had lately printed at Basil in a small volume. Melancthon always carried this bible about him, and chiefly when he went to church, where those, who saw him hold it in his hands during divine service, believed he was reading quite another thing, than what the time and place required of him, because it was much larger than a prayer-book; and those, that envied him, took occasion from hence to make him odious with others.

He taught at Tubingen, both in public and private, with great applause and admiration; and published some works as first fruits, from which it sufficiently appeared what a crop might be afterwards expected. He was so remarkable, in 1515, that Erasmus then said of him, 'Good 'God, what hopes may we not conceive of Philip Me-'lancthon, though as yet very young, and almost a boy, 'equally to be admired for his knowledge in both lan-'guages! What quickness of invention! What purity of 'diction! What vastness of memory! What variety of 'reading! What modesty and gracefulness of behaviour!' John James Grynæus made a parallel between the prophet Daniel and Melancthon, in which he introduced this fine encomium of Erasmus.

In 1518, he accepted the Greek professorship in the university of Wittenberg, which Frederic the elector of Saxony offered him upon the recommendation of Reuchlin. His inauguration speech was so fine, that it removed the contempt to which his stature and mien exposed him, and raised great admiration of himself. He soon contracted a friendship with Luther, who taught divinity in that university; and Andrew Carolostadius, archdeacon of Wittenberg, joined their acquaintance, and was of their opinion.

Erasmus had heard, that Melancthon had censured his paraphrases; for which this learned man, in 1519, wrote a very civil letter to justify himself to Erasmus, who accepted of these excuses, but told Melancthon, that men of letters ought to love each other, and be united to defend themselves against their common enemies. Erasmus spoke very kindly to Melancthon; and told him all the world was agreed in commending the moral character of Luther; but there were various sentiments touching his doctrines. Luther had a great love and esteem for Melancthon; and

Jovius, after having abused Luther in a most scandalous manner, pays a compliment to Melancthon. Melancthon had so much scrupulous honour and disinterestedness, that he refused to receive his salary, as a reader in divinity, because he could not bestow such close attendance, as he thought that office required.

Melancthon read lectures at Wittenberg upon Homer, and upon the Greek text of the epistle of St Paul to Titus, which drew a great crowd of auditors, and excited in them an earnest desire of understanding the Greek tongue. He reduced the sciences into a system, which was then difficult, as they had then been long taught in a very confused manner.

In the year 1520, Jerom Alexander, the pope's nuncio, solicited the emperor, and Frederic elector of Saxony, to punish Luther: In consequence of which, the diet of Worms was held on the sixth of January, 1521, when Luther nobly vindicated his doctrine. The remarks of Melancthon upon these transactions, and upon the conduct of Frederic, are judicious and important: "So far, says he, was Luther, "from being suborned and instigated by the courtiers and "princes, as the duke of Brunswick affirmed, that, on the "contrary, the elector of Saxony was much concerned at "the foresight of the contests and disorders which would "ensue, though the first attacks made by Luther were "upon very plausible grounds. By his own sagacity and "judiciousness, and by long experience in the art of "reigning, he knew well how dangerous all changes were "to government. But, being truly religious, and one "who feared God, he consulted not the dictates of mere "worldly and political wisdom, and was determined to "prefer the glory of God, to all other considerations, and "at the hazard of any public or private detriment. Yet "he presumed not to rely entirely upon his own judg-"ment concerning an affair of so great importance; but "took the advice of other princes, and of men venerable "for age, experience, learning, and probity." Speaking of these troubles to J. Jonas, says, 'What a deplo-'rable thing would it be, that Philip Melancthon, an 'amiable youth of such extraordinary abilities, should, 'be lost to the learned world upon this account!' And, in 1522, Erasmus was apprehensive of being attacked by Melancthon, with whom he was very unwilling to have any dispute: But in 1523, Erasmus was well pleased to find, that both Luther and Melancthon were offended at the behaviour of Hutten, who had wrote a furious libel against Erasmus:

Erasmus: And Melancthon declared how sorry he was, that the contention between Luther and Erasmus was continued.

The Sorbonne at Paris condemned the writings of Luther in 1521; and Melancthon made an apology for Luther against this censure, which he called, *Furiosum Parisiensium theologastrorum decretum*: i. e. the furious decree of the Parisian theologasters, or small divines. The same year Melancthon was appointed by the elector of Saxony one of the deputies, to give them their opinion concerning the abolition of private masses at Wittenberg, which they approved, and desired the elector to abolish them throughout all his dominions. The elector told the deputies, by Christian Beyer, that he conceived his advice was grounded on the gospel; and required them to order that affair with such moderation as to raise no troubles, divisions, or seditions, among the people. The deputies answered, that they believed private masses might be abolished, without noise or trouble; but the abuse was so great, that though it could not be effected without some disturbance, it ought to be attempted: That the ordinance of the mass, prescribed by the holy scripture, was visibly so different from that of private masses, that it was needless to deliberate farther about it: That the ancient foundations of the monasteries, colleges, and churches, were not made to say a certain number of masses, or to chant canonical hours; but to instruct youth in the holy scripture and religion: That the foundations made, four or five hundred years before, to say masses, were abusive; and that those who made them, were mistaken: That inconveniency ought not to be regarded in such an enterprise, nor such impediments as might be surmounted, since it was the cause of truth and religion. Stork, Marcus Stubnerus, and Martinus Cellarius, in 1522, went from Zwickau to Wittenberg, to preach their fanatical doctrine. But Melancthon and the other Reformers wrote to the elector of Saxony, and to Luther, about these men, whom they took to be enthusiasts; and, when they were discovered to be such, the elector drove them out of his territories.

Erasmus, in 1524, owned that the state of things disheartened him from adventuring his person in the Low Countries, where Hulst and Egmond were his inveterate enemies. 'When these saints, says he, want to do any 'one a mischief, they first clap him in prison, and then his 'affair is decided by a few confederates, who are judges 'and parties. There the most innocent man alive must 'suffer the vilest treatment, lest their authority should

'suffer: And when they have been totally mistaken, they 'cry out, that the side of religion must always be favour-'ed!' 'Melancthon, continues Erasmus, would gladly 'have a conference with me, but is loth to expose me to 'any hatred and obloquy, which however I should have 'despised. He is a youth of great candour.' But there is some room to doubt, whether he would have been glad of a visit from Melancthon, who, with all his mildness and candour, was little less hated than Luther by the Romanists. The same year, Erasmus, wrote a long epistle to Melancthon, which began with an invective against Hutten. He commended the *Loci Communes* of Melancthon, as very fit and able to encounter and demolish pharisaical tyranny: But he added, that they contained also some things which he did not understand, some concerning which he had doubts and scruples, and some which he thought it needless to profess openly. He then boasted of the mild and moderate counsels which he had given to popes and princes; but he spoke very ill of Zuinglius, Oecolampadius, Farel, Capito, and Hedio.

He apologized for having written against Luther, and said, that the calumnies of ecclesiastics, who made him pass for a Lutheran, and the importunity of princes, had constrained him to it. 'Although, says he, I were a 'most bigotted papist, yet I would condemn cruelty, be-'cause opinions opposed with cruelty spread the more. 'Therefore, the prudent Julian would not put Christians 'to death. Our Theologers thought, that if they burned 'a man or two at Brussels, the rest would be corrected 'by it. On the contrary, the sufferings of these men 'made many embrace Lutheranism.'

Melancthon answered Erasmus politely, and with a much better temper, telling him, that the vices of particulars should not bring any prejudice against a good cause; and that Luther did in no wise resemble those whom he had painted in such odious colours. He gently reproved him for drawing up a catalogue of vile fellows, and inserting such persons as Oecolampadius, and other men of merit amongst them. As for himself, he declared, that in his conscience he was persuaded of the truth of Luther's doctrine, and would never forsake it. But, as to the dissertation of Erasmus upon free-will, he says; "We are not at all "shocked at it; for it would be mere tyranny to hinder "any man from giving his opinion in the church of Christ, "concerning any points of religion. This ought to be "free to every one, who will deliver his sentiments with-"out passion and partiality. Your moderation in that

"treatise

" treatise hath been applauded; and yet suffer me to tell " you, that sometimes you bite too hard. But Luther is " not so easily provoked, as to be unable to bear dissent; " and he promiseth to observe the same moderation in his " reply. It is also your duty to be very cautious not to " bring an odium upon a cause, which the holy scrip- " tures so evidently favour. As you yourself have not as " yet condemned it, if you attack it with vehemence, you " will wound your own conscience. You know that we " ought to examine, and not to despise prophecies."

Erasmus replied, in another long epistle to Melancthon, that he had not much exhorted him to forsake the Reformers, knowing it would be labour lost; but could have wished that Melancthon had applied himself entirely to good literature. And yet, if *good literature* was not compatible with the study of divinity, it would have been *bad literature*, or *malæ literæ*, as the monks then called it. He declared, his only view was to promote the good of both parties, and to dissuade tumults; and he wished, that a Reformation might be made without strife and contention. This was wishing impossibilities, considering the temper of the Romanists.

All Europe was convinced, that Melancthon was not so averse, as Luther, to an accommodation with the Romanists, and that he would have sacrificed many things for the sake of peace. This appears chiefly by the book he wrote concerning things indifferent; which was so ill received by Illyricus. Melancthon advised the Reformers not to contend scrupulously about indifferent things; provided those rites and ceremonies had nothing of idolatry in them; and to bear some hardships, if it might be done without impiety. Illyricus, on the contrary, cried out, that people should rather desert all the churches, and threaten an insurrection, than to bear a surplice. Some Romanists have been inspired with the same spirit, which calls to mind what a Jesuit said, 'that they would not put out one wax- 'taper, though it were to convert all the Hugonots.'

The elector of Saxony, and some other princes, supported the Reformers at the diet of Spires: But, after several debates, it was ordered, 'that the doctrine about 'the eucharist should not be entertained: That the mass 'should be continued, and the celebration of it permitted 'even in those places where the reformed doctrine pre- 'vailed: That the Anabaptists should be proscribed: 'And that one prince should not protect the subjects of 'another.' The reforming princes opposed this decree, and alledged, 'that their ministers had proved by invin-

'cible arguments taken out of scripture, that the popish 'mass was contrary to the institution of Jesus Christ, and 'the practice of the apostles: That they could not permit 'the Lord's Supper to be administered in a different man-'ner in the same church: That there was nothing more 'certain than the word of God, which explained itself, and 'therefore they would take care, that nothing else should 'be taught than the Old and New Testament in their pu-'rity: And they declared, that the decree of the former 'diet was made for the preservation of peace; but that this 'would infallibly occasion wars and troubles in Germany.' This was put in writing by way of protestation, and published on the nineteenth of April, 1529, as a solemn instrument of appeal to the emperor, and a general or national council. This gave the Reformers the name of PROTESTANTS. The instrument of protestation was signed by the electors of Saxony and Brandenburgh; Ernest, and Francis, dukes of Lunenberg; the landgrave of Hesse, and the prince of Anhalt; as also by the deputies for the fourteen cities of Strasburgh, Nuremberg, Ulm, Constance, Reuthingen, Windesheim, Memmingen, Lindau, Kempten, Hailbron, Isne, Weissemberg, Nordlingen, and St Gall.

Oecolampadius wrote to Melancthon, desiring him to declare his opinion in favour of the Zuinglians, that the contest might cease between them and the Lutherans. Melancthon answered, that he could not approve of the opinion of the Sacramentarians; but that, if he would act politicly, he should speak otherwise, as he knew there were many learned men among them, whose friendship would be advantageous to him; so that, if he could have concurred with them, in their opinion about the Lord's Supper, he would have spoken freely. He observed, that the Zuinglians supposed the body of Jesus Christ to be absent, and only to be represented in the sacrament, as persons are represented upon a theatre: But he considered, that Jesus Christ had promised to be with us to the end of the world: That it is not necessary to separate the divinity from the humanity; so that he was persuaded, the sacrament was a pledge of the real presence, and that the body of Jesus Christ was truly received in the Lord's Supper: That the proper import of the word was not contrary to any article of faith, but agreed with other places of scripture where the presence of Christ was mentioned. He declared, it is an opinion unbecoming a Christian, to believe that Jesus Christ is, as it were, imprisoned in heaven: That Oecolampadius only propounded some absurdities, and the judgment of some fathers, against it; neither

of

of which ought to influence those who know that the mysteries of religion are to be judged by the word of God, and not by geometrical principles; as they must also know that many contradictions are to be met with in the writings of the ancients: But he said, that the greatest number of the expressions in the most eminent authors, proves the doctrine of the real presence to be the general sense of the church.

Oecolampadius replied; and the consequence was a friendly conference at Marpurg, in October following, between the heads of the Lutherans and Zuinglians. The landgrave of Hesse was present at this conference, where Zuinglius, Oecolampadius, Bucer, and Hedio, appeared on one side; and Luther, Melancthon, Justus Jonas, Osiander, Brentius, and Agricola, on the other side. The Lutherans proposed such articles as they objected against in the doctrine of the Zuinglians: First, That there was no such thing as original sin; but it was only a natural infirmity and weakness; and that baptism did not take away any sin in children. Secondly, That the Holy Ghost is not conferred by the use of the word of God, and the sacraments; but without that word, and those sacraments. Thirdly, That some of them were supposed to have erroneous thoughts about the divinity of Jesus Christ, and the holy Trinity. Fourthly, That they set the value of faith as to our justification, high enough; but seemed to attribute justification to good works. Fifthly, That they did not think the body and blood of Jesus Christ were really in the Lord's Supper. Zuinglius and Oecolampadius cleared themselves fully of the suspicion they lay under about the Trinity, and Divinity of Jesus Christ: But they had long disputes about original sin, and the operation of the sacraments; in which points Melancthon agreed with Zuinglius, by explaining, or altering his former opinions; so that they differed only about the eucharist. Luther could not so fully agree with Zuinglius, as may be seen in his life.

The diet of Augsburg was held in June, 1530. Nothing cost Melancthon more pains, than the task that was given him this year, to draw up a *confession of faith*; which is called the Augsburg confession, because it was presented to the emperor at the diet in that city. Melancthon drew up this *confession of faith* out of the memoirs sent to the elector of Saxony. It was divided into two parts. The first contained twenty-one articles upon the chief points of religion; as the unity of God, original sin, the incarnation, justification, the gospel-ministry, the church, the civil government, the day of judgment, free-will, the cause

of sin, faith, good works, and the adoration of saints. The other part was concerning the ceremonies and usages of the church, which the Protestants said were abused; such as the communion in both kinds, the marriages of priests, confession, abstinence from meats, monastic vows, and ecclesiastical jurisdiction.

Melancthon had revised, and corrected, this confession several times; but had much difficulty to please Luther at last. Indeed, it is probable, that Luther would not have tempered his style with so much moderation: It was a difficult time; and all sweetness of expression, which affected not the merits of their cause, was then necessary to be added.

This confession was signed by the Protestant princes, and read before the emperor in a special assembly of the empire, who were then dismissed, that they might consult what resolutions they should come to in this affair. Their judgments were divided. The more violent said, that the edict of Worms ought to be put in execution; and such, as would not obey, should be compelled by the civil powers. Others were for choosing a certain number of honest, learned, and indifferent persons, according to whose judgment the emperor was to decide all matters. And a third party were for giving the confession of faith to the popish divines to confute, and the confutation to be read, in a full diet before the Protestants. This last advice was taken, and John Faber, John Cochlæus, Eckius, Wimpina, Collinus, and some other popish divines, were appointed to draw up a confutation, which they finished, and delivered to the emperor and the popish princes, who were of opinion that all the severe expressions, which the divines could not refrain from bringing in, should be taken out. When this was done, the emperor called the Protestants together, on the third of August, and told them, he had communicated their confession to some learned and religious persons, to give their opinion of it, and to observe what was sound, or what was contrary to the faith of the church: That they had given their judgments in writing, which he had approved; and then ordered it to be read before them by one of his secretaries.

The Romish divines examined the Protestants confession of faith step by step in their answer. They fully approved of some articles; as the first about the holy Trinity; the third about the incarnation; the eighth about the wicked in the church, and that the sacraments administered by wicked persons are good; the ninth about the necessity of baptism, and the baptism of infants; the tenth about the Lord's

Lord's Supper; the thirteenth about the operations of the sacraments, though they judged that article to be defective, because they would not acknowledge seven sacraments; the fourteenth about the calling of ministers, provided they allowed of a canonical ordination; the sixteenth about the authority of the magistrates; the seventeenth about the last judgment and the resurrection; and the eighteenth about free-will. But they rejected other articles; as the fourth, fifth, sixth, and twentieth, that men are not justified by the merits of good works, but by faith alone; the seventh, that the church is a congregation of saints; and that it is sufficient, to preserve its unity, that men agree in the doctrine of the gospel, and about the administration of the sacraments, without following the same usages and traditions: The twenty-first, about the invocation and worship of saints. Those, which they partly received, and partly rejected, where the second, about original sin, which they approved, except the definition of sin given in it, which seems to agree better to actual, than original sin; the eleventh also, about absolution, they allowed of, but disliked what is said in it about confession; in the twelfth, about repentance, they did not like the assertion that faith is a part of repentance, and what concerns satisfaction; the fifteenth was approved, as to what is said there, that the rites and ceremonies of the church are to be observed; but rejected so far, as it says, that the customs received by tradition, as celibacy, and vows, are of no use to obtain grace, or make satisfaction to God.

As to the second parts of the confession of Augsburg, in which the Protestants asserted, that the communion under one kind, celibacy of priests, the ceremonies of the mass, private masses, the name of sacrifice given to the mass, monastic vows, abstinence, fasts, and auricular confession, are abuses: The popish divines maintained, in their answer, they were not abuses, but religious and holy usages, commanded by scripture, and confirmed by tradition: Yet they acknowledged, there were some abuses in them that wanted reformation, and which the emperor promised to obtain.

The Romish divines desired the Protestants to return to the old communion of the church. The elector of Saxony answered for the Protestants, that if the Romanists could prove, that the Protestants had advanced any error, they would recant it; and if they desired any farther explication, they were ready to give it: That, since they had approved of some articles of their doctrine, and rejected

others,

others, it was necessary they should confirm and explain those in dispute.

In consequence of this, a conference was held at Augsburg on the seventh of August, between seventeen Romish divines, and some of the Protestants: But this was of no effect. The Romanists said, if the Protestants would not satisfy the emperor, by uniting in matters of faith with the princes and members of the empire, they would bring great troubles upon Germany by the wars and tumults which their separation would raise. The Protestants answered, by George Brucke, their deputy, that they took it ill to be threatened; and complained, that the emperor would not suffer them to be heard sufficiently: That they could not be allowed a copy of the confutation of their confession, but upon hard terms; and that it was expected, they should approve of it, without reading or examining it, which they could not do with a safe conscience: That though it was promised and concluded, in the last diet of Spires, that a council should be held, nothing was done in it since. The committee of the Romish deputies replied, that the Protestants had no reason to complain of his imperial majesty: That the condition on which he offered them a copy of the confutation of their confession was not hard, because he was sensible how they used the edict of Worms: That they might with greater safety consent to the doctrine of the universal church, than of a small number of heretics and apostates, who could not agree among themselves: And that the emperor, having two wars upon his hands, could have no hopes of holding a council at that time.

The Protestants shewed reasons for their separation, and offered to chuse a small number of persons on both sides, who might treat amicably together, and consult if they could not find out some way of agreement. This proposal was received; and seven persons were nominated by both parties to confer about religion; two princes, two lawyers, and three divines. The Romanists were the bishop of Augsburg, and the duke of Brunswick; the chancellor of the archbishop of Cologne, and the chancellor of the marquis of Baden; Eckius, Wimpina, and Cochlæus. For the Protestants were the elector of Saxony's son, and the marquis of Brandenburg; the lawyers Brucke and Heller; and the divines Melancthon, Brentius, and Schepfius. They met, and agreed upon fifteen of the twenty-one articles of the confession of Augsburg; so that there remained but six, three of which were only disputed against in part; and the other three were remitted to the second part of their confession,

fession, about which it was more difficult to come to an agreement. Melancthon, and the other Lutherans, agreed to these points of doctrine: That men should not be said to be justified by faith alone, but by faith and grace: That good works are necessary: That reprobates are included in the church: That man hath a free-will: That the blessed saints intercede for us, and may be honoured. In the other seven articles, they agreed, that the body and blood of Christ were contained in both elements, and that they would not condemn the laity, who would receive the eucharist only under one kind: That the usual veneration should be given to the holy sacrament: That the public mass should be celebrated with the usual ceremonies, and that they should observe what is essential in the consecration: That the fasts on the vigils might be still observed, and some holydays kept: That the bishops should hold their jurisdictions; and that parish priests, preachers, and other ecclesiastical persons, should submit to them in spiritual matters; and that their excommunications should not be contemned.

The Romish divines, on the twenty-second of August, made their report to the diet, upon what terms they stood with the Lutherans. It was then thought, that it would be a speedier way to perfect the agreement by reducing the deputies to three; and that both parties should appoint two lawyers, and one divine. Melancthon was chose by the Protestants, and Eckius by the Romanists. The points upon which they debated, were principally the mass, vows, and celibacy of priests. The Romanists consented, that the married priests might live with their wives; but they would not relax in the business of the mass and vows. Melancthon, who was very much inclined to peace, might have come nearer, if he had been invested with ample powers: But the other Protestants had been dissatisfied with his condescension, and ordered him to advance no farther. This put an end to all kinds of accommodation; But Melancthon drew up "An apology for the Augsburg "confession:" which the protestant princes offered to present to the emperor, who refused to receive it, and it was published the next year.

Luther was not at the diet of Augsburg, but he wrote to Melancthon about the transactions there. The former was of opinion, that all proposals of an accommodation would be ineffectual; but the latter tried to moderate the mind of Luther, and stop his heat.

Erasmus also wrote to Melancthon in these words; 'God 'alone, my dear Philip, can unravel the intricate plot of 'the

'the tragedy which is now acting. Ten councils assembled together could not do it; much less such an one as I. If a man says a reasonable thing, it is straightway called Lutheranism.' Melancthon answered Erasmus from Augsburg, and prayed him to continue the charitable office of exhorting the emperor to moderation. Erasmus replied with some peevishness and resentment, saying, that he would not concern himself in behalf of the evangelics. However, he was better than his word, and did write to cardinal Campejus, desiring him to dissuade the emperor from making a religious war.

The sweating sickness, which broke out in England in 1485, raged this year in Germany, among other calamities; and the affairs of the poor protestants were so bad, in all appearance, that Melancthon was quite dejected, and overwhelmed with sorrow. Luther, who had more courage, wrote him many excellent letters of consolation.

Archbishop Cranmer had a very great regard for Melancthon, whom he invited to England, and expected there. Peter Martyr, and his companion Ochinus, had their annual allowance from the king; but some more extraordinary annuity was intended for Melancthon.

Francis I. king of France, had a great love for learning and learned men. He established professors of the Hebrew, Greek, and Latin languages at Paris. The revival of letters in France, which had been in a manner extinguished for several ages, was owing to this prince, who was therefore called the *Father of Letters*. He married Eleanor, the emperor's sister, in 1530; at which time there was a great controversy about religion in France, and the king was desirous of having Melancthon to come there, as he judged him a proper person to pacify the disputes. We are told, that the queen of Navarre often talked to the king her brother of a very good man, as she said, who was called Philip Melancthon, whom she was continually praising as the most learned man of his time; and that she did not doubt, but if so holy and able a man could confer with the doctors of the Sorbonne, they would quickly find the means of restoring peace to the church. Whereupon this prince, who otherwise had a great desire to bring into France the ablest men of his time, wrote to Melancthon, and invited him to come to Paris, to join his endeavours with the French divines to restore the ancient discipline of the church. This letter was dated at Guise, the twenty-eighth of June, 1535, and declared the pleasure the king had, that Melancthon was disposed to come into France, to endeavour to pacify the controversies. Melancthon wrote

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to the king, the twenty-eighth of September following, and assured him of his good intentions; but that he was sorry he had not surmounted the obstacles to his journey. Langey was ordered to sound Melancthon, if he was inclined to change his chair of theology at Wittenberg, whose income was only two hundred crowns a year, for a royal professor's chair in the university of Paris, at twelve hundred crowns a year. Varillas says, 'the elector of Saxony permitted Melancthon to go into France, in hopes that he would make all the French turn Lutherans. But Luther, who could not be without Melancthon, detained him a long time, upon pretence that he was to concert, or, to speak more properly, to polish with him his last book against the Anabaptists.' Boyle contradicts Varillas, and says, the elector of Saxony could not be prevailed upon to grant Melancthon the liberty of going to France, and wrote his excuses to Francis I. Luther did not detain Melancthon; but made repeated instances to the elector for his journey. In fact, Melancthon could never obtain leave from the elector to make it, although Luther had earnestly exhorted that prince to consent to this journey, by representing to him, that the hopes of seeing Melancthon had put a stop to the persecution of the protestants in France.

The king of England also desired to see Melancthon: But neither of these two monarchs ever saw him. However, Malancthon sent a small piece into France, which contained his advices about reconciling of the controversies.

Luther, in 1536, wrote upon his table these words following: *Res et verba Philippus; verba sine rebus Erasmus; res sine verbis Lutherus; nec res nec verba Carolostadius.* 'Philip Melancthon is both subtance and words: Erasmus, words without substance; Luther, substance without words; and Carolostad neither substance nor words.' Melancthon unawares coming to Luther at that time, and reading the same, smiled, and said, "Touching Erasmus and Carolostadius, it is well judged and censured; but too much is attributed unto me; also good words ought to be ascribed to Luther, for he speaketh exceeding well."

Melancthon, in 1541, assisted at the conferences of Spires and Ratisbon, where the controversies between the Romanists and Protestants were warmly disputed. At the former, the papists chose Eckius, and the protestants appointed Melancthon, to confer about the points in controversy, and agreed that they should begin to discourse about original sin. They entered upon it, and continued the conference three days, when Nicholas Granville, who was then prime minister to the emperor, and his commissioner

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at the conference, received a letter from his imperial majesty, which ordered that the conference should be discontinued, and all things referred to the diet of Ratisbon, where the protestants were ordered to meet. This diet was opened in March, in the presence of the emperor, who appointed Eckius, Pflugius, and Gropper, to manage it for the Romanists; and for the protestants, Melancthon, Bucer, and Pistorius. He commanded them to lay aside all passion, and to respect the glory of God only in that conference. Frederic, brother to the elector palatine, was appointed president; who opened the conference on the 27th of April, when a writing was produced, which contained twenty-two articles, wherein the whole substance of religion was comprized. It was imagined, that this writing was drawn up by John Gropper; but the emperor said, it was presented to him by persons of learning and piety, to forward the peace: He therefore desired them to examine it, that they might approve of what was well, correct what was amiss, and terminate all differences. Dupin has set forth all these articles, which are too long to be inserted here. The protestants examined, and objected to several of them; which was resented by the legate, and the diet was concluded by the emperor, who commanded that the decree of the diet of Augsburg should still continue; but he suspended all prosecutions in the imperial chamber concerning matters of religion, till either a general or national council was held. In the course of this disputation, it ought to be mentioned to the honour of Melancthon, that when Eckius proposed a sophism somewhat puzzling, Melancthon paused a little, and said, "that he "would give an answer to it next day." Upon which Eckius represented to him the disgrace of such a scholar requiring so long a time; but Melancthon replied, like an honest man, "*Mi doctor, non quæro meam gloriam in hac* "*negotio, sed veritatem:*" i. e. My good doctor, I am not seeking my own glory in this affair, but the truth. However, he got a complete victory over Eckius; who dared no more to shew his face in the controversy.

In 1543, Melancthon went to the elector of Cologne, to assist him in introducing a Reformation into his diocese, which proved ineffectual. Bucer and Pistorius assisted Melancthon in drawing up the articles for the elector: But Gropper composed a treatise against those articles, and the divines of Cologne stood so firm against their archbishop, that he was unable to introduce the protestant religion in his electorate. However, the elector of Cologne, and the elector palatine, renounced popery.

Melancthon

Melancthon had two sons, and two daughters, by Catharine Crappin, the daughter of a burgomaster of Wittenberg, whom he married in the year 1520, and lived very happily with, till the year 1557, when she died. His daughter Anne was married to George Sabinus, of Wittenberg, in 1536, when she was only fourteen years old. Sabinus was one of the best poets of his time; and Erasmus, in 1534, had highly recommended him to Melancthon. Anne understood Latin well, and was very handsome. Her father loved her tenderly: But there had been several quarrels between the father-in-law and the son-in-law; because Sabinus was ambitious to obtain civil employments, and disliked the humility of Melancthon, who confined himself to literary employments, and would be at no trouble to advance his children. Sabinus, in 1543, carried his wife into Prussia, to the great grief of Melancthon; and she died at Konigsberg, in 1547. Melancthon's other daughter was married, in 1550, to Gasper Peucer, who was an able physician, and was very much persecuted. Melancthon was certainly a good father, as appears by this story. A Frenchman found him one day holding a book in one hand, and rocking a child with the other. Melancthon, seeing him surprised at this, made such a pious discourse to him about the duty of a father, and the state of grace in which children are with God, that this stranger went away much more learned than when he came in.

Melancthon had much of his time taken up by the affair of the Interim. He attended seven conferences upon this subject in 1548; and wrote all the pieces that were presented there, as also the censure of that Interim.

About this time Melancthon was expected in England, by king Edward VI. to which he was excited by bishop Latimer, the great court-preacher, who said before the young monarch, in one of his sermons; 'I hear say, Mr 'Melancthon, that great clerk, should come hither. I 'would wish him, and such as he is, two hundred pounds 'a year. The king should never want it in his coffers at 'the year's end.'

Melancthon was one of the deputies whom Maurice, elector of Saxony, was to send to the council of Trent in 1552. He waited some time at Nuremberg for a safe-conduct; but he returned from thence to Wittenberg, on account of the war which was ready to break out. His last conference with the doctors of the Romish communion was at Worms, in 1557; and of the dissentions that afflicted him, there was none more violent than that which was raised by Flacius Illyricus.

Melancthon

Melancthon was of a mild and peaceable disposition: He had a great deal of wit, much reading, and vast knowledge. He lived among a sort of people who appeared to him passionate, and too forward to mix human methods, and the authority of the secular power, with the affairs of the church. His tender conscience made him fear there was a mark of reprobation in it: But he must have well weighed all inconveniences, when he cast his eyes upon Palestine, as Abelard had formerly done, to retire there, in case his enemies should drive him away. "I am not de-"jected, says he, at the cruel clamour of my enemies, "who have threatened they will not leave me a footstep "in Germany. But I commit myself to the Son of God. "If I shall be driven away alone, I am determined to go "to Palestine, and, in those lurking-places of Jerom, by "calling upon the Son of God, to write clear testimonies "of the divine doctrine, and in death to recommend my "soul to God."

The testimonies of piety with which Melancthon ended his days were admirable: And it is observable, that one thing which made him look upon death as a happiness, was, that it delivered him from theological persecutions. Some days before he died, he wrote on a piece of paper, in two columns, the reasons why he ought not to be sorry for leaving this world. One of those columns contained the blessings that death would procure him: The other contained the evils from which death would deliver him. The first column had six heads. First, That he should come to the light. Secondly, That he should see God. Thirdly, that he should contemplate the Son of God. Fourthly, That he should understand these admirable mysteries which he could not comprehend in this life. Fifthly, Why we are created such as we are. Sixthly, What is the union of the two natures in Jesus Christ. The second column had only two articles: First, That he should sin no more. Secondly, That he should be no longer exposed to the vexations and rage of the divines.

The state of man appeared to this great divine to be one of the most incomprehensible mysteries of religion; and yet there is not one among those who believe without examining, that imagines there is any difficulty in it.

Melancthon said, he had held his professor's place forty years, without ever being sure that he should not lose it before the end of the week. None liked his mildness, which exposed him to all sorts of slander, and deprived him of the means of answering a fool according to his folly. The only advantage it procured him was to look upon

upon death without fear, by considering that it would secure him from theological hatred and contentions.

Hoornbeeck attributed to *Melancthon* the *Greek* version of the *Augsburg* confession, which appeared under the name of *Paul Dascius:* And *Placcius* also believed that the translation of *Ecclesiasticus* and the *Psalms* into *Greek* verse was the work of *Melancthon*. It is certain, that he assisted *Luther* in translating the New Testament into the *German* language: But *Melchior Adam*, *Teissier*, and *Crenius*, were mistaken, as well as *Placcius*, about his *Greek* version of *Ecclesiasticus* and the *Psalms;* for *Lyserus* has proved that it was done by *Dolscius*. *Melancthon*, in 1559, wrote in *Greek* to the patriarch of *Constantinople*, and said, "I send "you the *Greek* version of the *confession*, which was pub- "lished without my advice: However, I like the style, "and have sent it to *Constantinople*." *Melchior Adam* says, that this version was made by *Melancthon*, though it was published under the name of *Dolscius*, who was rector of the college of *Hall* in *Saxony*. But *Melancthon*'s own words shew that he did not make this version.

Peucer was heard to say, that *Melancthon*, his father-in-law, having read the dialogue *de Cœna domini*, wrote by *Oecolampadius*, forsook the opinion of the oral manducation; and that afterwards he triumphed in the argument from the doctrine of the fathers. He said, "The doctrine "of consubstantiation was unknown to the fathers; and "that *Augustine* was a gross Zuinglian."

Melancthon explained himself freely to an *Hungarian*, who asked his opinion about the eucharist. This was reported to *Pomeranus*, who afterwards addressed himself in this manner to the people in a sermon: 'Most dear bre- 'thren, the church is in great danger: Pray to God for 'some great persons that are fallen into error.' *Melancthon* was present, and understood that this was meant of him: He could not suppress his anger, and went out of the church in sight of all the congregation. *Hospinian* has undertaken to prove, that *Melancthon* turned from Lutheranism, as to the point of the real presence; though the fear of oppression prevented him from declaring his judgment openly.

Melancthon spent all his life in study, and seemed not to be capable of any other labour. He subsisted upon the salary he received from *John Frederic*, elector of *Saxony*, as professor of divinity in the university of *Wittenberg;* which was just sufficient to maintain his family. His constitution was very weak, and required great tenderness and management; which made *Luther*, zealous as he was,

blame him for labouring too earnestly in the vineyard. 'I 'am extremely grieved, says he, for your very bad state 'of health; and my prayers are continually offered up for 'your recovery, that there may be somebody, when I am 'dead, who may be a bulwark to the house of *Israel* 'against the ragings of *Satan*. In the mean time, why 'do you embarrass and load yourself with so much busi- 'ness and labour, regardless of all the admonitions which 'have been given you? The time will come, when you 'will condemn, but it will be too late, this inconsiderate 'zeal, which now possesses you, and urges you to under- 'take so much more than you are able to bear, as if you 'had a constitution of iron or stone.'

In the beginning of his sickness, he said; "I desire to "be dissolved, and to be with *Christ*." And when his intimate friend *Camerarius* took his last leave of him, and commended him to God, *Melancthon* said; "*Jesus Christ*, "the Son of God, who sitteth at the right hand of the "Father, and giveth gifts to men, preserve you and "yours, and us all." Feeling himself very sick, he cried; "O Lord, make an end!"

Having received letters from *Francfort*, concerning the persecution of some godly men in *France*, he said, "that "his bodily disease was not comparable to the grief of "his mind for his godly friends, and for the miseries of "the church." Raising himself up in his bed, he cried out; "If God be for us, who can be against us?" After this he prayed to himself; and being at length asked by his son-in-law, if he would have any thing, he answered, "Nothing but heaven; therefore, trouble me no more "with speaking to me." Soon after this he gave up the ghost, at *Wittenberg*, on the nineteenth of *April*, 1560, which was the sixty-third day of his sixty-fourth year. He was honourably buried near *Luther*, in the church of the castle, two days after: And his funeral oration was spoken by *Winshemius*, a doctor of physic, and professor of the *Greek* tongue.

When he was first converted, he thought it impossible for his hearers to withstand the evidence of the truth in the ministry of the gospel; but, after preaching a while, he complained, "That old *Adam* was too hard for young "*Melancthon*."

It is astonishing, that, amidst so many other occupations, *Melancthon* could write so many books. The number of them is prodigious; and a chronological catalogue of them was published in 1582, by *Mylius*. *Christopher Pezelius*, professor of theology at *Wittenberg*, in 1578, published

lished some extracts of *Melancthon*'s works, in which he put the objections and answers concerning theological matters in a very good method, and interspersed some short observations. This work contains eight volumes in octavo, which have been printed several times at *Neustat.* *Melancthon* finished few pieces, and published many imperfect. He found his writings were profitable to the youth, and he rather chose to print many of them than to perfect a small number, as he preferred the advantage of the public to his own glory. We may believe, that the happy genius wherewith he was naturally endowed, gave him some assurance that his works would be esteemed, though unfinished. His *Latin* verses pleased the hypercritical *Julius Cæsar Scaliger:* And *Gaspar Buschius* poet-laureat to *Ferdinand* king of the *Romans*, translated *Melancthon*'s catechism, and his postilles, into *German*, as also a letter of his to the Count *de Weda.*

Melancthon was so cool in his temper, that he examined matters the more freely on both sides, and was not peremptory in his opinions, because he was convinced that his knowledge might daily encrease; for he remembered that he had corrected many things in his own writings, which he had believed to be good when they were first published. His modesty and experience rendered him a little distrustful. He loved peace; and deplored the confusion of the times. He was even disposed to judge favourably of several doctrines to facilitate a re-union. Modesty, moderation, and love of peace, form in the minds of the most knowing men, a certain principle of equity, which makes them lukewarm and irresolute; and this seems to have been the character of *Melancthon.* In some cases, however, (as *Zanchius* observed of him) his natural timidity led him to concur with, and do many things which his judgment disapproved, and which were afflicting to many good men, who loved him sincerely.

He published several books on rhetoric, logic, and grammar, as well as on theology. His common-places were published in 1521, when he was only twenty-four years of age; and there is reason to believe that he was an author in print before the age of twenty. The parliament at *Paris* in 1523, censured some of his works, as they did those of *Luther* and *Carolostadius.* The court condemned the writings of *Melancthon*, as containing 'things contrary to holy scripture, sound reason, the 'councils, the doctrine of the universal church, and judg-'ment of the catholic fathers; being full of schismatical 'and heretical propositions already condemned, contain-

'ing the doctrines of *Luther*, and more dangerous than 'his books, because of the artifices and smoothness of his 'discourse: And to shew that they had reason to con-'demn them, they joined a general censure of some pro-'positions taken out of his book of common places, his 'commentary upon the epistle to the *Romans*, his treat-'ise against the censures of the sorbonne, his letters and 'declarations.' The Lutheran doctrine was then encouraged in the *French* court; and it is no wonder that every Reformer was censured by the sorbonne and parliament, who condemned *Mesgret* for favouring the licence which *Wickliffe* had introduced; and passed a general censure upon the colloquies of *Erasmus*, while that eminent genius paid *Melancthon* the highest compliments, and said he was desirous of joining with him in his endeavours for the peace of the church; but that there were some men of reputation and authority, who treated all those as heretics that had any correspondence with *Melancthon*.

Melancthon, *Cruciger*, *Bugenhagius*, and *Aurogallus*, assisted *Luther* in his *German* translation of the Bible. *Luther* presided over the work; and collated the *Vulgate* translation, his new one, and the original text. *Melancthon* compared these with the *Septuagint*. *Cruciger* conferred the *Hebrew* with the *Chaldee*; and the other assistants explored the rabbinical writings. Every one came to conference prepared for the particular passages under consideration; and each delivered in his judgment upon the several texts: These were all collated and examined, before they concluded upon, and determined the final expression.—This was a great work, highly valuable in itself, and the most effectual means, in the hand of God, both of preparing and establishing the REFORMATION.

JOHN à LASCO,

THE POLISH REFORMER.

GOD calleth his church out of every people, and nation, and tongue. It is declared, that every country under heaven shall bear witness of the power of his grace, as well as participate the blessings of his providence; and that he is, and will be, *rich unto all that call upon* HIM.

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This excellent man was born of a noble family, (which took its name from *Lasco*, or *Latzki*, or *Latzco*,) in *Poland*, and received a very learned and accomplished education. His brother *Jerom* was also a very able and considerable man, and was employed by the emperor *Ferdinand* to negotiate an affair of great importance with the *Turks*, as his ambassador: And he had an uncle, of his own name, who was archbishop of *Gnesna* in *Poland*, to whom *Erasmus* dedicated his edition of St *Ambrose*'s works.

To attain the knowledge of every thing worth knowing, he set out upon his travels. His distinguished abilities procured him an easy access to several crowned heads, whose countries he visited; and his eloquence, as well as his learning, made him acceptable every where.

In the course of his learned pursuits, we find him traversing the *Alps*, and sitting himself down in the barren cold region of *Switzerland*. It seems, that divine grace, while he was visiting the world, here first visited his heart. It not only visited, but fixed its abode within him. *Zuinglius* appears to have been the instrument; for we find, that he staid some time with him at *Zurick*, and that *Zuinglius*, being fully acquainted with his eminent talents, as well as gracious affections, prevailed upon him to study divinity, with a view of promoting the cause of the gospel.

After some stay at *Zurick*, he returned to his own country: But *Poland* was no favourable place for his profession of protestantism, or the increase of his spiritual knowledge as a divine. Accordingly, though his family and connections opened his way for any sort of preferment; he left his country, his friends, and all human expectations, in order to propagate the truth with freedom, and to enjoy it with safety. He did not quit the kingdom, however, without the knowledge and consent of the king. But, having obtained the royal licence, he chose rather to suffer afflictions (like *Moses*) with the people of God, than to enjoy all the riches and honours, which the world could afford him. He had been made provost of *Gnesna* and bishop of *Vesprim* in *Hungary*; but these dignities had no weight with him to quit or conceal the knowledge of the truth, for which he was accused of heresy, and even sentenced without hearing. He afterwards wrote to the king upon a similar occasion, and told him; "That his doctrine of "the sacrament had been condemned by a pre-conceived "determination, without any real or just knowledge of "the matter by those who condemned him; and that it "was the manner of the papists, not to attempt convic-"tion by scripture and reason, but to employ force and

" authority; accusing those of heresy, who will not swal-
" low all they say, or maintain whatever absurdities they
" are pleased to affirm."

Sic volo, sic jubeo: stet pro ratione voluntas.

It appears by a popish historian, quoted by *Melchior Adam*, that our noble professor left *Poland* in the year 1540. We find him retired, however, to *Embden* in *Friesland* about the latter end of the year 1542, where he took upon him the office of a pastor, and preached constantly at his church in that town. In the following year, he was engaged, by *Anne*, countess dowager of *Oldenburg* in *East Friesland*, to introduce and establish the reformed religion in that territory. This he attempted with great success, and continued in this labour, till he received an invitation from *Albert* duke of *Prussia* for the same purpose. He sent the prince, in a spirit of fairness and candour, a declaration of his doctrine of the sacrament, which accorded with the doctrine of *Zuinglius*; and therefore, as the duke was a Lutheran, the affair dropped between them.

He had laboured in the work of the gospel near ten years in *East Friesland*, not daring to venture into *Germany* on account of the threats of *Charles* V. and the contest upon the business of the *Interim*; when he was invited into *England*, by our great and good archbishop *Cranmer*, to assist in the work of the Reformation. This was about the year 1549. He arrived in *England*, when the publication of the *Interim* drove the protestants into any country, that would grant them a toleration; and such they found in *England*, where they had several privileges granted them by king *Edward* the VIth. Three hundred and fourscore were naturalized, and erected into a corporate body, which was governed by its own laws, and allowed its own form of religious worship, independent of the church of *England*; which at that time was a most extraordinary concession, and proved how highly they were held in estimation. A church in *London* (the *Austin Friars*) was also granted to them, with the revenues belonging to it for the subsistence of their ministers, who were either expressly nominated, or at least approved by the king. His majesty also fixed the precise number of them. According to this regulation, there were four ministers, and a superintendant; which post was assigned to *John à Lasco*, who had been invited over, and who, in the letters patent, is called a person of illustrious birth, of singular probity, and great learning. In the midst of these favours, it was certainly neither prudent nor grateful to attack the established church

church, which we find he did by writing a book against her ritual, her ecclesiastical habits, and the gesture of kneeling at the sacrament. What a pity, when so many essentials were concerned, that good men should occupy themselves and differ about modes, and forms, and trifles!

About this time, 'the emigrants from *Germany* (says 'Dr *Glocester Ridley*) on the score of religion, who agreed 'in substance with us, but under a different discipline, 'were to be protected; but under their wing, crept mul- 'titudes of frantic enthusiasts, or lurking papists person- 'ating new sectaries. For sifting of these in *June* 1550, '*Austin Friars* was given to the *Germans* and other fo- 'reigners, for their church, under the superintendency 'of *John à Lasco*, the *Polander*; *for avoiding of all sects of* '*Anabaptists and such like*, as king *Edward* sets it down 'in his journal. These were indulged to use their own 'rites and ceremonies; and an injunction was given to 'all bishops, judges and officers, not to molest them for 'their non-compliance with the order of religion esta- 'blished here. So that every stranger, who was not pro- 'tected by *John à Lasco*, became amenable to the *English* 'governors.'—Thus affairs stood (for *Lasco*'s book did not operate to his prejudice); till the death of that excellent prince, our *English Josiah*, gave a new turn to public expectation, and for a time unhinged the establishment of the reformed religion.

King *Edward* the VIth was taken from the world on the sixth of *July*, 1553. The change of public measures and counsels was soon written in blood. However *John à Lasco* and the other foreigners of the protestant faith, were suffered to depart, or rather were sent away, upon the accession of queen *Mary*. They formed a great company of *Polish*, *Germans*, *French*, *Scots*, *Italians*, *Spaniards*, and others. *John à Lasco* embarked on the seventeenth of *September* following, with one hundred and seventy-five of his flock, and his colleagues, all except two, who staid in *England* concealed, together with the rest of the *German* protestants, who were deprived of their churches, and all their privileges taken away. These distressed exiles arrived on the coast of *Denmark*, in the beginning of a very severe winter; but they met with a reception as cold and as barren as the country itself. For, though they were known to be protestants, yet because they professed the Zuinglian doctrine concerning the sacrament; to the lasting disgrace of the *Danes*, both as men and as Christians, they were not suffered to disembark, nor to anchor longer than two days, without daring to put their wives

and children on shore. An instance of brutality, which would have disgraced the *Algerines!* They were treated in the same inhospitable and unchristian manner at *Lubec*, *Wismar* and *Hamburgh*; because, with these Lutherans and the papists, they could not believe, contrary to the evidence of their senses, and without the least authority from the scripture to look after a miracle, that the bread and wine in the sacrament actually became that very body and blood of *Jesus Christ*, which is ascended to heaven, and which, it is declared, shall remain there, till the final restitution of all things. If the manners and dispositions of these people had been ever so much more churlish, selfish, and unfeeling, than they are by nature; surely, grace, if they had any, must have melted their bosoms at the sight of so much outward suffering, and especially of so much Christian woe. After spending the winter, which is commonly very severe in those countries, in this dreadful manner, tossed about from place to place; they at length resolved to steer for *Embden*, where, after a multitude of perils and hardships, they did not arrive till *March*, 1554, when the worst of the winter was nearly over. From *September* to *March*, they had wandered to and fro, and were driven about upon the seas. Through the wide world these people sought after a home, of whom the world, indeed, was not worthy.

At *Embden* they were received with kindness and hospitality; and most of them settled in the country. The good countess dowager, *Anne* of *Oldenburg*, became their immediate patroness, and probably procured for them all the good offices, which they found in *Friesland*. *John à Lasco*, however, did not remain here; for, in 1555, he went to *Frankfort* upon the *Maine*, where he obtained leave of the senate to build a church for the reformed strangers, and particularly for those of the low countries. While he was at this city, he wrote an apologetical letter to *Sigismund* king of *Poland*, against the aspersions of *Joachim Westphale*, of *Timann*, and of *Pomeran*, who had all represented him as a vagabond, desirous of drawing away people after him. This letter was written in 1556; and we have given a hint of its contents before.

In this year, 1556, with the consent of the duke of *Wirtenberg*, he maintained a disputation against *Brentius* the Lutheran, upon the subject of the eucharist. *Brentius* published a very unfair account of this controversy, in which he stated many things, which *John à Lasco* had not said; and omitted many others, which he urged, but which bore too hard upon the Lutherans. He also abused

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the church of the strangers, over which *John à Lasco* presided, calumniating them for differing from the confession of *Augsburg*, respecting the sacrament. This obliged our noble sufferer to publish an apology for himself and his church, about the beginning of the year 1557, in which he proved, "That their doctrine did not militate with "the *Augsburg* confession concerning the presence of *Christ* "in the supper;" as their adversaries had charged upon them: "But that, if even they did differ from that con- "fession, it did not follow they were to be condemned; "if they could justify their dissent from that confession "by the word of God."

Westphale seems to have been his principal adversary, and carried his opposition with a bitterness, very unbecoming a minister and a Christian. He called these poor refugees by opprobrious names, railed severely at *John à Lasco*, and even went so far as to say, 'That those, who 'had suffered, upon the doctrine of the sacrament, in '*England*, *Holland*, *France*, and elsewhere, were only the 'martyrs of the devil.'—A rash expression indeed, which involved in its censure some of the brightest and most useful instruments of the Reformation, whose very books *Westphale* was not worthy to bear after them! Such hot-headed opinionists only injure the cause which has the misfortune of their approbation.

After an absence of twenty years, our noble *Pole* returned to his native country; where, notwithstanding the bishops and other ecclesiastics did their utmost to drive him away; their efforts proved ineffectual, through the favour of *Sigismund* the king, who made use of his talents in his most important affairs. In *Poland*, the harvest truly was plenteous; but the labourers were few. The popish clergy obstructed every attempt of a Reformation, and would have destroyed *John à Lasco*, but for fear of the consequence to themselves. They once attempted to remove him from the king's confidence, and had the boldness to address his majesty upon the subject. But the king nobly replied, 'That he had indeed heard, that the bishops had pro- 'nounced him an heretic; but the senate of the kingdom 'had determined no such matter: That *John à Lasco* was 'ready to prove himself untainted with heretical pravity, 'and sound in the catholic faith.'

When open attacks would not serve, they attempted (in the true spirit of their profession) to destroy him by secret arts. No lie, no calumny, was too gross or bitter for circulation, if there was the least prospect of its gaining belief among the multitude. They set it about, that he

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was a trumpet of sedition, and would soon introduce a civil war into the land. But these artifices, likewise, had no other effect, than to shew the malice and wickedness of his enemies.

However, it pleased God, in a short time, to remove his servant out of this turbulent world, and to bring him happily, where the wicked cease from troubling, and where the weary are at rest. He was taken away by a short sickness in *January*, 1560.

King *Sigismund* (as we have observed) very highly esteemed him, and advised with him upon his most weighty affairs. *John à Lasco* continued in the Helvetic or Zuinglian doctrine of the sacrament, without any variation; but took very great pains to conciliate the difference, which subsisted upon that article, in the protestant churches. He was a man of peace, a minister of the gospel of peace, and peace he wished to promote. And so do all those, who have *the peace of God ruling in their hearts.*

The historians of his time speak very highly in his praise. *Erasmus*, who much esteemed him, declares, that he had learned sobriety, temperance, modesty, discretion and chastity of him; although being then old, and *John à Lasco* yet young, he ought to have been the master, and not the scholar. And *Zanchius*, in a letter to him, writes thus; ‘ *Servavit te huc usque Deus, ut sicut* Lutherus *suæ Ger-* ‘ *maniæ*, Zuinglius *suæ Helvetiæ*, Calvinus *suæ Galliæ*, ‘ *ita* tu *tuæ Poloniæ sis Apostolus :*’ i. e. God hath hitherto preserved you, that as *Luther*, *Zuinglius*, and *Calvin*, were the apostles of their own respective countries of *Germany*, *Switzerland*, and *France :* so *You*, in like manner, might be the apostle of *Poland*, your native land.

His writings were : 1. A book upon the Lord's Supper. 2. An epistle, containing a brief discussion of the controversy upon the Lord's Supper. 3. A confession of our communion with the Lord *Christ*, and the exhibition of his body in the sacrament; addressed to the ministers of the churches in *East Friesland.* 4. An epistle to the ministers of the church at *Bremen.* 5. A tract against *Mennon*, the chief of the catabaptists, 6. Three epistles, concerning the right method of church-government. 7. An epistle apologetical to king *Sigismund* and the states of *Poland.* 8. A defence of the church of refugees at *Frankfort*, upon the calumny about the Lord's Supper. 9. An answer to the virulent address of *Joachim Westphale* upon the same subject. 10. The manner and reason of the whole ecclesiastical conduct of *Edward* the VIth, towards the church of refugees in *London.*

PETER



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PETER MARTYR:

OR

PETER MARTYR VERMILIUS.

THIS excellent man was born in the city of *Florence*, the metropolis of the dukedom of *Tuscany* in *Italy*, on the eighth of *September*, 1500. His father was *Stephen Vermilius*, who gave him such a liberal education, that, at sixteen years of age, he became a canon regular of the order of St *Augustine* in the college at *Fiscoli*, about a mile from *Florence*. It is said, that he received the first rudiments of literature from his mother, who was a very ingenious lady, and used to read *Terence* and the other *Latin* classics to him in the original. He spent three years at this college, and was then sent to *Padua*, to enlarge his learning in that university, which was in a flourishing condition. He settled there in the monastery of St *John de Verdera* of the same order of Augustines, where he continued eight years studying philosophy, and the other liberal arts: But he more particularly applied himself to the study of the *Greek* tongue, and poets, which he completely mastered.

He began to preach in 1526; and the first time he performed that office was in the church of St *Afra* in *Brescia*, or *Brixia*, a city belonging to the republic of *Venice*. He afterwards preached in the most considerable cities of *Italy*: But all the time that he could obtain from his function was devoted to sacred learning, philosophy, and in acquiring the *Hebrew* tongue. He became such a celebrated scholar, that he was made abbot of *Spoletto*, in the duchy of *Umbria*, subject to the pope, where he continued three years. From thence he was translated to the city of *Naples*, where he became abbot of the monastery of his order called St *Peter ad Aram*, which was much more considerable than that of *Spoletto*.

At *Bononia* he applied himself to the study of the *Hebrew* tongue, and pursued at the same time his studies in divinity.

It was at *Naples* that *Martyr* first read the works of *Bucer* and *Zuinglius*, which opened his eyes to the verity of

of the gospel: But he did not embrace the protestant religion till the year 1542. One *Valdes*, a *Spanish* lawyer and learned protestant, was the means of establishing him in the knowledge and love of the truth; so that, it is said, he even ventured to preach it privately at *Rome* itself, to some persons of quality, and proceeded so far as to attack the doctrine of purgatory openly; but was soon silenced. He fell into a dangerous sickness after he had been three years at *Naples*; but the strength of his constitution overcame it, and his physicians advised him to take better air than what *Naples* afforded. The fathers therefore chose him general visitor of their order, that he might be absent from his cure with convenience: and he was soon after elected prior of St *Fridian* in the city of *Lucca* in *Tuscany*, where he enjoyed his native air. Here he lived with *Zanchius* and *Tremellius*, whom he is said to have been the instrument of converting to the knowledge and profession of the gospel, with many others, who were afterwards obliged to abandon their native country upon that account.

This priory was a place of great dignity, and had episcopal jurisdiction in the middle part of the city. He instituted a most admirable method of studies for the young students at *Lucca*: But his opinion concerning a Reformation of the church was discovered, and snares were laid for him by the monks, which prevented him from declaring his sentiments. He therefore committed the best part of his library to the custody of one of his friends, gave another part to the college, and departed from *Lucca* to *Pisa*, a city eight miles distant from the other.

He wrote from *Pisa* to cardinal *Pole*, and shewed him the reasons of his departure. Afterwards he went into *Switzerland* with *Bernardinus Ochinus*, who was also lately converted from the *Romish* superstitions, after having been one of the most popular preachers in *Italy*, and continued some time at *Zurick*; from whence he went to *Strasburgh*, by means of *Bucer*, where he read and taught divinity about five years.

While he was at *Strasburgh*, he followed the example of *Luther* and *Bucer*, by taking a wife, who had lately been a nun, and whose name was *Catharine Dampmartin*. This caused his enemies to say, that he left his order and monastic vows for the sake of a woman. She lived with him eight years, went with him to *England*, and died at *Oxford*.

Bucer endeavoured to persuade *Peter Martyr* to follow his example about the eucharist. *Martyr* conformed himself for some time to *Bucer*'s language, and afterwards left it, when he saw the dangerous consequences of it; which were,

were, that the Lutherans were not fully satisfied; while it gave offence to the weak and perplexed, and embarrassed them in such a manner, that they could not tell what to believe on that point. However, *Bucer* was convinced of *Martyr's* orthodoxy; and they continued their friendship. *Bucer* and *Fagius* were invited to *England* in the reign of *Edward* VI. *Peter Martyr* was also invited there in that reign, to assist in the Reformation: Though *Naudæus* erroneously says, he fled thither for refuge.

In 1547, *Edward Seymour*, lord protector, and archbishop *Cranmer*, invited *Peter Martyr* to *England*, 'that his 'assistance might be used to carry on a Reformation in the 'church.' He arrived in *December* the same year in this kingdom, with *Bernardinus Ochinus*, another *Italian*. They were kindly received by archbishop *Cranmer*, at *Lambeth*, and entertained there for some time. The stipends, allowed them, were handsome for the time; though indeed no stipends could deserve any consideration, which might draw over and subsist men of such eminence and learning. We were but just emerged from barbarism in this country; and the introduction of learned foreigners afforded both a polish to our manners, and an improvement to our minds. True knowledge beat down the outworks of superstition, and the gospel of truth invested the capital.

Bucer was made professor of divinity at *Cambridge*; and, in 1548, *Martyr* was admitted doctor of divinity at *Oxford* as he had stood at *Padua*. The government, at that time, had a watchful eye over both the universities, where *Bucer*, *Martyr*, and the other learned foreigners, were hard pressed in disputes with popish *English* divines. *Oglethorpe*, the president of *Magdalen-college* in *Oxford*, was particularly obnoxious, as being backward in the work of Reformation, and there was some talk of prosecuting him before the council: But he prevented this, by sending a letter to *Cranmer*, setting forth his own conduct in the most favourable light, wherein he declared his dislike to transubstantiation; yet he thought that *Christ* was present in the sacrament in some inconceivable manner; on which account, he was of opinion, that it ought to be administered with great devotion and caution. We shall find that doctor *Oglethorpe* was afterwards made bishop of *Carlisle*; and that it was he who crowned queen *Elizabeth* in 1559, notwithstanding the other bishops refused to assist at the solemnity; because that princess had sufficiently declared herself against the church of *Rome*.

Doctor *Smith*, another eminent professor in *Oxford*, had been remarkably inconstant in matters of religion, and

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was therefore removed from his public professorship of divinity, to make way for *Peter Martyr*, notwithstanding he was more addicted to the Zuinglian than to the Lutheran doctrines in point of the sacrament.

The same year, *Martyr* was appointed by the king to read a public lecture to the academians in the divinity school, and to have an annuity of forty marks for his reward. He maintained public disputations with the Romanists, who behaved to him more like personal enemies than religious adversaries.

It is necessary to observe, that the main spring which actuated all measures, was religion. The young king, and the duke of *Somerset*, were sincerely and virtuously disposed towards a Reformation; and their measures were directed by the cool and politic head of archbishop *Cranmer*, who made an admirable use of that knowledge of mankind, which he had acquired by his long experience. He could not, indeed, prevent many, who assisted in the work of Reformation, from profiting themselves by the spoils of the church: But he took care, that what she lost in her property, she should make up in her establishment.

The spirit of Reformation seems to have been quickened by the arrival of the foreign divines from *Germany* and other places. They were in general against the imparity of church government: But, in other respects, their opinions were not much repugnant to those now received by the church of *England*. The calling in those foreigners had this happy effect, that their authority, which was great in *England* on account of their reputation abroad, proved an useful counterpoise at the universities, to the influence of the papists and popish professors, who continued still numerous there.

The privy-council were informed of the tumult at *Oxford*, and appointed some delegates to hear and preside in the disputation which the professor had undertaken. *Martyr* accordingly maintained, against three opponents, that in the sacrament of thanksgiving there is no transubstantiation of bread and wine into the body and blood of *Christ:* That his body or blood is not carnally or corporally *in* the bread and wine, nor *under* them: But that his body and blood are united to the bread and wine sacramentally. His adversaries, finding no advantage could be gained by argument, had recourse to more forcible measures. They stirred up the multitude against him so successfully, that he was obliged to retire to *London*, till the tumult was suppressed.

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In 1550, the king bestowed a canonry of *Christ-church* upon *Martyr*, who was installed the twentieth of *January*. He then entered upon the lodgings belonging to him, which joined on the north-side of *Christ-church* great gate, leading into *Fish-street*. His wife *Catharine* settled with him there; as the wife of doctor *Cox* did about the same time with him in the dean's lodgings. It was observed, that these were the first women, who resided in any college or hall at *Oxford*; by whose example any other canon was permitted to marry, and introduce women and children into those seminaries, which was looked upon as such a damnable matter by the papists, that they usually stiled them concubines; and called the lodgings that entertained them and their children stews and bawdy houses.

While *Martyr* continued in these apartments, he continually, and especially in the night time, received very opprobrious language from the papists, as well scholars as laics, who frequently broke his windows. This disturbed his studies and sleep, and obliged him to change his lodgings for those in the cloister, where he peaceably spent the remaining part of his abode in the university. However, for the closer enjoyment of his studies, he erected a fabric of stone in his garden, situated on the east-side of his apartments, wherein he partly composed his commentaries on the first epistle to the *Corinthians*, and his epistles to learned men. This fabric contained two stories, and stood till 1684, when it was pulled down.

Doctor *Hooper*, professor of divinity, was preferred to be bishop of *Gloucester*; but when he came to be consecrated he scrupled the wearing of some of the episcopal ornaments. Archbishop *Cranmer* suspended *Hooper*, as is mentioned in his life. The doctor consulted *Bucer* and *Martyr* upon the affair; and the latter wrote him an answer to all his objections, which was fuller than *Bucer*'s letter to the archbishop, but exactly conformable to the sentiments expressed in it. He commended *Hooper* for his pains in preaching; but advised him not to exert his zeal upon points that are indefensible, and things of little moment; lest the people should from thence be led to call in question the judgment of the reformed preachers, and give no credit to what they delivered in the most important articles. He reminded him, that an abstinence from things strangled, and from blood, was a part of the *Jewish* institution; and yet that the council at *Jerusalem* commanded the Gentiles to observe it, to avoid giving offence. In answer to one objection of *Hooper*'s, 'that

'we

'we ought to have an express warrant from scripture for 'every thing belonging to religion:' *Martyr* told him, that if the general rules of order were observed, the governors of the church had a discretionary latitude in little matters. Thus, for instance, our receiving the communion in a church, in a forenoon, not in a declining posture, and in a congregation of men only, stood upon no other than ecclesiastical, that is, human authority; to which he presumed, that *Hooper* had always submitted without any scruple. He told him further, that it would be difficult to produce any warrant from the New Testament for singing psalms in public worship; and that the Christian church from the beginning, in many particulars, had a regard to the *Jewish* polity; especially in the great festivals of *Easter*, and *Whitsuntide*. Supposing, what he could not grant, that the episcopal habit and vestments were introduced into the church by the see of *Rome*; yet he did not think the contagion of popery so very malignant as to carry infection to every thing which it touched: That to govern by such narrow maxims would lay an inconvenient restraint upon the church of God; and that our ancestors moved much more freely, who made no difficulty of turning heathen temples into Christian churches, and of translating the revenues sacred to idolatry, to pious uses, and the maintenance of the clergy.

Hooper for some time continued his non-conformity; but he was afterwards consecrated bishop, and died a martyr. *Peter Martyr*, and his companion *Ochinus*, had their annual allowances from the king; as all other learned followers had, according to bishop *Latimer*, who said, in one of his court sermons; 'There is yet among us two great 'learned men, *Peter Martyr* and *Bernard Ochin*, which 'have an hundred marks a-piece. I would the king would 'bestow a thousand pounds on that sort.' Such were the sentiments of this most venerable prelate and martyr, the pious *Latimer*.

The death of *Bucer*, which happened in 1551, was greatly lamented by king *Edward* VI. and all the friends of the Reformation in *England*. He was no friend to the book of Common Prayer as it stood at the time of his death; and his remonstrances, with those of *Martyr* and *Calvin*, prevailed with archbishop *Cranmer*, and the other prelates of the Reformation, to suffer it to be revised and corrected. *Catharine*, the wife of *Peter Martyr*, died about the same time, and she was buried in the cathedral church of *Oxford*, near to the place where the reliques of St *Frideswide* had been

been reposed: But, about four years after, her body was taken up, thrown out of the church with scorn, and buried in a dunghill, where it lay till queen *Elizabeth* came to the crown, when she ordered the body to be taken up and re-buried. 'The wife of *Peter Martyr* had been suspected of heresy: But, as she was a foreigner, and did not speak *English*, it was impossible to prove the charge against her; yet this did not prevent her body being taken out of its grave, and buried in unconsecrated ground.' The bodies of *Bucer* and *Fagius* were taken up and burnt under the farce of law. 'The like difficult process was also carried on against the body of *Peter Martyr*'s wife: But the visitors could not hear of any witnesses that had heard her utter any heresy. They sent up therefore to cardinal *Pole* for fresh instructions; who directed, that since it was notorious she had been a nun, and had married contrary to her vow, her body should be taken up, and buried in a dunghill, as a person dying under excommunication; which was done accordingly.' *Melchior Adam* says, that the true reason of this low indecency was founded in a motive of resentment, which cardinal *Pole* had conceived against her husband. The cardinal had formerly been the most intimate friend of *Martyr*, and even continued to appear so, after he had expressed his dislike of the errors of the church of *Rome*. But when *Martyr* left *Italy*, *Pole* became his most inveterate enemy, and exercised this indignity to the wife, in order to express his hatred of the husband. When queen *Elizabeth* came to the throne, her body was removed again by an order, and solemnly interred in the most honourable part of the church. And, to prevent the papists from treating her in the same opprobrious manner again, if they should ever have come into power, her bones were mixed with the bones of the saintess *Frideswide*, that it might not be possible to distinguish or separate them.

King *Edward* VI. died in 1553, in the sixteenth year of his age, which gave a violent blow to the Reformation. He was succeeded by his sister *Mary*, the daughter of *Catharine* of *Arragon*, who had been educated a papist, and whose reign was polluted with the blood of martyrs. Upon her accession, all the popish bishops were restored, and the protestant bishops set aside. A letter was issued to the bishops, attended by a proclamation, forbidding all exercises of preaching and expounding the scriptures without the queen's licence. Thus, the supremacy, for this time, was borrowed by a popish sovereign, to be the scourge of the Reformation. In the beginning of this

reign, many protestants foresaw the approaching persecutions which dishonoured the nation, and retired abroad; some to *Switzerland*, and others to *Germany*. A resolution was taken to bring into the universities a test for purging them of all protestants, and to prevent their readmission for the future. This was done by way of oath, as follows.

'You shall swear, by the holy contents of this book, 'that you shall not keep, hold, maintain, and defend, at 'any time, during your life, any opinion erroneous, or 'error of *Wickliffe*, *Huss*, *Luther*, or any other condemned 'of heresy: And that ye shall keep, hold, maintain, and 'defend, generally and especially, all such articles and 'points as the catholic church of *Rome* believeth, holdeth, 'or maintaineth, at this time: And that ye shall allow 'and accept, maintain and defend, for their power, all 'traditions, institutions, rites, ceremonies, and laudable 'customs, as the said church of *Rome* taketh them, alloweth them, and approveth them: And that you shall 'namely and specially hold as the said catholic church 'holdeth in all these articles, wherein lately hath been 'controversy, dissention, and error; as concerning faith 'and works, grace and free will, of sin in a good work, 'of the sacrifice of the New Testament, of the priesthood 'of the new law, of communion under both kinds, of 'baptism and Christian liberty, of monastic vows, of fasting and choice of meats, of the single life of priests, of 'the church, of the canonical books, of the firm holding 'of matters not exprest in the scriptures, of the inerrability of general councils in faith and manners, of the 'power of the church to make laws, of the church's 'sacraments and their efficacy, of the power of excommunication conferred upon the church, of punishing 'heretics, of the sacrifice of the mass, of purgatory, of 'worshipping saints and praying to them, of worshipping 'the images of saints, of pilgrimages, evengelical precepts and councils. And likewise of all other articles, 'wherein controversy or dissention hath been in the church 'before this day.'

The Roman-catholics at *Oxford*, without waiting for any directions from the court, drove *Peter Martyr* from the divinity chair, and brought the old service into the churches with all the train of ceremonies formerly used. *Martyr* then left *Oxford*, and went to *London*, where the queen granted him a safe-conduct, with which he returned to *Strasburgh*, where he met doctor *Cox* and some other

other *English* fugitives, and renewed his lectures in philosophy and divinity. *Ochinus* went to *Strasburgh* with his friend *Martyr*: and it was in the year 1553, that they repassed the sea. *Ochinus* went to *Switzerland*, where he continued ten years, when he was banished for his writings, in the seventy-sixth year of his age, and then went to *Moravia*, where he died of the plague. There are express and unexceptionable proofs that *Ochinus* fled from *Basil* to *Poland*, and died in those parts; yet the capuchins made no scruple to publish, that he died a Roman-catholic martyr at Geneva. 'Tis very certain, that he was not sound in the faith.

Martyr, upon an honorable invitation from the magistrates, travelled to *Zurick* in 1556, to which place he was accompanied by our excellent doctor *Jewel*, and several other exiled divines of *England*. In this city he took for his second wife one *Catharine Merenda*. He lived at *Zurick* seven years in high esteem with the inhabitants of the place, and in great friendship with *Bullinger* and other learned men. While he continued there, *Maximilian Celsus*, an exiled count, and the chief minister of the *Italian* church of *Geneva*, died; whereupon *Martyr* was invited to succeed him, which he refused for several reasons. When queen *Mary* died, queen *Elizabeth* invited him to return to *England*, and accept of what preferment he pleased, which he modestly declined. He continued at *Zurick* to the time of his death, which happened on the twelfth of *November*, 1562, in the sixty-second year of his age. He died with great comfort, meekness, and tranquillity, in the presence of *Bullinger*, and some other friends; before whom he declared, with a voice which could scarce be heard, "That he expected life and salvation only "through *Jesus Christ*, who alone was appointed by the "Father for the salvation of men." To this declaration he added several reasons for this hope; concluding with this sentence, "This is my faith; and in this I die: "But those who teach otherwise, and lead men to expect "salvation upon any other ground, will God destroy." Then, stretching forth his hands, he gently said, "Fare-"well, dear friends and brethren, farewell."

It appears that *Martyr* was in *France* in 1561, when he paid a visit to *John Anthony Caraccioli*, a bishop, who had openly declared himself a protestant. This prelate had not been confirmed or elected by the church and people; which made him in doubt, whether he could lawfully exercise the pastoral function? He convened the

elders of the reformed church, who met at *Poissy*, and referred the affair to the church of *Geneva*. 'In the mean 'time, passed through *Troyes*, (says *Beza*) that great man '*Peter Martyr*, in his return from *Poissy* to his church at '*Zurick*; by whose advice, the bishop made his abjura- 'tion, signed the confession of faith, promised to quit his 'bishopric, and was received into the ministry.'

He had two children by his second wife, who both died very young, and before him; and he left her with child of a third, which proved a daughter.

Peter Martyr is said to have been a man of a large healthy body, and of a very grave sedate and well-composed countenance. His parts and learning were very uncommon; as was also his skill in disputation, which made him as much admired by the protestants, as hated by the papists. He was very sincere and indefatigable in the work of the Reformation; yet his zeal was never known to run headstrong before his judgment. He was always moderate and prudent in his outward behaviour; nor, even in disputation, was he ever transported into intemperate warmth, or driven to unguarded expressions. None of his works raised his reputation higher in *England*, than his defence of the orthodox doctrine of the Lord's Supper, against bishop *Gardiner*, which all the foreign divines likewise allowed to be a most able and accurate performance. Bishop *Jewel* said of him, that he was an illustrious man, 'and ought never to be named without the highest respect 'and honour.' And *Simlerus*, who spoke his funeral oration before the people of *Zurick*, told them, 'That they 'might have another in *Martyr*'s room; but another '*Martyr* they would never have.'

His writings were very considerable: The *English* titles of them are as follow. 1. A catechism, or exposition of the creed, published in *Italian*. 2. A prayer book composed out of the *Psalms*. 3. Commentaries upon *Genesis*. 4. Upon the book of *Judges*. 5. Upon the two books of *Samuel*. 6. Upon the first book of *Kings*, and eleven chapters of the second. 7. Upon *Paul* to the *Romans*. 8. Upon the first epistle to the *Corinthians*. 9. Disputation at *Oxford*, about the Lord's Supper. 10. Defence about the orthodox doctrine of the Lord's Supper, against *Stephen Gardiner*. 11. An abridgement of the said defence made by him afterward. 12. Confession exhibited to the senate of *Strasburgh*, concerning the Supper of the Lord. 13. Judgment concerning the presence of *Christ*'s body in the sacrament, delivered at the conference at *Poissy*. 14. A discourse

discourse concerning the mass. 15. A dialogue concerning the place of *Christ*'s body, against the *Ubiquitaries*. 16. Refutation of *Richard Smith*'s two books, concerning single life and monkish vows. 17. Commentaries on the first and second books of *Aristotle*'s *Ethicks*, and part of the third. 18. Common places gathered out of his commentaries by others, and digested into heads. 19. Certain treatises of free-will, God's providence, predestination, and the cause of sin. 20. Propositions, some necessary, some probable, out of *Genesis*, *Exodus*, *Leviticus*, and *Judges*; together with solutions of a question or two concerning some Mosaical laws and oaths. 21. Divers sermons and orations of several subjects, and made upon several occasions. 22. His letters to sundry persons, concerning much variety of useful discourse.

THOMAS GRYNÆUS.

GOD, in his great mercy to his church, has appointed ministering servants, of various gifts and qualifications, for the building up of his people, and forwarding them in their most holy faith. Where the soft language of a *Barnabas* would probably fail, the Lord sends the thunder of a *Boanerges* to the soul: And he rarely employs the meek and placid spirit of a *Melancthon*, when the raging passions of men are better opposed by the magnanimous heart of *Luther*. Some of his ministers are most instrumental in public speaking; and others are perhaps more permanently and extensively useful in writing for the public. Divine grace confers different talents, proportioned to the different work designed: But still it is the *same* Spirit and the *same* Lord, *who worketh all in all*. Whatever good is done upon earth, the Lord doeth it himself.

This excellent man, *Thomas Grynæus*, seems to have eminently possessed *the ornament of a meek and quiet spirit*, which, though it has but little splendour in the eyes of men, *in the sight of God is of great price*. He made but little noise in the world; but was, however, of great use in promoting the cause of Reformation.

He was born at *Veringen* in *Germany*, of a good family, about the year 1512, and received the rudiments of his education

education at home. While he was yet very young, he was removed to the care of his good and learned uncle *Simon Grynæus* (whose life we have given) at *Heidelberg*, under whose tuition he studied very hard, and in time became a great proficient in almost every branch of science.

In the year 1529, he accompanied his uncle to *Basil*, in the seventeenth year of his age; and was so far advanced in his studies, as to be able, at a time when others are little more than school-boys, to assist his learned relation privately in the tuition of young persons, and in some respects, by teaching others to instruct himself. He does not appear to have remained long at *Basil*; for we find him, while a mere youth, in the capacity of a public teacher of the languages and philosophy at *Bern*, in *Switzerland*, where he obtained great esteem by his life and learning, In this station he continued about eleven years, till theological disputes, in which he was necessarily involved, began to run very high: Upon which account, being a man of a quiet spirit, and wearied with the contentions about him, he returned to *Basil*, where he pursued his studies for a while, with great diligence and privacy.

He had not sat down long at *Basil*, in 1547, before the rectors of that university, desirous to shew honour to so learned a man, as well as wishing for his able assistance, conferred upon him the degree of master of arts. While he was employed in this business of public and private tuition, to which he added the labours of a preacher in the neighbouring villages, *Charles*, marquis of *Baden*, who was awakened by the grace of God from the idolatry and superstition of the times, was imployed in purging his dominion of the *Romish* errors, and in establishing the pure doctrine of the gospel. His territory lay close up to *Basil*. Wishing, therefore, for an able and faithful minister, he applied earnestly to *Grynæus* to accept of the charge, and the more, as it was no great distance from his beloved seat of learning. Accordingly, *Grynæus* complied with the marquis's wishes, and performed his pastoral duty with so much faithfulness, solemnity, and kindness of behaviour, that he was exceedingly endeared to his flock, and beloved by all those who had any concern for truth and knowledge. In this function he continued about eight years; at the expiration of which, an epidemical disorder, which raged in *Basil* and through all the neighbouring country, carried off this valuable servant of *Jesus Christ* to his Master's presence, on the second of *August*, in the year 1564,

and

and in the fifty-second year of his age. His body was buried in his own church, where he had been the first preacher of the gospel, and where an honorable monument was afterwards erected to his memory.

It does not appear, that he published any writings; but he left behind him a noble treasure for the church in his four excellent sons, whose names where, *Theophilus*, *Simon*, *John James*, and *Tobias*, all of them eminent for their piety and learning. But *John James*, whose life we shall give hereafter, was the most distinguished of the four, and succeeded his father in his pastoral charge, as well as in faith and doctrine. He was indeed a burning and a shining light; as our Readers will probably perceive in the account of him. Such a father and such sons are not often met with in the history of the world.—Blessed be God for *them*. May the Lord of the vineyard send forth many more such labourers into his harvest!

PETER PAUL VERGERIO,

BISHOP OF ISTRIA.

SCARCE any thing proves the almighty efficacy of the grace of God with more demonstration, than the conversion of the determined opposers of the gospel. That *such* men should build the faith, which once they attempted to destroy, not only shews that there is some extraordinary circumstance in the case, but exites the public astonishment, and leads to the strictest enquiry. This enquiry, when conducted with candour and seconded by grace, has often ended in the conversion of others; and what was at first imagined to be only a private matter, has eventually turned out a public blessing. The wonderful change made in the apostle *Paul* had this happy effect; and as the sincerity of such persons, as the apostle and some others were, cannot reasonably be questioned; the surprizing alteration of their sentiments and conduct has been produced, as a strong argument of the truth and glory of the gospel. And, perhaps this argument has been treated by nobody with more force and perspicuity (so far as relates to the power

of words), than by the late Lord *Lyttleton* in his tract, entitled, 'Observations upon the conversion of St. 'Paul.'

The subject of our present consideration is another very remarkable instance of the same kind. *Vergerio*, as well as the apostle we have just mentioned, had too much knowledge to be deceived by mere artifice, had too great an interest, as well as gave up too great an interest, on the opposite side, to be questioned of their uprightness, and had nothing to hope for, by espousing the cause of truth, but reproach, and persecution, and poverty.

There were two of this name of *P. P. Vergerio*, and both very learned men. By way of distinction, our *Vergerio* is called junior, probably from being the younger of the two. The other was a layman, and a pupil of *Chrysoloras*, of *Constantinople*, who revived the knowledge of the *Greek* tongue and other learning in *Italy*, after a barbarism of above seven hundred years. It does not appear in what part of *Italy* our *Vergerio* was born or educated; but we find him celebrated for his knowledge in the canon law and scholastic divinity, and, in consequence of it, employed by the pope, as his nuncio, at the ever memorable diet of *Augsburg* in the year 1530. *Vergerio* had almost unlimited confidence placed in him, and was entrusted with a very ample commission. His chief instructions were, that he should use all endeavours to prevent the holding of a national council in *Germany*, and to induce king *Ferdinand*, the emperor's brother, to oppose any treaty of that kind. *Vergerio* very sedulously acquitted himself according to the tenor of his commission, and left no stone unturned to perplex and mortify the Lutherans, by shewing every liberality to *Eckius*, *Faber*, *Cochlæus*, and others, who were their adversaries, in order to induce them to make the warmer opposition. He also made *Eckius* a canon of *Ratisbon*; a piece of preferment, which, as the pope's legate, he could confer, being present; the chapter's right of election, in that case, being suspended.

Vergerio had conducted his trust with so much address, that when *Rango*, the bishop of *Rhegio*, (who had been sent by *Clement* VII. in quality of Ambassador to *Germany*, to conciliate the breaches in religion, and to negotiate the affair of a general council) was thought too old and infirm to carry on the artifices of the *Roman* see; nobody was thought more capable, or more attached, to succeed in that commission than *Vergerio*. His business was to profess, in behalf of the pope, his holiness's ardent desire to convene a general

a general council; while, secretly, he was to throw the most insurmountable obstacles in the way of effecting of that measure, which might be in his power. It was a work of darkness; and he was enjoined to be as silent as death.

Pope *Clement* dying, cardinal *Farnese* was elected in his stead, and assumed the name of *Paul* the third. This good man, as one of his first acts, created two of his grandchildren (very much under age, and issue of his bastards) cardinals of his holy church. He recalled *Vergerio* from *Germany*, in order to be exactly informed of the state of religion (or most likely of other things) in that country, and 'consulted (says *Sleidan*) with the cardinals, by what 'means they might best prevent the calling of a national 'council; till by private and unsuspected contrivances, 'they should have embroiled the emperor and other princes 'in a war.' The piety of this design needs no comment. However, the new pope resolved at length to send *Vergerio* back again into *Germany* to proffer a general council, but to take care, at the same time, under the appearance of the greatest openness and simplicity, to learn what form the protestants would insist upon it in reference to the qualifications, votings, and disputations of the council; that there might be such terms and rules imposed on them, as he might be sure they would never consent to. By this means, the odium of not holding the council would apparently fall upon them. He was also instructed, to exasperate the princes of the empire against the king of *England* [*Henry* the eight] whose dominions the pope had in contemplation to bestow upon those who would conquer them: And he received a secret article, to tamper with *Luther* and *Melancthon*, in order to bring them over to the cause of *Rome*. 'One great reason (says *Sleidan*) why '*Vergerio* was sent back upon this commission to *Germany* 'was, because king *Ferdinand* had recommended him to 'the pope, as a person extremely well qualified to under-'take that employment.'

Early in the spring of the year 1535, *Vergerio* set out to execute this hypocritical commission in which he was exceedingly industrious, and negotiated with almost all the princes of *Germany*. At *Prague* he met with the good elector of *Saxony*, with whom he dealt with all imaginable subtilty, and, according to the colouring of his commission. He proposed, among other things, that the council desired should be called at *Mantua*, pretending the convenience of its situation with respect to plenty and access, but meaning, really to get all the heads of the protestant party into *Italy* under his master's power. But the design was seen through,

through, and fell to the ground. *Vergerio* went also to *Wittenberg* upon the object of his commission with *Luther*; but *Luther* knew not the value of gold, and did not estimate high enough all the preferments of the world, to give the pope's nuncio any prospect of success.

In the year 1556, *Vergerio* returned to the holy father, in order to give in a state of affairs, and to explain his management in the commission. His report was, that the protestants demanded a free council, in a convenient place, which place must be within the territories of the empire, as the emperor had promised them. With respect to *Luther* and his party, there was no hope of prevailing upon them by any other means than absolute force and entire suppression. As to the motion about the king of *England*, the protestants would on no account hear of it; and the rest of the princes received it but coldly. Indeed, *George* duke of *Saxony* [*Luther's* bitter enemy] did say, that the greatest danger was from the protestants, which was only to be avoided by the pope and emperor declaring war against them as soon as possible.

Upon the force of this last hint, the pope sent off *Vergerio* to *Naples*, where the emperor then was, in order to propose a war upon the Lutherans, as the best and quickest method of settling the controversy. The emperor came to *Rome* to debate this matter, and proposed earnestly the calling a general council. The pope insisted that it should be held in some city or town of *Italy*; to which the emperor, not knowing the pope's holy motives, consented, and accordingly a bull was drawn up by the nine cardinals out of the consistory, by the archbishop of *Brundisi*, by the bishop of *Rhegio*, and by our *Vergerio* just made bishop of *Modrusch* and soon after of *Capo d' Istria*. *Mantua* was the place fixed by the bull; and the twenty-third of *May* ensuing was the time.

It was foreseen, that the protestants, from every reason of safety and propriety, which could be dear to them as men and as Christians, would never consent to put themselves into the pope's clutches. Accordingly, they told the emperor, that they could not trust themselves out of their own country; and especially, as in the case of Dr *Huss*, it might not be easy to procure such a sort of *safe-conduct*, as would bring them back again. They laid open at large the fallacy and deceit of the pope's conduct, and gave very broad hints to the emperor, that they could neither trust him nor any of the papists. *Sleidan* enters, at full length, all the debates upon this occasion; to whose commentaries we must refer the inquisitive Reader.

Vergerio

Vergerio was called from his embassy in *Germany* by the pope in the year 1537, as a man, who well understood, and could well be trusted with his holiness's affairs, and therefore could give him the most precise account and advice upon them. From this time to the year 1541, he seems to have remained in *Italy*. But, in this last year, he was commissioned to go to the diet at *Worms*, under an assumed character for the *French* king; as it was thought he might do his holiness more service under a borrowed form, than he could do in a real appearance. *Vergerio*, with his usual industry and address, made a speech here, upon the unity and peace of the church, which he printed and circulated. In this speech, he insisted chiefly upon arguments against holding a national council; for the pope, of all things, could not endure that step, and *Vergerio* knew very fully his secret thoughts. By *Vergerio*'s means, in co-operation with other instruments, the conference at *Worms* was impeded, and at length dissolved. Every thing that artifice and evasion could do, was attempted, and unhappily succeeded.

We have mentioned, that *Vergerio* was in great favour with king *Ferdinand* of *Hungary*; to which may be added, that he was in such terms of esteem with him, as to be god-father to one of his children, with the marquis of *Brandenburgh*, and the archbishop of *Lunden*.

When *Vergerio* returned from *Worms* to *Rome*, the pope, in reward for his services, designed to have made him a cardinal, among some other persons, whom he intended to promote; but, upon some insinuations, that he was leaning towards Lutheranism, through his long residence in *Germany*, the pope changed his purpose. Upon the information of this circumstance (which seems to have had no other foundation than malice or envy) from cardinal *Ginuncio*, to whom the pope had told it, *Vergerio* was quite astonished; and, in order to put an end to all suspicions of that sort, he retired into the country, and began to compose a book, to which he prefixed this title; "*Adversus apostatas Germaniæ*;" against the apostates of *Germany*. This work naturally led him into strict investigations of the doctrines of the protestants, which he had never duly examined before, in order to give them the most exact and forcible confutation. Divine grace took this occasion, which he meant for opposition, to bring about what he least expected—his conversion. The apostle *Paul* was called to the truth, when he meditated its ruin; and so was *Vergerio*, and the great *Francis Junius*, whom we shall mention hereafter. He found himself overcome and vanquished

vanquished by a careful perusal of the writings, which he wished to explode; and he saw the rottenness and impiety of that church, whose interests it had been the main business of his life to uphold. In the utmost perturbation of mind, and relinquishing his views of a cardinal's hat; he went to confer with his own brother, *John Baptist Vergerio*, bishop of *Pola*, in *Istria*, which territory is part of the *Venetian* state. His brother, in the last degree of astonishment, began to bewail the state and condition of *Vergerio*'s understanding, and seemed rather at a loss what to do with himself than how to give advice to another. At length, by *Vergerio*'s repeated entreaties, they applied themselves together in searching the scriptures, and particularly in examining by the scriptures that important article—the justification of a sinner before God. The result was, the Spirit of God set home his word on both their hearts; and they became brethren in grace, as well as in blood. They saw, in this pure glass of the word, the error of the church of *Rome* upon this doctrine, as well as the absurdity, fallacy, and impiety of many other tenets, which it maintains. Convinced of the truth in their own minds, they saw it was too precious a light to be confined *under a bushel*, or in their bosoms. They, therefore, preached to the people of *Istria* the true doctrine of the gospel, according to the measure of grace given them. This soon alarmed the inquisition, as well as raised the indignation of the monks. The officers of the inquisition came quickly to *Pola*, and *Capo d' Istria*, where the brothers had preached, and committed their usual outrages upon the people; and one of them, *Grisonio*, went into the pulpit, and, amongst other errors, excommunicated all who would not *inform* against persons *suspected* of *Lutheranism*. What would he say to Lutherans themselves? He and his colleagues searched after those who had been guilty of reading the New Testament in the vulgar tongue, which it seems *Vergerio* and his brother had procured to be distributed among the people. This occasioned much perplexity and distress. The inquisitors preached also frequent sermons against the person and doctrine of *Vergerio*, who was obliged to fly for safety from the approaching storm. If he had been in the ecclesiastical state, under the immediate dominion of the pope, probably he had not so escaped. He first retired to *Mantua*, and sought the protection of cardinal *Hercules Gonzaga*, who had been his intimate friend. But he soon found, that no man of the world will protect from persecution on account of the gospel; for *Gonzaga*, urged by letters from *Rome*, and by *John Caso* the pope's legate at *Venice*,

Venice, soon thought it expedient to let *Vergerio* know, that his company could be dispensed with. In this situation, he thought it was proper to go to *Trent*, where the general council was convened, in order to explain his case to the fathers, among whom he had a right to sit. But the pope, though he wished to have had him prisoner, yet finding it necessary to remove all suspicion (especially in *Germany*) concerning the freedom of the council; wrote to his legates, who presided there, to get him proscribed from appearing among them. Being in consequence expelled, he went to *Venice*; where *Caso*, the pope's legate, advised him to go by all means to *Rome*, and reconcile himself. Whether *Caso* was sincere or not, *Vergerio* knew better than to trust himself in the lion's den, and therefore went to *Padua*, where he remained for some time.

During *Vergerio*'s abode at *Padua*, there occurred in *Citadella*, near that city, a circumstance, which has been much talked of all over the Christian world, and which it may not be thought tedious or impertinent to relate.—In *Citadella* lived *Francis Spira*, a lawyer of great abilities and practice at the bar. This man had embraced the reformed religion with remarkable zeal and earnestness, and as he made proficiency in it, freely expressed his opinion of the several points of the controverted doctrine, both to his friends and to every body. A conduct of this sort could not long be concealed in *Italy*, but was at length noticed to *John Caso* *, archbishop of *Benevento*, and the pope's legate at *Venice*. When *Spira* was informed of this, he was very sensible of his danger; and therefore, after resolving the matter in his thoughts, he followed easy counsels, and went to the legate, who had sent for him. Before the legate, he recanted his errors (as he termed them), begged his absolution, and promised obedience for the future. Though the legate was glad of his voluntary confession; yet, for the sake of example, he enjoined him, by way of penance, to return home, and make a public recantation of the protestant doctrines. All this he promised to do, against the impressions of his mind, and the clear conviction of his conscience, which reproached, and reproached him again, for his shameful desertion and denial. When he came home, the solicitations of his friends, (who urged, that the welfare of himself, of

* This being (for one would scarce honour him with the name of *man*) wrote an execrable book in celebration of an unnatural vice, which he had the impudence to call a *divine work*, and to profess that he followed it. This book was written in verse, to render his abominable lasciviousness the more pleasing.

of his wife, children, estate, and all, depended upon it) prevailed; and he made his formal recantation. Soon afterwards his soul was struck with horror at what he had done; and he fell into the most dreadful despair of God's mercy. Growing worse and worse, and expressing himself in language almost too dreadful to repeat, concerning his crime, and his assured damnation from God; he was removed by his friends from *Citadella* to *Padua*, that he might both have better advice of physicians, and the constant conference of learned men. His physicians soon confessed his malady beyond their art, and prescribed for him, as the best and only remedy, good advice and spiritual consolation. Accordingly, many of the clergy and others constantly attended him, and laboured to heal his mind by such portions of scripture, as exhibit the riches and extent of the mercy of God to repenting sinners. He allowed the truth of those passages, and of all they could say respecting the love of God in *Christ*; but still insisted, that *he* was particularly excluded to be an instance of the divine vengeance, and that the promises did not belong to him, who must justly be damned to everlasting torments, because he had abjured the truths of God, knowing them to be so, and against the repeated admonitions of his conscience. He said, in language as dreadful as ever was heard, that he felt the pains of damnation, even then, in his soul; that he wanted to be at the worst which hell could inflict upon him, as the expectation of more torments increased those he already sustained; and that, though he saw all glory and excellency in God, yet he was so far from loving him on that account, that he most horribly hated him the more. In this condition he continued for some time, refusing all sustenance, and spitting it out again, when forced upon him. *Vergerio* frequently visited him, and set before him the freedom and fullness of the divine grace, urging the instances of *Peter* and others, who had fallen from God, but were received into mercy again; but all his exhortations were in vain. Whatever could be said, was thrown away upon poor *Spira*; and his malady increased more and more. In short, he languished, and sunk, and died, in all the agonizing tortures of the most miserable despair *.

Vergerio, as an eye-witness of God's wrath for the denial of his truth, was deeply struck with this dreadful example, and in consequence was the more confirmed by it in his attachment

* The account of *Spira* is delivered by several creditable authors, who were eye-witnesses of his melancholy end; viz. *Matthew Grisaldo*, a lawyer of *Padua*, by *Sigismund Gelon*, *Henry Scot*, and *Vergerio*

attachment to the Protestant doctrine. Till this period, he had evidently hesitated, and wished to keep himself as safe as he could, without entirely making shipwreck of conscience. But this awful instance determined him. He therefore fully resolved to abandon his native country and all he had, and to become, in a double sense, a *stranger and pilgrim upon earth.* Every true Christian must be this in his spirit; but every one is not called to be so, both in body and mind, as *Vergerio* undoubtedly was. He underwent this voluntary banishment, that he might live where he might freely profess the doctrine of *Christ.* He quitted the fine country of *Bergamo*, for the bleak barren hills of the *Grisons*: The *Grisons* became a spiritual *Eden*, far more delightful than the *Italian* plains, through the sweet manifestation of the gospel. If *Christ* and a dungeon have been preferred by many martyrs to a palace without him; surely *Christ* and the *Grisons* must be far more welcome than all the busy scenes of life, where inward peace is a stranger, and where outward felicity flies off in a dream. *Vergerio* counted the cost, and had made a wise estimate of the honours, the riches, and the pleasures of a giddy world. He was certainly able to do so, in the strength of grace; for he had seen and known them all in their highest splendour and magnificence: And, with *Solomon*, he could write upon them all,—*Vanity and vexation of spirit.*

Vergerio preached the gospel partly amongst the *Grisons*, and partly in the *Valteline*, for several years. At length, he was invited to *Tubingen*, in *Swabia*, by the duke of *Wurtemburg*, where he passed the remainder of his days.

Vergerio's brother, *John Baptist Vergerio*, bishop of *Pola*, who was converted to the truth at the same time, (as we have mentioned,) died before he left *Italy*; and it is suspected, that he was poisoned by those desperate and implacable papists, who hunted likewise for *Vergerio*'s blood.

While *Vergerio* was among the *Grisons*, the emperor and pope had endeavoured to draw the *Swiss* to the council of *Trent*: But the *French* king, having opposite views, instructed *La Morliere*, his ambassador, or envoy to the Cantons, to dissuade them from it. *La Morliere*, finding it a work of difficulty, prevailed upon *Vergerio*, who was expert in negociation and business, to come to him from among the *Grisons*. *Vergerio* supplied him with arguments, and, soon afterwards, published a book against repairing to the council. By these means, *Switzerland* and the *Grisons* were preserved from that corrupt leaven, and from being ensnared by the policy of *Rome*.

In

In this book *Vergerio* exhibited the pride, pomp, luxury, ambition, bribery, and dissolute manners of the court of *Rome*, which he declared he well knew, and from his heart detested: That the council of *Trent* was not called by the pope to establish the doctrine of *Christ*, but those human inventions which they had brought in contrary to the word of God; not to purge God's fold, but to disseminate their inveterate errors; not to restore Christian liberty, but to introduce a miserable bondage and oppression on the souls of men: That this appeared from there being none but bishops and abbots, who had taken an oath prescribed by the *Roman* ceremonial, allowed to sit there: That the inferior clergy and secular princes had only a right to come, without the least power of deliberating or voting; so that every conclusion must be *ex parte*; as all, who differed from *Rome*, were without influence: And that, in short, no good thing would be done, nor any corruption complained of remedied, though to remedy corruptions was the express end for which the council was pretended to be called.

The event proved the truth of *Vergerio*'s assertion; as we may more fully learn from the celebrated history of that council, written by the excellent *F. Paulo* of *Venice*.

This good man *Vergerio* finished his labours and his life at *Tubingen* on the fourth of *October*, in the year 1566. His funeral sermon was preached by Dr *James Andreas*, on 1 *Tim.* i. 12, 13. *I thank* Christ Jesus *our Lord, who hath enabled me, for that he counted me faithful, putting me into the ministry, who was before a blasphemer, and a persecutor, and injurious. But I obtained mercy, because I did it ignorantly in unbelief.* Upon this text he drew, and might draw, no very distant parallel between these two persecuting converts, the apostle *Paul* and bishop *Vergerio*.

Pezelius says, that 'of a wolf, God made *Vergerio* one of 'his fold, and a pastor of his flock;' and *Trithemius* speaks of him, that 'he was a man diligent in searching the 'holy scriptures, and very learned in human science, 'celebrated as a philosopher and a rhetorician, and per-'fectly skilled in the *Greek* and *Latin* tongues.' *Thuanus* mentions him likewise in very handsome terms, and perhaps as handsome as he dared: But *Vergerio* has a much better commendation than all these,—the applause of his Master—*Well done, good and faithful servant; enter thou into the joy of thy Lord.*

END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.

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